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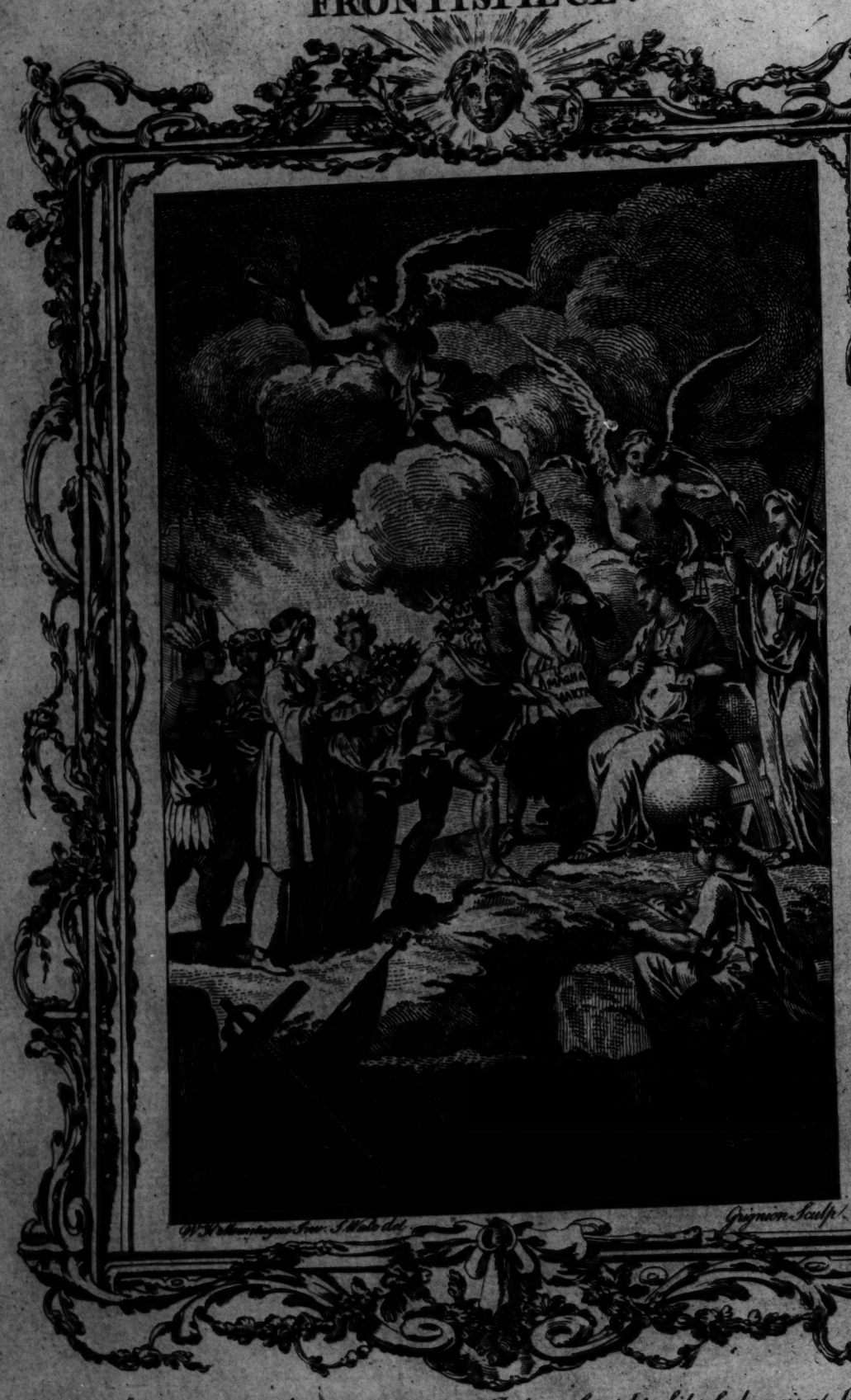

W. Williamson Inv. S. Wale del. Grignion Sculp.

The principal Figure represents Britannia seated on a Rock; on the right Side of whom is a Lion, and on the left the Globe. Even with the Lion is the Figure of Liberty with a Scroll in her Hand on which is Written Magna Charta; and by the Side of the Globe is a Representation of History. Behind Britannia is Justice; and directly opposite is Neptune presenting to her the four Quarters of the World, in whose Hands is a Representation of the Produce of their respective Countries. Over Liberty is Fame blowing her Trumpet, and over Britannia Victory descending with a Crown of Laurel in one Hand, and a Branch of Palm in the other.

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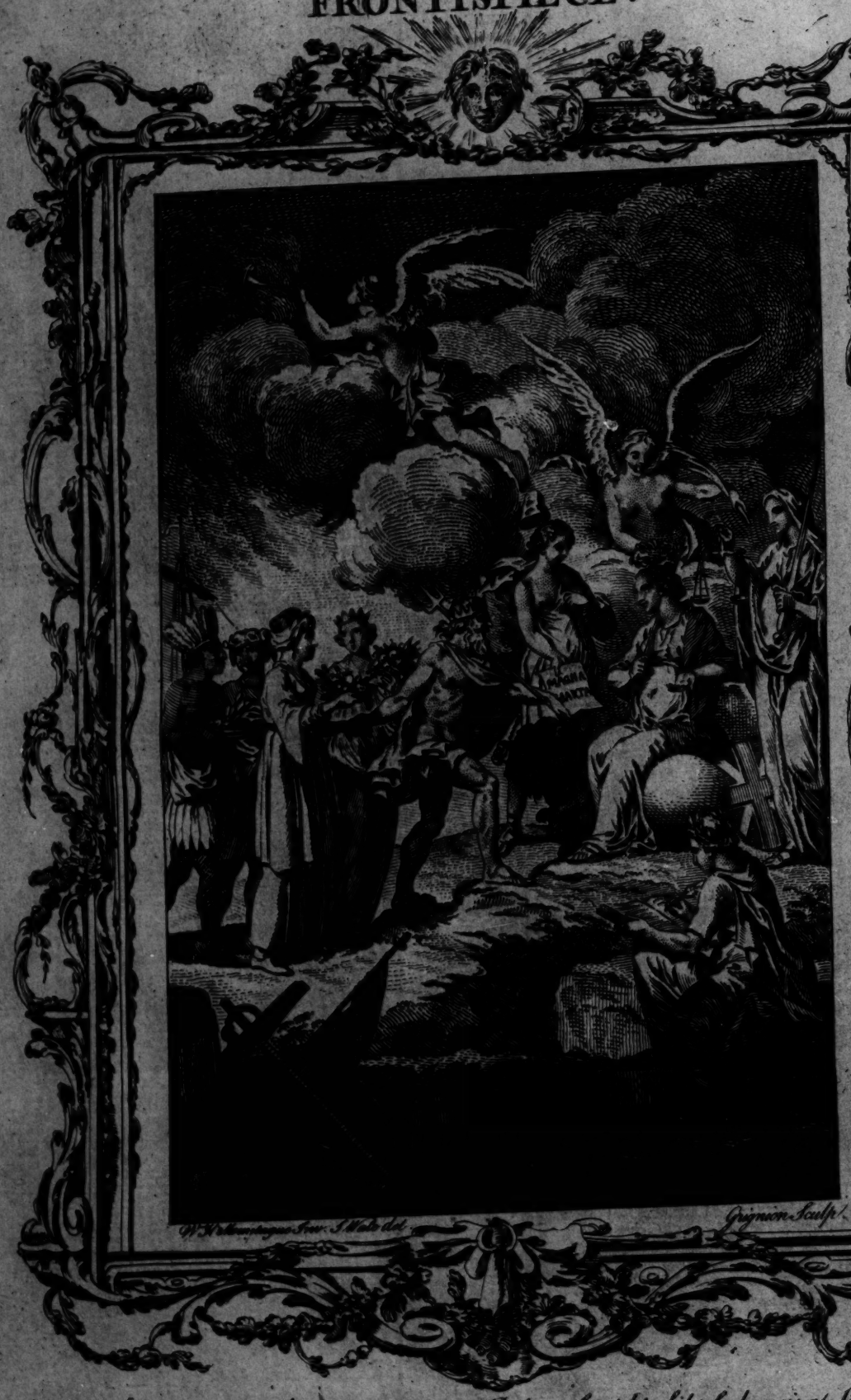

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A NEW AND UNIVERSAL

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

EARLIEST AUTHENTIC ACCOUNTS, TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1770.

CONTAINING

A Comprehenſive and Accurate Deſcription

OF ALL THE

Battles, Sieges, Sea-fights, and other memorable Events, in which the ENGLISH have been concerned, from the remoteſt Period of Intelligence.

With a circumſtantial Account of the Origin of this Kingdom, its Government, and its Laws; the many Revolutions it has undergone, the amazing Progreſs made by its Inhabitants in every Branch of Science, and their various Diſcoveries, Conqueſts, and Acquiſitions in different Parts of the World. Together with faithful Delineations of the Characters of all the Princes who have ſwayed the Britiſh Sceptre, and other illuſtrious Perſonages, who have rendered themſelves conſpicuous by their Valour, their Patriotiſm, or their Learning.

The whole tending to diſplay the patriotic Virtues of our illuſtrious Anceſtors, and inſpire the Britiſh Youth with an Emulation of imitating their glorious Examples.

By WILLIAM HENRY MOUNTAGUE, Eſq;

EMBELISHED and ILLUSTRATED with a great Number of curious Copper-plates, from original Drawings made on Purpoſe for this Work, by the celebrated WALE, and engraved by thoſe eminent Artiſts, GRIGNION and WALKER.

Hail Queen of Iſles! with ſmiling Plenty crown'd,
For Arts, for Arms, for dauntleſs Sons renown'd!
The boiſt'rous Ocean which around thee roars,
Wafts all the Wealth of India to thy ſhores;
With Commerce fill'd thy lofty Cities ſhine,
And all the Products of the Globe are thine.

LONDON:

Printed for J. COOKE, at the SHAKESPEAR'S-HEAD, No. 17. in Pater-noſter-Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A COMPREHENSIVE AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE

PRESENT DAY

OF

ENGLAND

AND

HER PEOPLE

IN

A NEW AND UNIVERSAL

TO ALL

SINCERE LOVERS OF THEIR COUNTRY IN GENERAL,

AND TO

THE WORTHY SUBSCRIBERS TO THIS WORK IN PARTICULAR;

THIS

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FAITHFULLY EXTRACTED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC

REGISTERS OF TIME,

IS HUMBLY DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR.

WHO IS BIASSED BY NO PARTY, A SYCOPHANT TO NO PATRON;

BUT

A FRIND TO TRUTH, A FRIEND TO VIRTUE, A FRIEND

TO HIS COUNTRY.

W. H. M.

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

Wale del. Grignion Sculp.

Landing of JULIUS CÆSAR

A NEW AND UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

From the earliest Account of Time to the Invasion of the Romans. *With a succinct Account of the ancient Inhabitants, their Manners, Customs, Commerce, and Religion.*

IT has been often observed, and often lamented, that the origin of almost every nation is either lost in fable, or buried in obscurity. Nor will this at all surprize us, when we consider, that historical events, when intrusted to memory or oral traditions, are soon forgotten; or at best, so strangely disfigured by fable or additional particulars, that they disgust the ear of reason, and are therefore excluded from history founded on the solid basis of truth. England is particularly unfortunate in this respect; we have little more than fabulous relations of what passed in this island before the invasion of the Romans. Gildas, who flourished about the latter end of the sixth century, freely owns, that there were no ancient monuments of this kingdom to be found in his time, being either destroyed by the enemy, or carried into foreign countries by the banished Britons. Annius of Viterbo has, however, in his Berosus, given us a long succession of Celtic kings, whom he derives from one of the sons of Japhet, called Samothes, whom he supposes to have planted colonies, first in Centica or Gaul, and afterwards in Britain. But his relations have long since been proved fictitious, and his fables universally exploded. Geoffrey of Monmouth pretends, that Brutus, the grandson of Æneas, subdued this island, and at his death, divided it among his three sons. But this history carries with it such evident marks of forgery, as sufficiently prove the whole to be a fiction, either of Geoffrey himself, or of the author from whom he pretends to have translated it.

But however that be, it is generally agreed, that the southern parts of England were peopled by the Celts, a tribe of the Gauls, from the neighbouring continent. Their language, religion, form of government, customs and manners, were nearly the same. Besides, as the Gauls sent colonies into Italy, Spain, Germany, Thrace and Asia; it is very reasonable to conclude they did the same with regard to Britain, which was so near them, that they could discern the coasts from their own hills.

The time when this happened is uncertain; some think it was effected during the reign of Teutat or Mercur, a descendant of Gomer, one of the sons of Japhet, that prince having extended his conquests to the very extremities of Germany and Gaul.

At their first coming over, they retired into the inland parts of the island, where they led a life of pastoral simplicity, undisturbed by invasions from abroad, and undisquieted by tumults and confusions at home. Unacquainted with commerce, and strangers to avarice, their whole time was devoted to the feeding of their flocks, and the superstitious rites of their religion, which they handed down to their descendants without change or innovation.

Happy in themselves, and ignorant of the wants introduced by luxury, they were contented with the humble station of shepherds, and wholly unconcerned with the wars and revolutions of other countries. But that peace and tranquillity, which neither ambition nor avarice could shake, was at length destroyed by humanity. Their Belgic neighbours, who had for some time applied themselves to commerce, and obtained from their southern acquaintance faint notions of the refinements in life, being straitened for want of room, came into this island, where they were kindly received by the inhabitants, and suffered to settle in Cornwall, Devonshire, Kent, and Sussex.

These settlements were very advantageous to the Belgæ, who were addicted to commerce and agriculture, arts entirely declined by the old Britons. They cultivated the lands with great success, and

became famous for their wheat, which was eagerly purchaſed by the inhabitants of the continent.

But the conſtant migrations of the Belgæ, ſo greatly encreaſed their numbers, that the old inhabitants were offended, leſt their continual encroachments ſhould deprive them of their paſtures, and inſtead of being contented with the ſettlements allotted them, endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the whole country.

During theſe diſputes, Divaticus, king of the Sueſſones, came over with a large body of forces, collected from the Bibroci, Attrebates, and other Belgic nations, with which he reduced great part of Britain, and ſettled in Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and other parts bordering on Hampſhire and Suſſex.

The peace of the old inhabitants was now entirely deſtroyed; animoſities were ſown in every part of the kingdom, and every tribe became a ſeparate government. The inland part of the inhabitants were ſtill ſtrangers to agriculture; they ſowed no corn, but ſubſiſted on milk and game, with which their woods and plains abounded. They cloathed themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts, and painted their bodies of a ſky-blue colour, with the juice of woad.

Their towns, or rather villages, were a confuſed parcel of huts, placed at a ſmall diſtance from each other, and generally erected in the middle of a wood, the avenues to which were defended by ſlight ramparts of earth and trees, felled to clear the ground. They frequently removed their habitations, in order to find freſh paſture for their cattle.

The arms of the better ſort were a broad ſword without a point, a ſhort dagger, a javelin, and arrows; while the common people had only a ſtick, ſharpened at both ends, and hardened in the fire, and long ſtaves edged with flint or copper, having at the lower extremity a braſs bell, with the noiſe of which they endeavoured to terrify their enemies in battle. Deſtitute both of helmets and coats of mail, they defended themſelves with a light round target made of wood, or of twigs interwoven, covered with ſkins, and ſtudded with nails.

Their war chariots, which were embelliſhed with rude carvings and paintings, had ſharp ſcythes fixed to the axle-tree, and built in ſuch a manner, that they could be eaſily ſtopped, or turned on the ſteep declivity of a hill. They were generally drawn by two horſes, which were ſmall, but very ſwift. Theſe chariots, which contained a driver and a ſingle warrior, were driven furiouſly among the enemy, where they made a terrible ſlaughter, by the ſcythes fixed to the axles of the wheels. At the ſame time the warrior diſcharged his javelins, and then retreated.

When the Britons approached an enemy, they claſhed their arms together, made a hoarſe and diſmal ſound with their rude trumpets, gave a loud ſhout, and then continued their march, ſinging the actions of their renowned anceſtors. Their chariots generally attacked the enemy's cavalry, and the warriors would frequently alight and fight on foot, till they were either fatigued or overpowered, when they reſumed their ſeats, and were ſo remarkably expert in the management of their chariots, that they could ſtop or turn them at full ſpeed, ſtand upon, or even run along the pole, and leap out or in as occaſion required. By this method, they united the ſpeed of the horſe with the ſteadineſs of the foot. They charged with an impetuoſity hardly to be reſiſted; but if once repulſed by the enemy, confuſion immediately enſued, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could rally themſelves. They always engaged in ſeparate bodies, drawn up at a conſiderable diſtance from one another, that they might have room to act, and when obliged to fall back, might be ſuſtained by freſh forces.

Their trade, in theſe early times, was very inconſiderable, notwithſtanding the convenient ſituation of their iſland for carrying on an extenſive commerce. Their veſſels were very ſmall, their keels and ribs being made of ſlight timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with hides, a ſufficient proof they never undertook any long voyages; in all probability they never ventured farther than the coaſts of Gaul. Their chief traffic was with the Phœnician merchants, who, after the diſcovery of the iſland, which, according to Sammes, happened before the Trojan war, exported annually great quantities of tin, which they ſold to the Greeks, and other eaſtern nations. This trade proved ſo very profitable to the Phœnicians, that they concealed, for ſeveral ages, the place where the metal was found. The Greeks, however, about ſixty years before the time of Julius Cæſar, diſcovered it, and traded to the ſame place, calling the iſlands of Scilly, from whence they chiefly brought the tin, Caſſiterides.

The religion of the ancient Britons was nearly the ſame with that of the Gauls; and their prieſts were termed Druids, from the ſuperſtitious reverence they paid to oaks, the name being derived from the Britiſh word Deru, which ſignifies an oak. The Druids wore their hair ſhort, and their beards very long. They carried a wand in their hand, and about their neck hung an ornament enchaſed in gold, called the Druids Egg. Their garments reached to the ground, and they always wore a white ſurplice, when employed in religious ceremonies.

They were divided into three orders, but all ſubordinate to a chief, called the Arch-druid, who was elected out of their own body by a majority. He enjoyed this ſupremacy for life; his perſon was deemed inviolable; he inſpected the conduct of their kings, and had ſufficient authority to elect or depoſe whom he pleaſed.

The Druids preſided over, and regulated all the public ſacrifices, and took cognizance of the moſt important affairs of the nation, and gave a verdict, which no perſon dared either to oppoſe or cenſure. The ſentence they pronounced was ſure to be executed; for whoever refuſed to obey it, was immediately excommunicated and deprived of the rights and privileges of ſociety; deemed the moſt wicked and profligate of mankind, and avoided, as if his very preſence was infectious.

This power, to their immortal honour, they always exerciſed with a becoming dignity, incorruptible integrity, and uncommon fortitude. They were compoſed of the principal nobility, and conſequently by birth, as well as education, devoted to the ſervice of their country. With theſe advantages they became a public bleſſing to the kingdom, compoſing the civil diſcords which diſturbed its repoſe by their mediation, and frequently at the riſk of their own lives; ruſhing unarmed between embattled armies ready to engage, and bravely oppoſing the powerful influence of ſuperior virtue and eloquence to the headſtrong rage of war, which they often aſſwaged, and ſometimes totally extinguiſhed by their prudent admonitions, even at the very moment when

the

the quarrel was to be decided by the fate of arms. Strangers to every ſpecies of effeminate luxury; they were ignorant of its attendant vices; they never erected a private intereſt in oppoſition to the public welfare; nor ſupported the former at the expence of the latter.

Being the living depoſitories of learning, they took every poſſible precaution to confine it within their own order; and hence it happened, that none of their inſtitutes were ever committed to writing. By this means they acquired an incredible number of diſciples, whom they often kept twenty years under their tuition: as moſt of theſe were the ſons of the principal nobility, it became at once the means of rendering their order more awful to the people, and more neceſſary to the ſtate. The lectures they gave their pupils were adapted to their circumſtances: they taught them the nature of the gods, the immortality of the ſoul, and placed before them, in the moſt pleaſing light, the rewards with which a life of virtue will be crowned in a future exiſtence.

They believed one ſupreme Deity, immenſe and infinite, and were perſuaded, that confining his worſhip to ſome particular place, was inconſiſtent with the belief of thoſe attributes. At the ſame time, their belief of this doctrine was corrupted, by their admitting an inferior kind of deities, and paying divine honours to Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Mercury, under the names of Taramis, Heſus, Belenus, and Teutates; to theſe they added, after the invaſion of the Romans, Diana, Minerva and Hercules. The external form of adoration, conſiſted of invocations, oblations, expiatory ſacrifices and thankſgivings. Their oblations, at firſt, conſiſted only of fine meal or flower, ſprinkled with ſalt, or a cake compoſed of theſe ingredients and water, baked upon the hearth; and their ſacrifices of beaſts and birds. But after their intercourſe with the Phœnicians, they loſt this ſimplicity and adopted the barbarous cuſtom of offering human victims to their gods. They even improved on the cruelty of other nations, uſing them for divination, with ſuch horrid circumſtances, as cannot be related without horror. Steeled, as it were, by theſe practices, they grew deaf to the whiſpers of humanity, and carried their ſavage cruelty to ſo high a pitch, that they formed wicker idols of ſuch a monſtrous ſize, as to contain whole crouds of perſons who were burnt at once, together with theſe prodigious incloſures, to expiate the anger of their gods. At firſt malefactors only were the objects of this barbarous rite; but, in proceſs of time, innocent perſons alſo became the victims of this horid ſuperſtition.

The places ſet apart for the ceremonies of religion, were conſecrated groves, compoſed chiefly of oak, that tree being the greateſt object of their eſteem and veneration: the very fences that incloſed theſe places of worſhip, being compoſed of oak, their altars covered with its leaves, and encircled with its branches; their victims were adorned with its bows, and the head of every perſon employed in performing the ſacrifices, encircled with garlands from that ſacred tree.

Nor was their veneration confined to the tree itſelf; its productions, eſpecially the miſſeltoe, was eſteemed as the choiceſt gift of heaven; and on that account, was ſought for annually, in the ſpring of the year, with the greateſt eagerneſs, and when diſcovered was hailed with ſuch raptures of joy as can hardly be conceived. The Arch-druid, clad in a white robe, aſcended the tree, amidſt an infinite concourſe of people, and with a conſecrated golden knife, or pruning hook, cropped the miſſeltoe, and received it in his white robe, with the greateſt marks of ſatisfaction. With this precious acquiſition in his robe, he deſcended from the tree, and offered two white bulls to the gods; and while the flame from the ſacrifice aſcended, invoked the powers preſiding over the healing art, to render it efficacious in all thoſe diſtempers againſt which it ſhould be adminiſtered. The tree on which the miſſeltoe had been found, was conſidered as evidently favoured by the deity, and conſequently entitled to more than a common ſhare of veneration. At laſt, their particular regard for this tree, degenerated into idolatry; it became the immediate object of their adoration.

In their religious exerciſes they made uſe of hymns, which were ſung in concert, accompanied with the muſical inſtruments known in thoſe rude and early times, and, on particular feſtivals, attended with dancing, interludes, and public games.

We have already obſerved, that the Druids were divided into three orders or claſſes; the firſt of which were thoſe who performed the ſacrifices, and were employed in the more ſolemn rites and myſteries of religion; the ſecond order were ſtiled Bards, and compoſed the hymns ſung at their religious ceremonies: they were alſo the preſervers of the memory, and noble exploits of their heroes; ſo that they were at the ſame time, both prieſts and heralds, poets and muſicians: they inſtructed the youth committed to the care of the Druids in all the branches of philoſophy.

The third order of the Druids were called Vaids, or Vates, and devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, augury, divination, magic, natural philoſophy and phyſic; ſo that they were ſkilled in every art that could excite the aſtoniſhment, and fix the veneration of an ignorant people, who regarded the whole ſociety of Druids as Demi gods, endowed with more than mortal knowledge, and illuminated with celeſtial wiſdom.

Time has left us but few of the druidical maxims; the reſt are loſt in oblivion. The following are collected from various writers, and will ſerve to convey ſome idea of their religious principles, their ſingular ſuperſtition, and the policy of their government.

1. " The deity is one, infinite, and omnipotent.
2. " Every thing derives its origin from heaven.
3. " Souls are immortal, and ſhall be puniſhed " or rewarded in a future life.
4. " The world, if ever it is deſtroyed, ſhall be " deſtroyed by fire or water.
5. " There is another world, a future ſtate of " exiſtence
6. " The diſobedient muſt be excluded from the " ſacrifices.
7. " Thoſe who are excommunicated for their " diſobedience or diſloyalty, ſhall be deprived of " the benefit of the law, ſecluded from ſociety, and " rendered incapable of any employment.
8. " Money lent in this world will be repaid in " the next.
9. " They who kill themſelves, to accompany " their friends to the other world will live with them " there.
10. " Letters given to dying perſons, or thrown " on their funeral piles, will be faithfully deli-

" vered

" vered to whom they are addreſſed in the other " world.

11. " Upon extraordinary emergencies, a man " may be ſacrificed for the good of his country.

12. " When the ſafety of the ſtate requires it, " a man may be ſlain, in order to foretel future " events, from the manner in which the body falls; " from its motion after it is fallen; from the flow- " ing of the blood; from the appearance of the " wound, or from inſpecting the vitals.

13. " Malefactors, priſoners of war, or, in caſe " of neither, innocent perſons are to be ſlain upon " the altar, or burnt alive, incloſed in a wicker " colloſſus, in honour of the gods.

14. " All maſters of families are ſupreme lords " of their own houſhould: they have a power of " life and death over their wives, their children, and " their ſlaves.

15. " Children are to be educated apart from " their parents, and never to be admitted publicly " into their company, till they attain the age of " fourteen years.

16. " None muſt be inſtructed but in the ſacred " groves.

17. " The ſecrets of the ſciences muſt not be " committed to writing but fixed in the memory.

18. " He merits death who comes laſt to the " aſſembly of the ſtates.

19. " The miſſeltoe is a ſovereign remedy for " all diſeaſes.

20. " Miſſeltoe muſt be gathered with reverence, " on the ſixth day of the month, if poſſible, and " cropped with a golden bill or pruning hook.

21. " The powder of the miſſeltoe makes women " fruitful, and is an univerſal remedy, if properly " adminiſtered.

22. " All commerce with ſtrangers is prohi- " bited."

Such are the maxims we have been able to collect of this celebrated ſect; the reſt are ſwept away by the deluge of time, and buried in the whirlpool of oblivion.

With regard to the inhabitants of Britain in general, they reſembled the ancient Celts in their tempers, manners, and cuſtoms, which, ſome few particulars excepted, were conformable to the general laws of nature, and the pure dictates of human reaſon. They were a brave, a generous, and a warlike people, remarkable for their honeſty, their ſincerity, and hoſpitality. In public and private life, they deteſted effeminacy and indolence; open and candid in all their tranſactions, they diſdained the mean arts of deceit and flattery, together with every ſpecies of ſubterfuge and mental reſervation; even in war, they choſe rather to reſt the diſciſion of a battle on their own perſonal bravery and intrepedity than ſubmit, or have recourſe to ſtratagem and evaſion, in order to obtain a victory.

At the ſame time they are charged with unbounded, and even inceſtuous concubinage. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that a Britiſh lady, being upbraided with this inceſtuous commerce, by Julia the wife of Severus, anſwered, " that the Roman " ladies ought not to reproach them on that ac- " count, ſince what they did publicly with the beſt " of men, was done ſecretly by the Roman ladies, " with the worſt and meaneſt of their freemen and " ſlaves." But this cuſtom, the only vice they are charged with, was diſcontinued as they became more civilized, and was at length totally diſuſed.

Such were the ancient inhabitants when Cæſar meditated an invaſion of England; at a time when the ſouthern parts of the iſland were in the hands of another people, whom the natives had received in their diſtreſs, and who, having once got footing among them, under the character of refugees, ſoon made war upon them as ememies. But this was not the only misfortune that attended the natives, they laboured under a ſtill greater, which aroſe from the very nature of their conſtitution; we mean the vaſt number of petty ſovereignties and clans, governed by their own particular chieftains, who could not always be brought to act in concert againſt the common enemy. Some indeed of theſe little principalities had united together, and formed conſiderable ſtates, which were either ruled by kings, or commanded by a general elected occaſionally; among the former were the Cattieuchlani, or Callivellauni, the Iceni, and the Bregantes; and among the latter the Silures, and Ordovices: but thoſe who lived near the middle of the iſland, and conſequently at a diſtance from danger, do not ſeem to have been affected with the fate of ſuch as had been immediately attacked by foreign enemies, or to have ſent them any aſſiſtance in their diſtreſs, except the Ordovices, who ſuccoured the Silures when they were attacked.

At the ſame time they were very ill ſupplied with arms, had neither money nor warlike ſtores. They were undiſciplined, unexperienced, and deſtitute of a general. Their country open, without incloſure, without towns, without fortifications. They had no place where they might rendezvous or to which they might retreat ſecure from the enemy. Their impenetrable foreſts, bogs and mountains, were their only defence, except their native courage, and an enthuſiaſtic deſire of preſerving their liberty.

BOOK II.

From the Invaſion of the Romans, *under the command of* Julius Cæſar, *till they finally quitted the Iſland.*

A.C. 55. JULIUS Cæſar, whoſe ambition was equal to his power, after ſubduing Gaul, caſt his eyes upon the iſland of Britain. The continent was too narrow a ſcene; he was deſirous of extending the Roman dominions beyond the then known limits of the earth. His deſign of adding Britain to his conqueſts, did not, in all probability, ariſe from any incident that happened in the courſe of the wars with the Gauls, but reſulted from a long and ſerious deliberation. He had already raiſed one Comius, who had great influence among the Britons, to the principality of Attrebatii in Gaul. He had alſo learned, that a prince of the Deviattici in Gaul, had preſided over Briton, and hoped, by their aſſiſtance, to draw the inhabitants from their allegiance.

He had, however, recourſe to very different reaſons: the deſire of conqueſt was not even mentioned. He pretended that the Britons had aſſiſted his enemies the Gauls in all their wars; and it was an eſtabliſhed maxim among the Romans, to conſider all auxiliaries as principals, and to allow no one to aſſiſt their enemies with impunity.

But whatever were the real motives for his undertaking this arduous enterpriſe, it is certain he determined to paſs over into the iſland, at a ſeaſon when he could not hope to complete his conqueſts. Accordingly he diſpatched C. Volſenius, one of his lieutenants, to cruiſe in a galley on the Britiſh coaſt, in order to gain all the information poſſible, with regard to the extent of the iſland, its inhabitants, harbours, and other circumſtances, that might facilitate the ſucceſs of his invaſion. In the mean time he himſelf advanced to the coaſts of the Marini, the neareſt ſhore to that of Britain. There he appointed a general rendezvous of his veſſels, and there he intended to embark his legions.

During theſe preparations, the Britons were informed of his deſign by the merchants of Gaul, who traded to the iſland; and being deſirous of averting the miſeries of war from their country, and preſerve their liberty as long as poſſible, ſent deputies to Cæſar, promiſing to pay every regard to the Roman government, and to give hoſtages for the performance of what they had offered. This ſubmiſſion was directly oppoſite to Cæſar's intention, and he ſeems, on this occaſion, to have ſtooped to a meanneſs inconſiſtent with his character; for his real deſign ſeems to have been nothing more than to amuſe them with fair promiſes. He encouraged them to continue in the ſame favourable ſentiments with regard to Rome, and ſent them back to their own country, together with Comius, whom he intruſted with the charge of managing the ſeveral ſtates, and bringing them over to the Roman intereſt; at the ſame time informing them, that he intended ſhortly to pay them a viſit in perſon.

In the mean time, Volſenius returned from his cruiſe, but with very imperfect information, the natives not having ſuffered him to land on any part of their coaſt. Diſappointed in this attempt, Cæſar aſſembled his fleet, conſiſting of fourſcore tranſports, which he judged ſufficient for carrying over two legions; while his queſtor, and other principal officers went on board his gallies. His horſe he ordered to embark on board eighteen other tranſports, and follow the infantry with the utmoſt expedition. But the embarkation of the cavalry required more time than he imagined, and was like to have proved an error of the moſt fatal conſequence.

Cæſar himſelf ſailed with the infantry about midnight, and by ten the next morning, before the cavalry could be embarked on board the other tranſports, he was lying near the Britiſh ſhore, which he perceived to be high, ſteep, and covered with an army ready to diſpute his landing; a ſufficient proof that the Britons had received an early, and a very exact information of his deſigns.

Cæſar, upon examining the place that was neareſt for landing his forces, found that the land formed a kind of a bay, ſurrounded on all ſides, except the entrance, with high banks, almoſt perpendicular; ſo that the enemies darts from the eminences, entirely commanded the landing places.

Theſe difficulties were too great to be ſurmounted; and accordingly Cæſar ordered the anchors to be weighed, and falling down with the tide about eight miles farther, they came to a level open ſhore, where Cæſar determined to land his forces.

His deſign was ſoon perceived by the Britons, who immediately diſpatched their cavalry and chariots to be in readineſs to diſpute his landing, till they could be ſupported by the infantry. Cæſar was now reduced to difficulties, which perhaps no genius but his own could have ſurmounted. He was a ſtranger to the practice of landing troops in ſight of an enemy, he wanted boats, and, at the ſame time, his ſhips drew too much water to come cloſe to the ſhore. The Romans were therefore under a double difficulty; being obliged to leap overboard in their heavy armour, and diſpute their landing with an enemy, bold, reſolute, unencumbered, who had firm footing, were acquainted with the ground, and made the beſt uſe of their javelins, and who puſhed on the war horſes trained to danger, with the utmoſt fury. This unexpected oppoſition, had ſuch an effect upon the Romans, that the braveſt army of the braveſt people in the world was ſtruck with terror. Their former courage and intrepidity forſook them; and, according to Cæſar's own confeſſion, they ſhrunk from the attack, and the Britiſh ſpirit was then equal to that of Rome.

Cæſar perceiving the unequal conflict, ordered his gallies to advance with their broadſides near the ſhore, and attack the Britons with their ſlings, engines, and other deſtructive miſſiles. The expedient ſucceeded; the Britons, aſtoniſhed at the ſtrange figure of the gallies, the motion of their oars, and the amazing force with which large ſtones were thrown by the engines, firſt halted, and made a faint retreat. This panic, however, ſoon ſubſided, and the Britons returned to the charge with their former

ardour, when the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, perceiving the backwardneſs of the Roman ſoldiers to land among the enemy, leaped overboard with the ſtandard in his hand, crying out, "Follow me, my brother ſoldiers, unleſs you are "deſirous of betraying your eagle into the hands "of the Britons; for my own part, I am determin-"ed to diſcharge the duty I owe to my country, and "to my general." Struck with the dread of ſhame and infamy, that always attended every corps who had loſt their ſtandard, the ſoldiers leaped out of the ſhip after him, and their example being followed by the reſt of the army, they advanced in a body againſt the enemy. The conflict now became more equal and more bloody than before. The Romans depended upon their diſcipline and military experience, which they could not practice to advantage in the water, or ſtand firm on the ouzy bottom; while the Britons, animated by the love of liberty, and aſſiſted by their advantageous ſituation, and the ſtrength of their numbers, attacked the Romans with the utmoſt fury. Some plunged on their horſes into the water to aſſault the enemy, and others from the adjacent ſhore, darting their javelins on the promiſcuous multitude, made a terrible and indiſcriminate ſlaughter.

In this doubtful ſtate of the battle, Cæſar ſent all his boats and pinnaces, filled with ſoldiers, to ſuſtain the Romans, now cloſely preſſed by the Britons. This expedient had ſo good an effect, that the Roman troops found means to land, where they immediately formed themſelves, and attacked the iſlanders with ſuch fury, that they gave way, and fled to their woods; whither the Romans did not chuſe to follow them. Cæſar, indeed, tells us, that this was owing to his want of horſe; and in this circumſtance alone, adds that great general, Cæſar fell ſhort of his former fortune. But it ſhould be remembered, that his horſe could here have been of little ſervice; and it was certainly impracticable for him to have landed his cavalry, where his foot found almoſt inſurmountable difficulties.

Struck with admiration of the Roman valour and diſcipline, the Britons again attempted, by ſubmiſſion, to avert the calamities that threatened their country. They again ſent deputies to Cæſar, offering him hoſtages, with an ambigous promiſe, that they would do whatever he deſired. At the ſame time they thought it prudent to releaſe Comius, whom they had thrown into priſon on his arrival in the iſland, imputing the action to the rage and clamour of popular fury.

Pleaſed with the offered ſubmiſſion, Cæſar, after reproaching them for their conduct, granted them peace on very eaſy terms, and demanded hoſtages, as a ſecurity for their peaceable behaviour for the future. How unjuſt was this reproach of the Roman general! By his own account, he was himſelf the aggreſſor; and the Britons, by oppoſing him, had done no more than what juſtice to themſelves, their country, and their poſterity required.

The Britons readily agreed to his demands. Some of the hoſtages were immediately delivered, with aſſurances, that the reſt ſhould be ſent him, as ſoon as they arrived from the remoter provinces. In the mean time they diſmiſſed their army, and in a general aſſembly of their princes, determined to recommend themſelves and their country to the clemency and protection of Cæſar.

Four days after Cæſar's landing in Britain, the tranſports he had left to bring over his cavalry, ſailed from Gaul with a gentle gale; but before they reached the Britiſh coaſt, they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which diſperſed them. Some were driven back to the coaſt of Gaul, and others to the weſtern parts of England, where finding they ſhipped a great deal of water, they were obliged, tho' the night continued tempeſtuous, to make the beſt of their way to the continent. At the ſame time, the gallies and veſſels that had tranſported Cæſar's army, ſuffered greatly. Twelve of them were totally loſt, and others ſo much ſhattered, that they were rendered unfit for ſervice.

The diſtreſs of the Romans was now beyond expreſſion. Without ſhips, and without proviſions, in a country unknown, and ſurrounded by a vigilant enemy.

The Britons, unwilling to ſubject their country to the miſeries of war, and themſelves to the chains of inſolent conqueſt, could not omit this favourable opportunity of retrieving their fortunes. They held ſeveral meetings, to conſult the proper means of effecting what they ſo earneſtly deſired. They ſaw the Romans were but few in number, but were perfectly ſenſible of their vaſt ſuperiority in war and military diſcipline; and therefore wiſely determined to avoid a general action, and apply all their attention to the cutting off their foraging parties, and intercepting their convoys. By which means they hoped to protract the war, till the inclemency of the ſeaſon ſhould complete what the ſword and famine had left unfiniſhed. In the mean time, they reſolved to withdraw from the Roman camp; and prevail upon their people to retire from the open plains; perſuaded, that the fate of the Roman army, now in Britain, would be ſufficient to deter all other nations from making any future attempts upon their country.

But the vigilance and penetration of Cæſar was not to be impoſed upon; he was perſuaded that they would conſider the misfortune which had attended his ſhips, and the want of proviſions in the Roman army, as favourable circumſtances for revolting. He did not indeed imagine that they were already preparing to ſtrike the blow; but, in order to be ready againſt all events, he took particular care to furniſh his camp with every neceſſary that could be procured from the continent, and uſed the utmoſt expedition to repair his ſhattered fleet.

In the mean time, the ſeventh legion being ſent out to forage in the adjacent country, were ſurrounded by the Britons, and would doubtleſs have been cut to pieces, had not Cæſar been apprized of their danger by the centinels, and flew to their aſſiſtance with the advanced guards, lying before the camp. On his arrival, he found that the furious attack of the Britiſh chariots had prevented his men from forming: they had, however, thrown themſelves into a compact body, hard preſſed by the darts and javelins of the enemy, who had, by this time, quitted their chariots, and were charging them on foot with the utmoſt vigour. The preſence of Cæſar, together with his reinforcement, revived the courage of the Roman ſoldiers; they attacked the Britons with the utmoſt fury, but thinking it improper, at that time, to bring on a general engagement, retreated to their camp, and the Britiſh forces returned to their woods.

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The inclemency of the weather, which, for ſome days confined the Romans to their camp, prevented either party from coming to action, and Cæſar thought proper not to permit any foragers to ravage the adjacent fields. In the mean time, the Britons having experienced by their late attack, that the Romans were not invincible, diſpatched meſſengers to every ſtate, in order to awaken in their countrymen a juſt ſenſe of their liberty, and a ſpirit of revenge. They repreſented that the Romans were but few, and greatly dejected; adding, that now they had an opportunity of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of their enemies, and delivering their country from the miſeries of future invaſions. Theſe remonſtrances had the deſired effect: the Britons aſſembled in prodigious numbers from all quarters, formed a very numerous army, and marched immediately to attack the Roman entrenchments.

Cæſar perceiving their intention, drew out his legions in a line before his camp, where he received the attack of his undiſciplined foes, with ſuch firmneſs and intrepidity, that they fell into diſorder; a circumſtance that could not eſcape the piercing eye of Cæſar, who immediately charged the Britons with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to ſeek their ſafety in flight, and leave the field of battle to the conquerors.

Diſheartened by a ſecond defeat, the Britons once more applied to the invader of their country for peace. Cæſar, who found it abſolutely neceſſary to return to the continent, liſtened very readily to their requeſt, and ordering a double number of hoſtages to be ſent after him to Gaul, embarked about midnight, and ſailed from the iſland.

The Britons, whoſe fears ſubſided with the departure of the Romans, reſolved not to ſend the hoſtages demanded by Cæſar; and accordingly two only paſſed over to the continent, and theſe, perhaps, were from cities in the intereſt of Comius. This breach of the treaty furniſhed Cæſar with a plauſible pretence for undertaking a ſecond expedition. Accordingly, as ſoon as he had placed his troops in winter quarters, he gave orders for repairing ſuch of his ſhips as were damaged by the late ſtorms, and for building others on a new conſtruction, better adapted to the uſe of tranſporting his legions and cavalry, and at the ſame time drawing leſs water. In a word, they were no other than flat bottomed boats, managed with oars, conveniently adapted to the deſign of landing upon that ſhallow coaſt, where he meditated a ſecond deſcent.

While the Romans were thus buſily employed in making preparations for an invaſion, the Britons, who received ſufficient intelligence of their deſign, were not idle. They convened a general aſſembly of the ſtates, in order to unite their different forces under one chief, choſen from among their generals, as the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſon for military accompliſhments. It is not improbable, that the intrigues of Comius, added to the influence of the Romans, created, at this meeting, a diſpute between the princes of the Caſſi and Trinobantes, with regard to the perſon who ſhould be choſen for this eminent ſtation. The former were commanded by Caſſivelanus, or Caſſibelan; and the latter by Immanuentius, both diſtinguiſhed for their military talents and experience. Caſſibelan was, however choſen, but Immanuentius fell in the ſtruggle, and his ſon Mandrubatius, to eſcape the fate of his father, fled to Cæſar, and putting himſelf under his protection, ſacrificed to his reſentment the intereſt of his country.

Cæſar now prepared for his ſecond expedition, his ſhips being repaired, and ſix hundred flat-bottomed boats, and twenty-eight gallies entirely finiſhed. On board this fleet, which rendezvouſed at Vitſand, not more than thirty miles from the Britiſh ſhore, Cæſar embarked his legions and cavalry; and about ſun-ſet, ſailed with a gentle ſoutherly wind; and about noon the next day, the whole fleet lay off the ſame part of the Britiſh coaſt, where he made his firſt deſcent. His army now conſiſted of five legions of foot, and two thouſand horſe.

A ſcene very different from what the Romans beheld at their firſt invaſion now preſented itſelf: the ſhore, which was then crowded with people, armed to oppoſe their landing, was now deſerted. The Britons, who had drawn together a large body of forces to diſpute the enemy's landing, were terrified at beholding the ſea covered with ſhips, and imagining Cæſar's military forces much more numerous than they really were, thought it moſt adviſeable to retire into the woods, and let the Romans land without oppoſition.

As ſoon as the landing was completed, Cæſar marked out a place, which ſeems to have been upon Barham-downs, for an encampment; and having learned the place where the Britons were poſted, ſet out about midnight with the main body of his army in queſt of the enemy, leaving five thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, under the command of Q. Atrius to guard his fleet. After marching twelve miles towards the north, he diſcovered the Britiſh army, encamped upon an eminence, having a river in their front, and a wood in their rear. As the Romans advanced, the Britons prepared to diſpute their paſſage over the river, and at firſt oppoſed them with their chariots; but the Roman horſe charging them with great vigour, they retreated into the wood, the entrance of which was barracaded with a great number of trees, felled for that purpoſe; and both nature and labour had conſpired to render it a ſtrong, though barbarous fortification. Here the Britons, for ſome time, withſtood all the efforts of the Romans; but at laſt, the ſeventh legion took the place by ſtorm, and drove the Britons into the thickeſt parts of the woods, whither Cæſar would not permit his ſoldiers to follow them, as they were ſtrangers to the country, and, at the ſame time, thought it neceſſary to fortify his own camp before night.

As ſoon as the morning appeared, he divided his army into three bodies, and ſent them to harraſs the enemy in their retreat. But the laſt of theſe detachments was hardly out of ſight, when Cæſar received an account from Q. Atrius, that, during the night, a violent ſtorm had thrown ſeveral of his ſhips on ſhore upon the beach, deſtroyed their rigging, and done great damage to the whole fleet. On this information, Cæſar countermanded the march of his troops, and returning to his fleet, was himſelf an eye-witneſs of the ravage made by the ſtorm. Forty of his veſſels were entirely loſt, and the reſt ſo much damaged, as to be unfit for the ſea till thoroughly repaired. He immediately ordered all the carpenters in his army to work, and ſent to the continent for a freſh ſupply. And, to prevent the like misfortunes for the future, he ordered the ſhips to be drawn on ſhore, and incloſed by the fortifications of his

his camp. The whole was completed in ten days, when Cæſar again put his army in motion, and returned to his former ſtation.

In the mean time, the Britons had made the beſt uſe of this interval, in rallying their forces, and aſſembling freſh troops; by which means they had formed a very numerous army, under the command of Caſſibelan, and taken poſſeſſion of the ſame poſt in the wood from whence they had been before diſlodged.

During their march, the Romans were often greatly harraſſed by the bodies of horſe and charioteers, detatched by Caſſibelan for that purpoſe. They were indeed always defeated; but the purpoſe of the general was in ſome meaſure anſwered, as the Romans alſo loſt many men in theſe attacks. In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes, the Romans, after making a very conſiderable ſlaughter of the enemy, followed them too far into the thicket, where they were attacked on every ſide, and obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. Fluſhed with this advantage, they ruſhed ſuddenly out of the wood, and fell, with the utmoſt fury, on the advanced guard of the Romans, while the reſt were employed in fortifying their camp. Cæſar immediately ſent a conſiderable detachment to ſuſtain his men, who were put into great confuſion, by what was to them a new method of fighting, and leaving intervals to avoid the chariots, gave the Britons an opportunity of eſcaping, who boldly charged through them before the ranks were cloſed, killed the tribune Quintus Liberius Durus, and ſecured their retreat to the thicket from whence they had ſallied.

The next day, the Romans perceived a remarkable abatement in the vigour of the Britons. They did not now ſpring forward to the charge, or drive their chariots among the cavalry with that fury as before. They appeared in ſcattered parties on the adjacent hill, but without coming to action. About noon Cæſar ſent out three legions and all his horſe, amounting in the whole to about twenty thouſand men, to forage, under the command of his lieutenant Trebonius. This formidable detachment was however, ſoon attacked by the Britons. They fell with great fury upon the horſe, and even penetrated to the enſigns and the legions; but the Romans had learned, from experience, to ſupport their horſe with their infantry, and the Britons being attacked by a compacted body, were entirely routed. This defeat deſtroyed the Britiſh army; the Belgic Britons were deſerted by their auxiliaries, and never after engaged the Romans in a pitched battle. Caſſibelan now found that it was in vain to oppoſe the Romans any longer, and therefore prudently left the army, and retired to his own territories.

Informed of this ſeparation, Cæſar reſolved to purſue him, and accordingly advanced with his army to the banks of the Thames, with an intention of paſſing it where it was fordable. But found, on his arrival, that Caſſibelan, informed of his deſign, had taken every prudent precaution in his power to render it abortive. He had lined the oppoſite bank with a large body of troops, fortified it with palliſadoes, and driven, into the bed of the river, a great number of ſharp ſtakes, whoſe tops were covered with the water. But the Romans were not to be intimidated by dangers, nor ſtopped by difficulties. Their cavalry firſt entered the river, and were immediately followed by the infantry; who, tho' obliged to wade up to their chins in water, croſſed the Thames with ſuch expedition, and charged the Britons with ſo much vigour, that being unable to ſupport the attack, they quitted the banks of the river, and betook themſelves to flight.

Caſſibelan now found it was in vain to reſiſt the fortune of Rome, tho[illegible]h he ſtill determined to act with ſpirit, blended with caution. He retained about four thouſand of his chariots, and diſmiſſed his other forces. With theſe he harraſſed the Romans, cut off their ſtraggling and detached parties: watched the march of the main body, gave them frequent alarms, and ordered his people to drive their cattle from the fields through which he knew the Romans muſt paſs in their rout; that the enemy might find it impoſſible to ſubſiſt upon the ravages of his country. This conduct rendered Cæſar very cautious how he advanced, keeping his men together as much as poſſible; at the ſame time laying waſte the country with fire and ſword. Caſſibelan now retired to his capital for ſafety, having been deſerted by all his allies. His capital, ſuppoſed to have been Verulamium, near St. Albans, conſiſted of a number of huts and hovels erected in the middle of a wood ſurrounded by a trench. To this town, as the Britons then termed ſuch places, Cæſar advanced with his legions, aſſaulted it in two different quarters, and carried it after a ſhort reſiſtance, in which many were killed, and a large booty of cattle taken.

Caſſibelan, like a brave man, who ſcorns to be ſubdued by misfortunes, conceived, in the midſt of his diſtreſſes, a ſtratagem, which, had it ſucceeded, muſt have greatly diſtreſſed, if not abſolutely ruined the invaders of his country. Cæſar, as we have already obſerved, left his navy in his camp, and was now with the main body of the army upwards of eighty miles diſtant. Caſſibelan thought a favourable opportunity now offered for deſtroying the whole fleet of the Romans. Accordingly, as general of the confederates, he ſent orders to Cingetorix, Cornilius, Taximagalus, and Segonax, four Kentiſh princes who ſtill remained faithful, to draw all their forces together with the utmoſt expedition, and ſtorm the naval intrenchments of the enemy. But this ſervice was attended with more difficulty than Caſſibelan imagined. The fortifications thrown up by Cæſar were more than ſufficient to render every attempt of the Britons abortive. The Kentiſh princes, however, obeyed the orders of Caſſibelan, aſſaulted the Roman camp, but were ſoon repulſed, and Cingetorix, the commander in chief, was taken priſoner.

Caſſibelan was now reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the conqueror. Accordingly, he ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar, and the treaty was ſoon after concluded between them.

Cæſar, having thus finiſhed the campaign, marched back to his ſhips, and ſailed to the continent, carrying with him ſeveral hoſtages, as ſecurities for the Britons faithful performance of the ſeveral articles of the treaty. On his return to Rome, he offered a corſlet of Britiſh pearls to Venus, together with a large train of captives, who were afterwards employed about the ſcenes and tapeſtry of the theatre, on which the Britiſh atchievements were repreſented.

Very few tranſactions that happened in Britain for many years after the departure of Julius Cæſar are recorded. We are, however, informed that Caſſibelan died about ſeven years after, and was buried at

at York. It is added, that he was ſucceeded by Tenuantius, the brother of Androgeus, a perſon of a martial diſpoſition, and a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice. On his demiſe, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Cymbeline, or Cunobeline, who was educated at Rome by Auguſtus Cæſar, kept up a friendly correſpondence with the Romans, and coined money in order to pay the tribute. The Britons now began to love the Roman arts; their frequent treaties with Auguſtus, had given them ſome idea of the power and policy of Rome; and ſeveral ambaſſadors from the Britiſh princes conſecrated in the capitol votive preſents, in the name of their maſters.

The induſtry of the Britons had now opened a large branch of commerce with Gaul, which was immediately ſubject to Auguſtus; he therefore impoſed certain duties upon thoſe commodities, which were either imported from Gaul to Britain, or exported from thence to Gaul. The Britons readily ſubmitted to pay theſe duties, thinking no expence too dear for their liberty. By this means they kept their country free from a governor, while it became every day more poliſhed and more acceſſible to the allies of Rome. Auguſtus was not, however, free from diſquietudes at this independency of the Britons, and accordingly made preparations more than once for invading their country. But the reſort of the Britons to his court, the impoſts and duties they ſubmitted to pay, were conſidered as ſo many marks of their ſubjection; and he himſelf conſidered the iſland of ſo little importance, and the difficulty of reducing it ſo hard to be ſurmounted, that Britain was not included within the bounds he had given to the Roman empire, in a paper he left with his ſucceſſor Tiberius, who conſidered it as his political teſtament, admitting of no variation.

A. D. 8. Tiberius religiouſly followed the conduct of his predeceſſor, in making no attempt upon the iſland. The Britons indeed deſerved his friendſhip, for, ſome of the ſoldiers of Germanicus, being ſhip-wrecked on the Engliſh coaſt, they were not only received with the greateſt humanity by the natives, but ſent back in ſafety to their general. Tiberius, who would have conſidered this act of humanity as a duty in others, looked upon it as a virtue in the Britons. In conſequence of ſuch friendly diſpoſitions, a conſtant intercourſe took place between the two nations; the principal nobility reſorted to Rome, and ſeveral of their youth were educated in that city.

Cunobeline, who had long reigned in Britain, and rendered both himſelf and the nation happy by his wiſdom, courage, and public virtues, found the latter part of his reign diſturbed by a domeſtic misfortune, which became dangerous to his own peace, and that of his country. Adminius, his eldeſt ſon, behaved ſo ill, that his father thought proper to baniſh him from the iſland. The prince, with a handful of men, fled to Caligula, who then filled the imperial throne, and was at that time advancing into Gaul

A. D. 16. Caligula, who was remarkable for his vanity, inconſtancy, and cruelty, received the application of Adminius with the greateſt marks of ſatisfaction, and ſent his letters to the Roman ſenate, ordering the meſſengers to drive their chariots into the forum, and deliver their letters in the Temple of Mars. This ridiculous commiſſion was followed by a ridiculous parade of military madneſs. He ordered ſome German priſoners to be lodged in a wood, and to give an alarm to the army, as if an enemy was at hand: then facing about, he advanced againſt the priſoners, bound them in chains, and exhibited them as captives taken in the conflict. He then marched his army to Boulogne, on the coaſt of Gaul, where he commanded his ſoldiers to fill their helmets with ſhells, which he called the ſpoils of the ocean: theſe he ſent to Rome as trophies of real conqueſt; and, in order to perpetuate the memory of this ridiculous expedition, Caligula built a watch-tower on the ſtrand, on the top of which a light was fixed for the benefit of mariners frequenting thoſe ſeas. This ſtructure was afterwards repaired by Charlemagne, and ſtill continues a noble monument of Roman antiquity.

Cunobeline, who did not long out-live Caligula, was ſucceeded in the throne by his two ſons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, who, in the very beginning of their reign, refuſed to pay any tribute to the Romans, becauſe they had refuſed to deliver up ſeveral traitors, who had fled thither for refuge. One of theſe miſcreants, named Beric, ſuppoſed to be one of the chiefs of the Dobuni, is thought to have been the chief inſtrument in exciting Claudius to make a conqueſt of Britain. He painted the ſtate of that iſland in ſuch colours, as preſented a flattering proſpect of glory and power, and which might be acquired with very little difficulty, and almoſt without danger.

While the traitor was thus ſoliciting the deſtruction of his country, ambaſſadors arrived from the Britiſh court, to demand the fugitives already mentioned: this demand was denied, and the ambaſſadors were treated with great indignity, which ſo enraged the Britons, that they even refuſed to pay the impoſts and duties laid on the commodities exported to Gaul. The ridiculous expedition of Caligula, had inſpired them with a high opinion of their own power. They imagined that the Romans were really afraid to croſs the ocean; and imputed that miſcarriage to fear, which was occaſioned by the timidity of the commander. At the ſame time, they knew that Claudius was as indolent as Tiberius, and as cowardly as Caligula, without reflecting, that prudent counſellors might ſupply the want of abilities in the prince, and able generals his deficiency of military acquirements.

This behaviour of the Britons gave the emperor a plauſible pretence for beginning hoſtilities; and accordingly Aulus Plautius, a citizen of great reputation and virtue, was appointed commander of the army deſtined to attack the Britons. But notwithſtanding the reputation Plautius had already acquired, his army, on arriving at the ſea-ſhore, expreſſed ſo ſtrong an averſion to an expedition, in what they called another world, that the embarkation was delayed, leſt a mutiny ſhould be the conſequence. Claudius informed of this, ſent Narciſſus, a creature of his own, bred up in all the idle effeminacy of a court, to prevail upon the ſoldiers to obey the orders of the emperor. But this miniſter, though armed with the authority of the emperor, was deſtitute of power. The ſoldiers ſaw, with indignation, the tribunal, hitherto ſacred to generals, who had ſhared with them the dangers and fatigues of war, filled with a mean ſycophant, at once deſtitute of both honour and virtue. This incident might have been attended with conſequences fatal to the intereſt of Rome, had not the ſoldiers, by a generous turn of mind, immediately determined to obey the commands of an approved general, though they diſ-

dained to liſten to the harangue of an imperial favourite. Their courage triumphed over their reluctance; and Plautius embraced the lucky opportunity to haſten the embarkation, that they might have no leiſure for reflection.

A. D. 43. In the mean time, the Britons, inſtead of uniting their forces to oppoſe the landing of the Roman army, were divided by domeſtic quarrels, which had then riſen to the greateſt height; ſo that Plautius landed without the leaſt oppoſition. The Belgic Britons had retreated into the woods and inacceſſible moraſſes, to avoid an enemy they were unwilling to irritate, and with whom they were not prepared to engage; ſo that Plautius paſſed unmoleſted thro' Kent, a country left ſolitary and defenceleſs, by the ſame rout which Julius Cæſar had before taken; then coaſting along the banks of the Thames, he paſſed that river at Wallingford, and entered the territories of the Dobuni, then under the command of Togodumnus.

Plautius ſpent ſome time in ſeeking the enemy, whoſe ſafety conſiſted in their union; but whether from a miſtaken policy, or mutual jealouſy, he met with them in different bodies, and by ſeparate defeats, effected univerſal ſubjection. Togodumnus was firſt routed, and Caractacus ſoon after ſhared the fate of his brother. The country of the Dobuni being now reduced, and garriſoned by the Romans, Plautius advanced againſt the Britons, who lay careleſsly encamped on the other ſide of a river, probably the Severn, which they thought unpaſſable. But Plautius had, in his army, a body of German ſoldiers, who were accuſtomed to ſwim in their armour, over the moſt rapid ſtreams. Theſe he ordered to attack the enemy, which they did with amazing intrepidity, and killed a great number of horſes, which drew the Britiſh chariots, ſo terrible to the Roman army. But as the Germans were not able of themſelves to encounter the whole Britiſh army, Flavius Veſpaſian and his brother Sabinus, were diſpatched with a body of Roman forces to aſſiſt them; and on their appearance the Britons retreated.

This action was, however, far from being deciſive; the Britons returned the next day, when a general engagement enſued. Deſpair, on this occaſion, ſeems to have animated the Britiſh troops; the Roman diſcipline was broken by their efforts, and Veſpaſian himſelf muſt either have loſt his life or his liberty, had he not been reſcued by the piety of his ſon. At the ſame time, C. Sidius Geta, another general officer, who was thought to have been taken priſoner, found means to diſengage himſelf and his party from the enemy, and improving the opportunity of the tumultuous ſecurity into which the proſpect of victory had thrown the Britons, charged them afreſh with the utmoſt impetuoſity. This diverſion giving the Romans time to recover themſelves, they wreſted the victory from the hands of the Britons, and forced them to retreat. Geta, tho' only ſubordinate in command, had triumphal honours decreed on him at Rome, for this ſignal ſervice done to his country.

Caractacus, though defeated, was not ſubdued. He retired to the banks of the Thames, and being well acquainted with that river, paſſed the ſtream near Greenwich, the loweſt place where it is fordable, and encamped in the marſhes on the other ſide of the river. Plautius followed the Britons at ſome diſtance, and coming to the banks of the Thames, his German troops ſwam over as before, while the Romans paſſed the ſtream by means of a bridge, erected at ſome diſtance above the ford, and ſurrounded the Britons. A ſecond engagement immediately enſued, in which Togodumnus was ſlain, the Britons routed with prodigious ſlaughter, and repaſſed the Thames in the utmoſt confuſion. The Britiſh ſpirit was not, however, yet conquered. Caractacus rallied the ſcattered remains of his army, and encamped on the banks of a river, oppoſite to the army of Plautius, near the coaſt, oppoſite to Gaul.

The Roman general now evidently declined an engagement, which the Britons imputed to fear, but they were miſtaken: the inactivity of Plautius was not the conſequence of either timidity or caution. He waited for the arrival of the emperor; and, from a nobleneſs of ſoul, not common in a general, was deſirous of crowning his imperial maſter with the laurel of conqueſt. He had diſpatched letters to the emperor, informing him of his ſucceſs, and requeſting his preſence, that the honour of ſubduing Britain might be his own.

Claudius, on receiving the letters of Plautius, immediately transferred the civil government to Vitellus, whom he had aſſociated with himſelf in the conſulſhip, and embarked at Actium for Marſeilles; from thence he repaired by land to Boulogne, where he took ſhipping for Britain, and landed ſafely at Sandwich, with a powerful army: and as ſoon as his troops were refreſhed, he marched at the head of his legions to the camp of Plautius.

This junction of the Roman forces compoſed a more powerful army than the Britons had ever yet ſeen; and their own diviſions hindered them from making the ſame oppoſition their predeceſſors had done under the brave Caſſibelan. At the ſame time, they forgot the wiſe maxims of that able commander, and were weak enough to imagine, their own power, in the open field, was a match for that of the Roman empire.

Claudius now took upon him the command of the army, and paſſed the Thames in the face of the Britons, who bravely diſputed the paſſage. Hence the emperor advanced into the country of the Trinobantes, and took Camelodunum, now Malden in Eſſex, the capital of Cunobeline. This ſucceſs ſtruck ſuch a terror into the neighbouring ſtates, that many of the Belgic colonies ſubmitted. The ancient inhabitants, indeed, could not be perſuaded to part ſo eaſily with their liberty; the brave Caractacus ſtill kept the field, at the head of the Caſſivellauni, hoping that the Romans muſt retire at the approach of winter.

Claudius now gave orders for ſettling a military colony at Camelodunum, which was accordingly done, and that part of the iſland reduced to a Roman province. The ſettling of colonies was found the beſt method of ſubduing thoſe countries where the Romans had gained footing by their arms, as it diſſeminated their arts, their language, and their manners, among the people.

The campaign of Claudius in Britain, laſted only ſixteen days, when he quitted the iſland, returned to Gaul, and after ſix months abſence, entered Rome to receive the fruits of his toils and expences, which, indeed, greatly exceeded all the advantages he had acquired. But the conqueſt of any part of Britain, was thought of ſuch importance, that no honours, in the power of Rome to beſtow, were conſidered

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as too great for the conqueror. Accordingly triumphal arches were erected, upon his entering Geſſoriacum, in his way to Rome, where anniverſary games, with a ſplendid, rather than a glorious triumph, were decreed by the ſenate. The vanity of Claudius, not contented with the citizens of Rome being the only ſpectators of this ſolemn pomp; the preſence of the governors of provinces, and even that of exiles, was diſpenſed with, nay deſired upon this occaſion. A naval crown was fixed upon the imperial palace, as an emblem of his having eſcaped the dangers of the ocean, and his dominion over the ſeas of Britain. The provinces vied with each other in acknowledgments of his ſucceſs; Gallia Comata preſented him with a crown of gold, weighing nine pounds, and the hither Spain with that of ſeven. His two ſons-in-law, Pompeius and Silanus, whom he had ſent to acquaint the ſenate with his victory, ſupported him on either ſide, while he aſcended to the capital on his knees, the better to expreſs the fervour of his devotion for this mighty conqueſt. His conſort Meſſelina was, by the ſenate, aſſigned the firſt ſeat next to himſelf; and a triumphal car was alſo decreed her. In ſhort, Claudius carried the rejoicings on this occaſion to an extravagance of gratitude, both to the gods and to the noble Romans, who had aſſiſted him perſonally in this expedition; for he beſtowed upon thoſe who were ſenators, but without conſular authority, triumphal ornaments; and to crown all his honours, the ſenate decreed to himſelf and his family, the ſurname of Britannicus.

When Claudius left the iſland, he reſigned the management of the war, and the care of the new province to Plautius, who diſcharged his truſt with fidelity and ſucceſs. He divided the army into two corps; one of which he commanded in perſon, and placed Flavius Veſpaſian at the head of the other. The latter was employed againſt the Belgic colonies, while the former oppoſed the original and warlike iſlanders, who inhabited the more inland parts of the iſland.

A. D. 49. The conqueſts of Veſpaſian were very rapid, and acquired with very little difficulty. The Belgic colonies being inhabited by traders, whoſe intereſt prompted them to peace, and even to an union with the Roman empire, followed the example of their countrymen, and ſubmitted as readily to Veſpaſian, as they had done before to Claudius. He found more difficulty in reducing the inhabitants of Wilts, Dorſet, and Somerſetſhire, where inacceſſible hills, and prodigious moraſſes, afforded them abundant opportunities of ſurprizing any commander leſs cautious than Veſpaſian. But that general, who was remarkably careful of his forces, though brave and intrepid in the greateſt dangers, found means of ſubduing them entirely; and after reducing their country, governed them by ſuch wiſe regulations, that they never attempted to revolt; they even furniſhed the Romans with ſoldiers, to ſubue the more northern inhabitants. After thus ſettling the country his arms had reduced, he returned to Rome, where the ſenate decreed him the honour of a triumph; and he was made conſul, an honour which he enjoyed the two laſt months of the year.

Plautius had greater difficulties to encounter. He was oppoſed by the ancient Britons, under the command of Caractacus, a prince of uncommon abilities, endued with the moſt undaunted courage, and the moſt invincible fortitude: he had a natural talent for war, and had acquired, by long experience, ſuch a degree of military knowledge, as could never have been expected in one of his country: he was nurſed in the lap of adverſity, patient under misfortunes, rigorous in his meaſures, which were always judicious: he never undertook any action without ſecuring ſome advantage, and ſo fruitful in expedients, that he was generally ready for a ſecond engagement the day after he had ſuffered a defeat. At the ſame time, he was too ſenſible of the ſuperiority of the Romans over the Britons, in arms and military diſcipline, and therefore always endeavoured to avoid a general engagement; but never miſſed any opportunity that offered of ſurpriſing them: he watched every motion with the greateſt attention, and was continually haraſſing them with ſkirmiſhes, and cutting off their convoys and ſtraggling parties. By purſuing theſe meaſures, he reſiſted, at the head of the Caſſivellauni alone, the whole power of the Romans in Britain. It was impoſſible for Plautius to make any great progreſs againſt ſo vigilant an enemy. He, however, reduced the inhabitants of the counties of Glouceſter, Oxford, Middleſex and Eſſex: he alſo reduced Hertfordſhire, and carried his arms into the lower parts of the counties of Bedford and Northampton; but finding the taſk too difficult to accompliſh, he repaired to Rome, where he was decreed an ovation by the ſenate, and the emperor himſelf rode on his left hand both to and from the capital.

Plautius was ſucceeded in his command by P. Oſtorius Scapula, who found, on his arrival, the Roman affairs in great diſorder. The Britons, either preſuming upon the diſtractions of the government at Rome, or fond of recovering their original independency, were continually haraſſing the Romans and their allies: Caractacus had gained ſeveral advantages, and recovered great part of his territories.

A. D. 50. The preſence of Oſtorius, though an active and experienced general, was far from checking the incurſions of the Britons. They imagined that his unacquaintance with the ſtate of the Roman army, and his ignorance of the country, would prevent his taking the field the beginning of winter, and therefore afford them an opportunity of continuing their inroads with impunity, and profit to themſelves. But in this they were fatally miſtaken. Oſtorius, ſenſible of the great advantage reſulting from an early reputation in his military command, collected ſuch troops as lay neareſt the places haraſſed by the Britons, advanced againſt the invaders, put them to flight, and purſued his advantage in ſo effectual a manner, that they were incapable of rallying or uniting, and finding, both from reaſon and experience, that an enemy like the Britons, could be kept no longer in ſubjection, than while they were deſtitute of the means of reſiſtance, he diſarmed all he ſuſpected, and poſted his troops in the moſt advantageous manner, between the Avon and the Severn.

Convinced that the Romans intended to keep them in perpetual ſubjection, the Britons took a general alarm. The Iceni, a powerful nation, hitherto unbroken by the Roman arms, and who lay neareſt to the poſt where Oſtorius had encamped his army, firſt took arms. They had formerly courted the friendſhip of Rome, and conſequently their example heightened the apprehenſions of the neighbouring ſtates, who now began to dread the moſt terrible conſequences, from ſeeing even the friends of the

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Romans forſake their cauſe. The confederacy became general; a place was appointed for a rendezvous, and a commodious ſpot marked out for a camp. It was encompaſſed by a rampart of earth, and acceſſible only by one narrow path, which would not admit of the approach of cavalry.

Oſtorius, though not yet joined by the flower of his legions, advanced at the head of the aſſociated troops, aſſigned the cohorts their proper ſtation, and made a proper diſpoſition of the cavalry he had with him, for attacking the fortified camp of the Britons. The ſignal was given, and the entrenchment attacked with ſuch fury, that the Britons were forced to abandon the unequal conteſt. The Romans became maſter of the camp, and obtained a complete victory. This defeat determined the fate of the Iceni, and their ſubjection fixed the fidelity of thoſe ſtates, which before fluctuated between the fear of the Roman power, and the hopes of recovered liberty.

Having obtained this victory, Oſtorius marched to the northward againſt the Cangi, then in arms; but, convinced by experience, how unequal they were to engage the Romans in a pitched battle, they adopted the policy of their anceſtors under Caſſibelan, and embraced every opportunity of ſurpriſing the advanced poſts, and ſtraggling parties of the enemy. Oſtorius, however, purſued his march with great ſucceſs, till he was recalled by a confederacy, formed among the Brigantes in Yorkſhire.

A.D. 15. He was now convinced, that it was as neceſſary to ſecure what he had gained as to make conqueſts; and therefore determined not to attempt any new advantage, till he provided for the ſecurity of the old. In purſuance of this reſolution, he built a chain of forts along the river Avon, and on the banks of the Severn. He alſo took all the precautions in his power to prevent his forces from being ſurprized, by an enemy always reſtleſs and enterprizing.

Having made theſe diſpoſitions, he marched againſt the Brigantes, who had, in the mean time, been joined by the Silures, a people, whoſe high ſpirit of liberty had never yet been conquered by the arms of Rome. The famous Caractacus was at the head of theſe troops; and being inferior to the Romans in force, he endeavoured to ſupply that diſadvantage by a cautious conduct, and a proper diſpoſition of his poſts. For this purpoſe, he tranſferred the ſeat of the war into the country of the Ordovices, probably becauſe it was at once more inacceſſible to the Roman arms, and lay more contiguous for the diſaffected Britons to join his forces. Here he poſted his army in a very advantageous ſituation, and determined to ſubmit the cauſe of his country to a deciſive engagement.

His camp was pitched upon a lofty mountain, the moſt acceſſible part of which was fortified with a rampart of looſe ſtones; the foot of it waſhed by a river not eaſily forded, and defended by a body of choice troops.

As ſoon as Oſtorius, at the head of the Roman army appeared, Caractacus drew up his army according to their different clans or tribes, placing at the head of each their native chief. Then viſiting each rank in perſon, he urged to the leader of each reſpective tribe, every motive ariſing from ſhame, reſolution, hope, or deſpair; no incentive, that has any tendency to determine the doubtful, or fire the brave, was omitted on this occaſion. He told them this was the important day, this the deciſive field, that was to fix their doom in a ſtate of recovered liberty, or eternal bondage. He invoked the glorious ſhades of their anceſtors, who had defeated the attempts of the great dictator of the Romans; their anceſtors, whoſe virtues had preſerved their liberties from tyrannical uſurpation, and their families unviolated by the luſt of the Romans. An univerſal ſhout of applauſe teſtified how agreeable his ſentiments were to the army; and each tribe bound itſelf by the moſt ſolemn rites of their ſuperſtitious worſhip, never to ſubmit to the Roman arms.

Startled at the alacrity ſhewn by the enemy to engage, and ſenſible of the difficulties his ſoldiers had to ſurmount, Oſtorius ſeemed averſe to begin the attack. The interpoſing river, the additional rampart, the hanging crags, and the high embattled ranks of the enemy, preſented a gloomy ſcene: but the aſſailants were Romans; difficulty augmented their courage, and glory rendered them impatient for action.

Oſtorius, who well knew the effects of reſtrained impatience, would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to begin the arduous conflict, till he had carefully ſurveyed every paſs where an attack ſeemed practicable, and then led them to the charge. The river was eaſily paſſed, but the great difficulty lay in forcing the ramparts. Here many a Roman met his fate from the javelins of the Britons; but at laſt the Roman diſcipline prevailed; the ramparts, compoſed of looſe uncemented ſtones, were thrown down, and the Romans poured, like a torrent, into the enemies camp. Both armies now came to a cloſe engagement, but the fight was unequal. The Britons, unprovided with helmets, ſhields, or coats of mail, were unable to reſiſt the attack of an enemy covered with armour. They retired towards the heights of the mountains; but nothing could reſtrain the Roman ardour; both the light and the heavy armed ſoldier followed in the purſuit: death on every ſide, and in every ſhape, preſented itſelf to the Britons; they met it every where from the darts and ſwords of the Romans, or from the pikes and ſpears of the auxiliaries. The victory was complete, glorious to Rome, and fatal to the Britons. The wife, daughters, and brothers of the unfortunate Caractacus, among other priſoners of birth and fortune, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Caractacus himſelf, indeed, eſcaped, but it was only to add a poignancy to his misfortunes, by feeling the additional weight of treachery in diſtreſs. He fled for protection to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes; but inſtead of affording him the aſſiſtance he expected, ſhe treacherouſly ſeized his perſon, and delivered him into the hands of the Romans, who ſent him and his family in chains to Rome.

Claudius, proud of the conqueſt, ſummoned all Rome to behold a man who had, for ſo many years, checked the flight of the Roman eagles. The prætorian guards were drawn out under arms, to grace the ſolemnity; and the whole city crouded to be ſpectators of ſo unuſual a ſcene. The proceſſion began with the ſervants of the prince, and an exhibition of the military ſpoils and trophies taken in the wars with the Britons. Next followed the brothers of Caractacus, his wife and daughters, who demonſtrated by their tears, that their ſpirits were as mean, as their preſent condition was ſervile. The behaviour of Caractacus himſelf was very different; he marched on with a noble firmneſs, without betraying deſpon-

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

Caractacus betrayed into the Hands of the Romans by
CARTISMANDUA

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deſpondency, or imploring pity from his conquerors, either by geſtures or tears. At his approaching the imperial tribunal, where the emperor was ſeated, he addreſſed himſelf to Claudius in the following manner:

"Had my moderation in proſperity been ade-
"quate to my family and fortune, I had entered
"this city rather as a friend than a captive; nor
"would you, Sir, have diſdained the alliance of a
"prince, the chief of many nations, and deſcended
"from illuſtrious anceſtors. My preſent diſhonour-
"able condition is glorious to you. I was maſter
"of horſes, men, arms, and riches; and therefore
"unwilling to loſe them. If your ambition be uni-
"verſal, ſurely all mankind are not obliged to ſub-
"mit to the yoke. Had I been ſooner betrayed,
"neither I had been diſtinguiſhed by misfortunes,
"nor you by glory; and had I fallen in battle, obli-
"vion had been the immediate conſequence of my
"fate. Puniſh me with death, and I ſhall ſoon be
"forgotten. Suffer me to live, and I ſhall remain
"an eternal monument of your clemency."

It is no wonder, that ſo ſpirited a ſpeech, delivered by ſo noble a captive, affected the whole audience. It made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the mind of Claudius, that he ordered the chains of Caractacus and his family to be taken off; and the famous Agrippina, who was more than an equal aſſociate in the empire, received the captive Britons with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and compaſſion, and at the ſame time confirmed to them the enjoyment of their liberty.

Oſtorious, for this victory over Caractacus, was decreed the honours of a triumph; but it proved the period of his good fortune. Whether the Romans, after obtaining this remarkable victory, relaxed the nerves of their military virtue; or the Britons collecting all their ſpirit of reſentment and indignation for the loſs of their hero, acted with more reſolution than before, is uncertain; but they gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy. They fell upon the præfect and his legionary cohorts, left in garriſon to bridle the Silures, and would have cut them to pieces, had not a reinforcement fortunately arrived from the neighbouring forts and villages; though this did not happen before the præfect, with eight centurions, and a great many ſoldiers were ſlain. Nor did the revenge of the Britons ſtop here, they attacked a foraging party, and routed it, together with ſome ſquadrons ſent to its ſupport.

Animated with theſe ſucceſſes, they were purſuing their advantages, when Oſtorious ſent out his cohorts to ſtop their progreſs; but the Britons ſtill continuing to bear down all before them, he was, at laſt, obliged to bring up the whole force of his legions. Nor did even this ſuperiority daunt the Britiſh courage; they maintained the battle till night, and then retired with very little loſs.

This engagement was followed by innumerable ſkirmiſhes, fought with various ſucceſs, in which the Silures remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves. A raſh word, it ſeems, had imprudently dropped from the mouth of the proprætor, which had raiſed in their minds an implacable reſentment. He had ſaid that the Britons would never be quiet, till the Silures were either extirminated, or tranſported to another country. Skirmiſhes now became frequent and univerſal all over the face of the country; in wood-lands or fens, as chance or choice, temerity or precaution, reſentment or avarice directed; ſometimes with, ſometimes without the orders of their reſpective leaders.

The Romans, indeed, had been guilty of ſome exceſſes, equally contrary to the ſentiments of humanity, and the laws of a well-regulated policy. This conduct gave the Britiſh princes advantages they never could have obtained by their arms. Two cohorts of auxiliaries, ſent out by rapacious officers, without taking the neceſſary precautions, which all men, in their circumſtances, not blinded by avarice, would have obſerved, were cut to pieces by the Britons, while they were ravaging the country. The ſpoils of theſe two cohorts were, by the victorious Britons, diſtributed among the inhabitants of the neighbouring ſtates: and this generous conduct produced the deſired effect; it paved the way for a general revolt.

A. D. 53. So many unfavourable circumſtances could not fail of affecting Oſtorius, eſpecially as he was now bending under the weight of years, towards the grave, into which he was now preſſed by the double load of age and afflictions. The Britons conſidered this event as the happy preſage of recovered liberty; and accordingly prepared to oppoſe the power of the Romans, and, if poſſible, to drive them out of their country.

As ſoon as the news of the death of Oſtorious reached Rome, Claudius conferred on Aulius Didius Gallus, the title of proprætor, and diſpatched him immediately to take upon him the command of the troops in Britain. The general loſt no time in repairing to his government; but on his arrival, had the mortification to find, that Manlius Valens, a Roman tribune, who had taken the command, till another general ſhould arrive, had been defeated with conſiderable loſs; and that the Silures were extending their ravages into the Roman territories with great ſucceſs.

A new ſcene of action alſo was now opened in Britain. Cartiſmandua, the betrayer of Caractacus, and who governed a ſtate, independent of Venutius, her huſband, took Velocatus, a menial ſervant of Venutius, as the partner of her bed and throne. She well knew that this ſtep muſt involve her in a war with her huſband; but prompted by paſſion, and depending on the aſſiſtance of the Romans, ſhe ſacrificed her intereſt, and the peace of her country, to a depraved inclination, and her character to the gratification of a lawleſs paſſion.

She was not miſtaken in her expectations of being ſupported by the Romans; but her opinion of their power was fallacious. Thinking her allies invincible, ſhe ſet no bounds to her paſſion, ſhe openly married her minion, and even carried her reſentment againſt Venutius ſo far, as to cauſe his brother and kinſman to be put to death.

Exaſperated at the inhumanity of this action, and aſhamed of being governed by a woman, who had forfeited every privilege due to her ſex: ſhe was deſerted by the greateſt part of her ſubjects, and attacked by a numerous army, compoſed of foreigners and natives. The Romans marched to her aſſiſtance, a battle enſued, in which the Romans, with great difficulty, gained the advantage; but victory ſoon after attended the efforts of the Britons, headed by Venutius, and the Romans could do no more

than ſave the infamous Cartiſmandua from falling into the hands of her enraged huſband, while Venutius had the honour of poſſeſſing her kingdom.

A. D. 54. In the mean time Claudius expired, and left the empire to Nero, his adopted ſon; and ſoon after Didius, who was old and infirm at his coming over, fell a ſacrifice to the toils of war, and the vexations that afflicted his mind, at ſeeing the Britons triumph over an ally of Rome. Veranius, an excellent ſoldier was ſent to ſupply the place of Didius; but he alſo died before he had time ſufficient to give any proofs of his valour and abilities.

A. D. 61. On the death of Veranius, Paulinus Suetonius, eſteemed one of the moſt able generals of his time, was ſent to ſucceed him as proprætor.

But the affairs of Britain were in too dangerous a ſituation for him to think of reaping an early harveſt of glory here, eſpecially as his two former predeceſſors had received ſeveral checks while they commanded in Britain. He therefore determined to make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Angleſey, called Mona, by the Romans, then well inhabited, and the place where the Druids had fixed their principal reſidence.

Suetonius was, at that time, encamped with the principal part of his army, in North Wales, among the Ordovices, and in the country of the Cangani. Angleſey is ſeparated from North Wales, by a narrow arm of the ſea: Suetonius, therefore, cauſed flat-bottomed boats to be conſtructed for carrying over his legions, but ordered his horſe to ford the ſtream. At his landing, he found the ſhore lined with the natives to oppoſe him, and their women running about like furies with diſhevelled hair, and lighted torches in their hands. Intermixed with theſe were the Druids, with their hands lifted up to heaven, pouring forth the moſt terrible execrations. Struck with horror at this unexpected ſcene, the Roman ſoldiers, who were very ſuſceptible of ſuperſtition, ſtood for ſome time an inactive mark to the miſſiles of the enemy. But, at laſt, rouzed from their aſtoniſhment by the reproaches and exhortations of their general, and aſhamed to ſee their arms arreſted by a handful of execrating prieſts and frantic women, they fell upon the enemy and ſoon put them to flight. Senſible that the Roman poſſeſſions could never be ſecure, while religion ſupplied the place of courage, and enthuſiaſm inſpired the breaſts of its votaries with frantic deſpair, he demoliſhed all the places of idolatry in that iſland, cut down the groves ſacred to the rites of their ſuperſtitious worſhip, and burnt the Druids upon the ſame altars, they themſelves had ſo often ſtained with the blood of human ſacrifices.

In the mean time, the vices of Nero had changed the ſtate of Britain. A new government before unknown was introduced, and an imperial exchequer erected in that country. Catus Decianus, a man of the moſt deteſtable character, was ſent to reſide in the iſland as procurator or ſuperintendent of the finances. Claudius had wiſely remitted the confiſcation of the ſtates belonging to the Britons, who had rebelled againſt his power; but Catus eſtabliſhed a court of reſumption, by which he pretended to adjudge theſe eſtates to the imperial treaſury. The oppreſſed Britons in vain preſented remonſtrances againſt ſuch unlawful practices; the procurator, at once a monſter of avarice and injuſtice, was deaf to their complaints, and diſregarded their diſtreſs. So that the Britons could only hope for redreſs from their own courage and reſentment, greatly heightened by an event which happened about the ſame time.

The Iceni, whoſe country bordered on the colony of Camelodunum, had ever ſince their laſt defeat, lived under the protection of the Romans, but were governed by a prince of their own, whoſe name was Praſatagus. The friendſhip in which he lived with Rome gave him great opportunities of enriching his family. He had no ſon, and only two daughters, whom he left, at his death, under the care of their mother Boadicea, a woman of royal extraction, but of a ſpirit above either her birth or fortune. Praſatagus, in order to provide a protector for his children, who, from the natural weakneſs of the ſex, were incapable of defending themſelves againſt the rapacity of an enemy, conſtituted Nero, the Roman emperor, a coheir with his two daughters, in all his wealth and poſſeſſions; perſuaded that gratitude would induce the Romans to become the friendly guardians of his family. How often are human hopes and human expectations fallacious! This generous legacy, inſtead of exciting gratitude, proved an incentive to rapacity. The procurator, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the young princeſſes, took poſſeſſion of the whole, and the kingdom of Praſatagus became a prey to the avarice and licentiouſneſs of the Roman centurions.

Rouſed by the injuſtice done to herſelf and family, Boadicea remonſtrated againſt theſe proceedings, and complained of the injury done to her daughters, by depriving them of their inheritance. But her complaints, inſtead of reclaiming, exaſperated the bruiſh procurator. She was publicly whipped, and her daughters raviſhed by the Roman ſoldiers.

Fired with the indignity offered to the wife and daughters of their king, the Iceni, already ripe for a revolt, had recourſe to arms, and were joined by all the neighbouring Britons, who could not behold ſuch glaring examples of injuſtice and cruelty, without deteſtation.

Boadicea, who ſeems to have cheriſhed life only to obtain a ſure and ſpeedy revenge, headed the army, and painted the injuries received by herſelf and her daughters in the moſt lively colours; while the Britons, fired with a deſire of pouring deſtruction on the heads of thoſe inhuman monſters of oppreſſion, bound themſelves in the moſt ſacred manner, to revenge the injuries of their country, or periſh in the glorious attempt.

Camelodunum firſt felt the fury of the Britons. That city was carried at the firſt attack, and every Roman, who had not the good fortune to eſcape by flight, put to the ſword, and the houſes pillaged, and levelled with the ground. Boadicea now ſeverely retaliated in kind, on the Roman women, the injuries done to herſelf and her daughters. She inflicted every puniſhment, every ſpecies of torture, which human revenge is capable of inventing.

The Roman ſoldiers retired to the temple of Claudius, vainly imagining that the veneration paid to that ſtructure, would be a ſufficient defence againſt the ſwords of the Britons. But they ſhould have remembered that their general was then deſtroying the groves they conſidered as ſacred, and burning the Druids on their own altars. Accordingly, the Britons, without paying the leaſt regard to the ſanctity of the edifice, aſſaulted and took the

temple

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

Murdering the **DRUIDS** *and Burning their* **GROVES**

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temple, and put every creature in it to the ſword. The ninth legion had been left encamped by Suetonius to awe the country, under the command of Petilius Cerealis, who hearing of the ſudden misfortune that had befel his countrymen, marched to their aſſiſtance; but was met by the Britons, who cut all the foot of the legion to pieces, and obliged the commander to fly with the horſe to his fortified camp. In the mean time the infamous procurator, ſenſible that his own rapacity and injuſtice had given occaſion to the inſurrection, and his negligence ſuffered it to grow formidable, fled to Gaul, in order to avoid the vengeance of the Britons, and the hatred of his own people.

No ſooner had the news of theſe diſmal events reached the ears of Suetonius, than, leaving his conqueſt of Mona unfiniſhed, he haſtened to the relief of his countrymen. And though all the countries through which it was neceſſary for him to paſs, were in arms, marched with the moſt ſurprizing expedition to London. That city was then famous for the reſidence of merchants, and remarkable for abounding in proviſions of all kinds. But not being tenable againſt the enemy with his ſmall body of forces, he reſolved to quit the place, taking with him ſuch of the inhabitants as preferred the preſervation of their lives before the preſervation of their riches. By this means he collected an army of ten thouſand men, and having furniſhed his army with proviſions, preſſed forward with unwearied activity, fully determined to take the earlieſt opportunity of forcing the Britons to a general engagement. In the mean time, he ſent orders for the ſecond legion to come to his aſſiſtance; but Pænius Poſthumus, the præfect of the camp, thinking, perhaps, that by leading his men againſt the enraged Britons, was nothing leſs than leading them to certain deſtruction, refuſed to join the army of his country.

This diſappointment did not, however, diſconcert the meaſures of Suetonius. He poſted his little army on a ſpot of ground acceſſible only by one narrow path, with a thick wood in his rear, and an open plain in his front. In this place, which could not be flanked by the enemy, he drew up his ſoldiers, placing the legion in the center, the light armed troops on each ſide, and the cavalry a little advanced upon their flanks, forming two wings.

He did not wait long for the enemy. The Britons, elated by their late ſucceſs, and hoping to exterminate at once the whole power of the Romans, haſtened to the attack. And thinking themſelves ſure of the victory, brought their wives and children with them, that they might be ſpectators of the ſlaughter, and aſſiſt in the plunder. And accordingly theſe were poſted in waggons in the rear of the army.

The Britons, whoſe number was not leſs than two hundred and thirty thouſand men, were headed by Boadicea, drawn in a chariot with her two daughters. She paſſed from rank to rank, encouraging the timorous, and animating the brave.

"I am not come hither, ſaid ſhe, from any pre-
"eminence of royal birth, but from a ſenſe of en-
"dangered liberty; which ought to be cheriſhed in
"the breaſt of every individual, from the higheſt
"to the loweſt. Indeed the ſtripes I have received
"and the violated honour of my daughters, were
"there no other motive, would be abundantly ſuf-
"ficient, as a private perſon, to animate me to
"revenge: but there is a greater call than my own
"injuries; the call of my country. The Roman
"luſt is unbounded; it knows no diſtinction; the
"old as well as the young are raviſhed: but divine
"vengeance never ſleeps on ſuch occaſions; it al-
"ways treads upon the heels of crimes like theſe.

"The only legion that have dared to meet your
"arms in the open field, have been cut to pieces;
"while the others meanly concealed themſelves from
"danger within their camp, or ſaved themſelves
"from the avenging ſword of juſtice, by a precipi-
"tate flight. The very ſhouts of the Britons,
"without their weapons, are ſufficient to ſtrike the
"Roman army with terror.

"Conſider the cauſes of the war, and you will
"not heſitate a ſingle moment in reſolving to con-
"quer or periſh. This, though a woman, is my
"fixed purpoſe: you that are men may, by refuſ-
"ing the alternative, live and be ſlaves."

The ſignal was now given, and the Britons ruſhed to the charge with the greateſt fury; but were received by the Romans without diſordering or breaking their ranks. The legionary ſoldiers then burſt out upon the Britons, and were followed by the auxiliaries. The battle was long doubtful; but the Roman diſcipline at length prevailed, and the Britons, being incloſed by their own waggons, were maſſacred without any regard to age or ſex. Eighty thouſand fell on the field, beſides thoſe who periſhed afterwards in the purſuit. Boadicea, unable to ſupport the thought of a ſubmiſſion, put an end to her life by poiſon: and Pænius Poſthumus, ſenſible of the error he had committed in depriving his legion of a ſhare in the honour of the victory, and at the ſame time, rendered himſelf obnoxious to military puniſhment by diſobeying the orders of his general, fell upon his own ſword.

Suetonius purſued his conqueſt with a cruelty unaccountable in ſo great a man. Not a Briton received quarter, and even the women who attended their huſbands to the battle, were put to death; the countries were laid deſolate with fire and ſword; the Britons, who had neglected to raiſe corn for themſelves, from the hopes of ſupplying their wants from the Roman magazines, were reduced to famine.

Invincible, however, even in this dreadful diſtreſs, they refuſed to ſue for peace: they reſolved rather to periſh by famine, than make the leaſt offer of a ſubmiſſion. Julius Claſſicanus, who had ſucceeded Catus in the office of procurator, was aſtoniſhed at their inflexible obſtinacy, and could not help imputing it to the haughtineſs and ſeverity of Suetonius; in conſequence of which he wrote to Rome, informing the emperor that there would be no end of the war unleſs Suetonius was recalled. Accordingly that general was remanded back to Rome, and his place ſupplied by Petronius Turpilianus.

The new governor, on his arrival, determined not to exaſperate the minds of the Britons, by any freſh perſecutions, or ſtirring up the dying embers of the war. Accordingly, he neither irritated nor provoked the Britons; but during the whole time of his command, ſtudied to reclaim them by the gentle arts of humanity and peace, which the more active and ambitious Romans conſidered as a ſhameful indolence. By this wiſe conduct he healed the wounds that had long rankled in the breaſts of the Britons, and confirmed to the Romans the poſſeſſion

of

of that country they had reduced to provinces, without attempting to extend his conquests.

A.D. 65. He was succeeded in his command by Trebellius Maximus, whose character was still more inoffensive to the Britons, and his love of peace even greater than that of his predecessor. But his own soldiers, who considered this inactive behaviour, as the consequence of a shameful indolence, broke out into tumults, and being encouraged by Roscius Celius, his professed enemy, deserted him about the latter end of Nero's reign, and forced him to fly for protection to Vitellus, who had then usurped the purple in Germany.

A. D. 69. Nero being slain and Vitellus established on the imperial throne, Victius Bolanus was sent to command the Roman troops in Britain. He followed the conduct of Trebellius, but had, at the same time, the good fortune of being respected by his own soldiers. And as he undertook nothing against the Britons, he met with no disturbance, and continued in his command till relieved by Petilius Cerealis, on the accession of Vespasian to the imperial throne.

It is well known that Vespasian always made it a rule of his conduct, to employ none but great men. Cerealis was no exception; he was at once experienced and enterprizing, and brought over with him such a character from his late victories on the continent, that his very name was sufficient to strike the breasts of the Britons with terror. Just before his arrival, Venutius, who was still at the head of the Brigantes, thinking this a favourable opportunity of revenging himself on the Romans, for their having espoused the party of his wife Cartismandua, had persuaded several of the British nations to join him, and made an attack upon the Roman territories. Cerealis did not remain indolent in his station; he immediately, on his arrival, attacked the Britons, defeated them in several battles, gave them no respite, till he had wholly reduced the country of the Brigantes, which extended from Solway Frith to Cheshire, and from the Tyne to the Humber.

A. D. 72. Julius Frontinus succeeded Cerealis in the government of Britain. He was perfectly skilled in the art of war; and sustained his reputation, notwithstanding he had the misfortune to succeed so illustrious a predecessor. He conquered the Silures, who inhabited the forest of Deane, and the county of Hereford.

A. D. 78. The famous Julius Agricola succeeded Frontinus. Agricola was already eminent for possessing all the virtues of a statesman and a soldier. Nor was his political conduct inferior to his military abilities. He found the Britons already yielding to the temptations of luxury, and took care to increase, by every method in his power, those temptations which had, in some measure, depressed the fiery spirit of the ancient inhabitants. He introduced the sciences of eloquence and architecture; and the islanders soon became so enchanted with the manners and customs of their enemies, that they not only applied themselves to learn the Roman language, but some of them even wore the Roman dress.

Agricola, who was long before acquainted with the genius and dispositions of the Britons, having served under Suetonius and Cerealis, determined to follow the ideas he had formed of these hardy islanders. Experience had taught him it was much easier to induce than to force them to submit. Generosity attracted them to friendship, while severity produced only obstinacy and rebellion. He observed that they were extremely addicted to imbibe and imitate the manners of foreign nations. Those who inhabited the countries nearest to Gaul, assumed the Gallic fashions; and as the Romans were a more polite people than the Gauls, Agricola was persuaded their customs and elegancies would be still more acceptable to the Britons. He was not mistaken: a few years shewed how easy it is to conquer when proper methods are pursued. The porticos, baths, and other Roman structures of magnificence, were imitated by the islanders, and the taste of the Romans was the taste of the Britons.

Agricola was not, however, entirely devoted to the arts of peace. He finished the conquest of Mona, which Suetonius began; and that island still retains several monuments of his victory. Having reduced the island of Anglesey, he applied himself to the arts of peace, and the administration of justice, throughout the several provinces he had conquered. He began by making a strict reformation in his own household. He excused faults, but he always punished crimes. He was severe but not cruel. He rather required than exacted tributes. He regulated the inequality of taxes; and, by preventing all kinds of corruption, suffered no unjust impositions to take place. He was fonder of respect when it was the child of devotion, than when it owed its origin to fear. Such virtues commanded an imitation of his conduct, and an universal attachment to his person. The common soldiers became modest and regular: his principal officers generous and humane. Under his government, the Britons were happy. He was their master, not their tyrant. He softened fierceness by pleasure, and by the arts of politeness and persuasion, reduced the untamed and haughty spirit of liberty.

Early in the spring, he marched to the northward, and conquered the Ottodini, till that time unknown to the Romans. Convinced he was opposed by a crafty and politic people, who would take every advantage resulting from their situation, he made use of all the precautions necessary to prevent a surprize. He never entered any of their strong holds, without first examining every part of them; and always marched at the head of his troops in person, that he might not only be ready to extricate them from any unforeseen danger, but also to animate them by his own example, that they might neither be overcome by fatigues, nor terrified by difficulties.

As soon as he returned into winter quarters, he resumed his former plan of politics, and endeavoured to reconcile the Britons to the laws and interest of the Roman empire. As a mark of particular esteem, he took care of the education of their children; and in order to divert their minds from martial exercises, caused them to be instructed in the liberal arts. He even paid his court to their vanity, in order to make them in love with their studies; extolled their genius beyond that of the Gauls, and encouraged them to affect the eloquence of the Romans, as soon as they had made themselves masters of their language.

A.D. 81. The next year he extended his conquests as far as the river Tay in Scotland, laying waste the country as he marched. The rapidity of his success so daunted the enemy, that he met with very

very little oppoſition, ſo that he had leiſure to build forts and caſtles as he proceeded, for ſecuring his conqueſts and bridling the inhabitants. His genius for military architecture was very extraordinary, for he choſe the ſituations for his caſtles and forts ſo very advantageouſly, that not one of them was ever taken, ſurrendered or abandoned; though the ſallies of their garriſons were very frequent, and they were never without a year's proviſions in their magazines.

Theſe precautions entirely diſconcerted all the meaſures of the Britons; their reſiſtance in the ſummer, and their efforts in the winter, were now equally ineffectual. Nor did Agricola, during the whole courſe of the war, ever deviate from the ſtricteſt impartiality; neither officer nor ſoldier was robbed of the honour or profit his ſervice had acquired; and the general himſelf was always the firſt to reward merit wherever he found it; while, in all other reſpects, the laws of military diſcipline were regularly, though never cruelly obſerved.

A. D. 82. The fourth year of Agricola's government, was principally ſpent in ſecuring his conqueſts. He built a chain of forts acroſs the neck of land lying between the Friths of Clyde and Forth, to reſtrain the incurſions of the Caledonians, a people hitherto unſubdued, and then governed by a prince of great courage and experience. By theſe forts, all communication between the Britons and Caledonians was cut off; by which he was enabled to purſue, with more attention, his favourite ſcheme of making the Britons fond of the Roman arts and manners.

Agricola employed the fifth ſummer very differently from any of the former. He embarked his army, indeed, but with a view, rather of making diſcoveries than conqueſts. With this ſquadron, he ſailed along the coaſts of Scotland, landed in ſeveral places, and viſited the little iſlands that lie diſperſed about the Atlantic and Caledonian ſeas. In this expedition, he had a view of Ireland; and thinking it of the greateſt conſequence to the Roman empire, he left a body of troops on the coaſt oppoſite to that iſland.

A. D. 83. The ſixth year of his command, Agricola marched beyond Badotria, or the Frith of Forth, his fleet attending his route, and coaſting along the ſhore. During this march, which was extended through Perthſhire and Fife, his navy had the moſt dreadful effect upon the inhabitants living near the ſea, and who forming a powerful ſtate, were terrible to the Romans.

Galgacus, or Galdus, was then king of the Caledonian Britons. He had been educated in the ſouthern part of Britain, and ſerved under the Romans, and ſeems to have exceeded all the Britiſh princes in military accompliſhments. He knew the great advantages attending the aggreſſor in the field, and was no ſtranger to the Roman method of making war. He therefore reſolved not to wait till the enemy ſhould carry fire and ſword into the heart of his country, but attacked the forts erected by Agricola on the Iſthmus, between the Forth and Clyde. This alacrity of Galgacus, had ſuch an effect among the more cautious Romans, that they adviſed a retreat; but Agricola, ſenſible of the effect ſuch meaſures muſt neceſſarily produce, reſolved to face the enemy. At the ſame time, he foreſaw the danger of keeping his troops in one body, ſurrounded as he was, by an active enemy, who might cut off his proviſions. He therefore divided his army into three bodies, in order to avoid the fate of periſhing by famine in an enemy's country. Galgacus no ſooner underſtood the diſpoſition of the Romans, than he alſo changed the plan of his operations, and inſtead of endeavouring to ſurround Agricola's army, united his own forces, in order to attack the weakeſt column of the enemy. But the ſpies of Agricola giving him intimations of the deſign of the Caledonian leader, he immediately ordered the lighteſt armed troops among the infantry and cavalry, to march to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen. At their arrival, they found the Caledonians, after killing the guards, had broken into the Roman camp, and were on the point of overpowering the legion, who were amazed at the ſuddenneſs of the attack, which was greatly heightened, by its happening in the middle of a dark and diſmal night. As ſoon as the reinforcement arrived, they gave a great ſhout, which at once animated their countrymen, and intimidated the Britons; and the morning beginning to break, gave them an opportunity of ſeeing the gleam of the Roman enſigns, without being able to diſcover their number; and found themſelves between two bodies, the aſſaulted and the reinforcement. In the mean time the legion, whom they had attacked in their camp, now ſecure of victory, fought for glory; and by attacking the enemy in their turn, ſeemed to ſtand in need of no aſſiſtance, while the reinforcement, ambitious to preſerve the honour of ſaving a Roman legion, fell with the utmoſt fury on the Caledonians, who now deſpairing of ſucceſs, betook themſelves to flight, and retreated into faſtneſſes, whither the Romans did not think it prudent to purſue them.

Elated with their ſucceſs, the Romans were impatient to act on the offenſive. They called on their general to lead them into Caledonia, aſſuring him of their readineſs to undergo every fatigue, and face every danger; all declaring, their conqueſt ſhould only be bounded by the very extremity of Britain. On the other hand, the Caledonians behaved with equal ſpirit; they attributed their defeat to the cunning and artifice of the Roman general, not to the ſuperior courage or ſkill of the enemy. They thought themſelves able to face the Romans in the open field, and therefore armed every perſon capable of bearing the fatigues of war, and ſent their women and children into places of ſafety.

A. D. 84. Having collected all their forces, they took the field early in the enſuing ſpring, and waited for the Romans at the foot of the Grampian hills. In the mean time Agricola was not idle, he ordered his fleet to hover on the coaſt, to ſupport his army, and haraſs the enemy. This ſervice they effectually performed, while Agricola advanced againſt the Caledonian army, now encreaſed to about thirty thouſand men.

Both armies waited for the ſignal to engage with great impatience. The Romans were drawn up in two lines, one behind the other; the firſt conſiſted of eight thouſand auxiliary foot, and three thouſand horſe forming the wings; the ſecond was made up of the Roman legions. The Caledonians were diſpoſed in the moſt proper manner for ſtriking the enemy with terror, by a pompous diſplay of their numbers. The firſt line was drawn up at the foot of a riſing ground, and the reſt of the army on the acclivity behind them; ſo that riſing one above another, his whole force was diſplayed and wholly ex-

poſed to the Roman javelins; while the intermediate plain betweeen them and Agricola's army was filled with confuſed multitudes of horſes and chariots.

Agricola, in order to avoid the danger of being attacked at once both in front and flank, was obliged to extend his firſt line; and alighting from his horſe, poſted himſelf in the front of his army.

The ſignal was now given, and the battle began with a diſcharge of miſſiles on both ſides, in which the Caledonians ſeem to have had the advantage. Upon this Agricola ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts to advance to a cloſe engagement; and were ſo ſucceſsful, that they forced the Caledonian cavalry to fall back on their foot, who were drawn up on the hill; and this ſeems to have been the principal cauſe for the rout that immediately followed; for the reſt of the Roman army immediately advancing, gave the Caledonians no time to rally, and a promiſcuous ſlaughter enſued. The Caledonian horſe broke in upon the foot; and though the charioteers drew up among the latter, they were unable to make head againſt the Romans, the ranks being two thick, and the ground too uneven, for them to do much execution. By this intermixture of forces, the Caledonians, ſtanding upon a deſcent, were borne down by the weight of their own horſes; and many of their chariots, being without drivers, ran through the ranks, and put the whole army into irreparable diſorder. In the mean time, the Caledonian foot, who had been drawn up on the top of the hill, wheeled round during the heat of the action, in order to attack the Romans in their rear. This circumſtance Agricola had foreſeen, and had therefore reſerved four ſquadrons of horſe to oppoſe any attempt of that kind. Failing in this attempt, the Caledonians fled towards the woods, and were followed by the Romans in ſome diſorder, which Galgacus perceiving, ſuddenly turned his flying forces againſt the enemy. In this critical moment Agricola, who ſaw the danger, ordered a ſtrong body of light armed infantry to advance, ſupported by a few cavalry, whom he ordered to diſmount and ſcour the woods. This entirely diſconcerted all the meaſures of the Caledonians, who hoped the enemy would purſue them in ſtraggling parties, and thereby give them an opportunity of cutting them off. But Agricola's forces advancing in compact bodies, drove them from the woods, and obliged them to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight. The carnage was very great, no leſs than ten thouſand of the Caledonians fell in the conflict; while not more than three hundred and forty of the Roman army were ſlain.

But notwithſtanding this great advantage gained over the Caledonians, Agricola did not think it prudent to purſue the meaſures he had formed of ſubduing the northern part of Britain. He retreated into the country of the Horeſti, where he received hoſtages for their good behaviour, and then marched his army back towards the ſouthern parts of Britain. At the ſame time he ordered his fleet, which had hovered on the coaſts, and ſupplied his army with proviſions, to return to their ports.

A.D. 85. Such remarkable ſucceſs, inſtead of rendering Agricola a favourite of Domitian, who now filled the imperial throne, procured his diſgrace. His merits, indeed, were too eminent to paſs unnoticed; and triumphal honours and ſtatues were decreed him by the ſenate; but the emperor's envy of his military glory was ſuch, that he was recalled, under pretence of appointing him to the government of Syria, and ſoon after met his fate from a ſecret doſe of poiſon.

A.D. 87. He was ſucceeded by Saluſtius Lucullus, who ſoon after fell a victim to the emperor's jealouſy, for having given his own name to a kind of ſpears he had lately invented. But we have no particular account of his actions here. All we know is, that the emperors ſuffered the ſame forms of government to continue among the Britons, even after their liberty was no more. The ſhadow of it indeed was retained, after the ſubſtance was aboliſhed; and this ſerved to amuſe the people, and render them leſs ſenſible of ſlavery.

In the mean time, the Caledonians, who had been diſperſed among the mountains by Agricola, re-united their forces, and attacked the Romans with ſome ſucceſs; they even took ſeveral of the forts erected by Agricola on the Iſthmus, between the Forth and Clyde.

A.D. 111. To quell this inſurrection, the emperor diſpatched Julius Severus, a commander of great reputation; but before he could undertake any thing of conſequence, he was re-called to put an end to a rebellion that then broke out in Syria.

A.D. 120. Britain was now left without a prætor, and the Roman army, commanded by Lucius Antoninus, was repulſed in an engagement with the Caledonians, and the general himſelf dangerouſly wounded. This circumſtance required an immediate remedy, and accordingly Priſcus Lucinus was ſent into Britain, and ſoon after followed by the emperor Adrian in perſon. At the firſt coming of the emperor, the Caledonians retired into their mountains, and to prevent their incurſions for the future, Adrian relinquiſhed the line of forts conſtructed by Agricola, on the Iſthmus between the Clyde and Forth, as being too remote from the main body of the Roman forces, and formed a rampart or wall of earth and turf, between the Tyne and Solway Frith, eighty miles in length. After thus ſettling the affairs of Britain, and reforming ſeveral abuſes that had crept into the government ſince the departure of Agricola, he returned to Rome, where he was honoured with the title of Reſtorer of Britain.

A.D. 140. On the death of Adrian, the Caledonians, thinking that event a favourable circumſtance for entering the Roman territories, paſſed the line formed by Agricola; but were met in the ſpace between that and Adrian's wall by Lolius Urbicus, who ſoon ſuppreſſed this inſurrection, and having driven them farther to the northward, confined their incurſions by another wall, extending from Brampton in Cumberland to the river Eſk.

A.D. 162. From this period to the death of Titus Antoninus, the iſland of Britain ſeems to have enjoyed the ſame tranquillity which then reigned in every part of the Roman empire. But the death of that prince afforded the unconquered Britons an opportunity of attempting to recover their liberties; and the emperor Aurelius ſent over Calpurnius Agricola to quell the inſurrection, which was eaſily performed.

A.D. 180. The face of affairs were, however, greatly altered on the death of Marcus Aurelius, his ſon Commodus, who ſucceeded him in the imperial purple, was famous for nothing but his vices. He employed only perſons like himſelf in his government, or ſuch as purchaſed their places with their

their wealth. Hence the chief poſts were occupied either by thoſe who were inſtrumental to his pleaſures or had purchaſed their poſts at an enormous expence, and therefore fleeced thoſe that were under them to reimburſe themſelves. Hence murmurs and diſcontents aroſe among the people, and mutiny and diſorders among the ſoldiers.

The Caledonians could not reſiſt the impulſe excited by this favourable oportunity, for attacking the Roman provinces. They aſſembled a large body of forces, broke through the wall of Adrian, cut off a Roman general with his whole army, and ravaged the neighbouring countries with fire and ſword.

A. D. 183. This formidable inſurrection rouſed Commodus from his ſlumber of indolence; he ſent over Ulpius Marcellus, a general worthy of the command in ſo critical a juncture. He ſoon reſtored the Roman troops to their ancient diſcipline, by his example and ſeverity; and when they were thus prepared, led them againſt the Caledonians, whom they defeated in ſeveral engagements, with ſuch prodigious ſlaughter, that they were obliged to continue quiet during the remainder of the reign of Commodus. But the glory of this expedition had nearly coſt the general his life: the emperor became at once jealous and envious of his popularity; and though he was for ſome ſecret reaſons prevailed upon to lay aſide his reſolution of putting him to death, yet he re-called him from his government, and took upon himſelf the title of Britannicus, though the only claim he could lay to that honour, was the victory gained by Marcellus.

A. D. 186. It is not abſolutely known who ſucceeded Marcellus in the proprætorſhip of Britain. But whoever he was the Roman diſcipline was greatly relaxed; and the armies, which were till now generally commanded by ſenators, were headed by knights. The real authors of this change in the military department are unknown; but the blame of it fell upon Perennis, then præfectus prætorio, and firſt miniſter to the emperor Commodus, who, abandoning himſelf to every criminal exceſs, committed all the affairs of the empire to his miniſter. The army in Britain were ſo exaſperated at this change in their generals, that a mutiny was the conſequence, which at laſt terminated in ſending a deputation of fifteen hundred of their fellow ſoldiers to Rome to demand juſtice. When theſe deputies approached the gates of Rome, they were met by Commodus in perſon, who demanded the reaſon for their coming. Their anſwer was, that they came to inform him of a conſpiracy entered into by Perennis for placing his own ſon on the imperial throne. Perennis, though the miniſter of his maſter's government, was not the miniſter of his pleaſures, and therefore had not intereſt ſufficient to ſcreen himſelf from the reſentment of this inconſiderable body. The emperor, glad perhaps of the opportunity which now offered to ſacrifice a man, whom virtue had rendered at once both odious and formidable, delivered him into the hands of the enraged ſoldiers, who put him to an ignominious death.

But the fall of this miniſter was not ſufficient to appeaſe the diſcontent of the army in Britain; the grievances they complained of ſtill remained, and they even conſulted about chuſing a new emperor. To quell theſe diſturbances, and bring the ſoldiers back to their duty, Helvius Pertinax, afterwards emperor, was ſent into Britain. But tho' he was a man of great talents, he found the attempt almoſt impracticable. On his firſt arrival, the army, tired of the government of ſuch a wretch as Commodus, offered him the ſovereignty; but he rejecting their offer with diſdain, and proceeding with two great ſeverity againſt the mutineers, they were ſo highly exaſperated, that one of the legions openly revolted, a tumult enſued, many were killed, and Pertinax himſelf left for dead upon the ſpot.

A. D. 189. But notwithſtanding this miſcarriage, in his firſt attempt, he afterwards ſurmounted every obſtacle, brought the army to ſubmiſſion, and reſtored tranquillity to the province. His ſeverity towards the mutineers, however, raiſed ſuch an unconquerable hatred among the ſoldiers, that he was ſome time after recalled, at his own requeſt, and ſucceeded by Claudius Albinus; a general eminent for his birth and courage, and who had refuſed the offer made him by Commodus, of creating him Cæſar.

A. D. 193. Soon after Commodus was poiſoned by his concubine Martia, and Pertinax, who ſucceeded Commodus, was deſirous of continuing Albinus in his government. Pertinax was ſoon afterwards murdered by the ſoldiers, and Didius Julianus inveſted with the imperial purple; but this being done without the conſent of the army, he ſoon ſhared the fate of Pertinax, and Septimus Severus placed on the imperial throne.

A new competitor for the emperor now ſtarted up in the perſon of Picennius Niger; and Severus, ſenſible of the latent ambition of Albinus, was deſirous of ſtripping him of his command in Britain; and accordingly he ſent one Heraclitus to ſucceed him; but Albinus, ſecure in the affections of the army, refuſed to reſign his command. Severus very well knew that it was nothing leſs than diſowning his authority, yet thought it more prudent to diſſemble, till he found means of ſubduing his competitor Picennius Niger. He even carried his diſſimulation ſo far as to pretend to make him his aſſociate in the empire.

Having now only Niger to contend with, he turned his whole force againſt him, and that competitor was ſoon after defeated and ſlain in battle. Albinus was now the only obſtacle that prevented Severus from being wholly maſter of the Roman empire; and it was determined to take him off by poiſon. Accordingly Severus diſpatched aſſaſſins into Britain, to put the horrid deſign into execution. But Albinus being previouſly apprized of the intention, cauſed them to be ſeized, and by torture, drew from them a confeſſion of the emperor's treachery. Albinus now aſſumed the title of Cæſar and Auguſtus, and declared war againſt Severus.

A. D. 197. Had the ambition of Albinus been contented with reigning in Britain, there is little room to doubt but he might have lived and died an independent prince. But he imprudently paſſed over to the continent of Gaul, and advanced as far as Lyons, where he was met by Severus at the head of a Roman army, whoſe minds he had, by falſe pretences, highly exaſperated againſt Albinus. The battle was begun with great fury, and the courage of the Britons routed the army of Severus, who betook himſelf to flight, after throwing away both his diadem and imperial robes. At this inſtant Lætus, a general of Severus, arriving with a freſh body of forces, the battle was renewed, and victory declared for Severus. Albinus, on ſeeing the battle irre-

irretrieveably loſt, fell upon his own ſword and periſhed.

Severus being now ſole maſter of the Roman empire, diſpatched Virius Lupus, in quality of proprætor into Britain, in order to oppoſe any attempts the Caledonians might make on the Roman province in that iſland, which was then in a weak condition, on account of the number of troops carried to the continent by Albinus. Soon after the emperor, who continued ſome time in Gaul, divided the Roman territories in Britain into two provinces, hoping by this diviſion of power to ſecure himſelf on the imperial throne. The ſouthern part of the iſland was given to Heraclitus and the northern to Virius Lupus. The latter found, on his arrival, that the Meætæ had joined the Caledonians, and made incurſions into the Roman province; but not being ſtrong enough to engage this confederate army, he thought the moſt prudent method would be to purchaſe a peace, as he could not command it. In order to this, he carefully concealed the weakneſs of his army, and the ſubtilty of his policy, under the pretence of redeeming ſome captives taken by the enemy.

A. D. 207. The peace was accordingly concluded, and continued inviolated for ſeveral years; till at laſt the northern Britons, tired with inactivity, or, perhaps, ſtimulated by wants they could only relieve by rapine, made a freſh irruption into the Roman province; but were ſoon defeated by Lupus. One misfortune, however, was unable to intimidate forces nurſed in adverſity and enured to toil; they therefore once more renewed their incurſions, and committed ſuch dreadful ravages, that Lupus, thinking the forces under his command unable to check the progreſs of the Britons, wrote to Severus, informing him of his ſituation, and requeſting a reinforcement.

Severus, though at that time old and infirm, and greatly afflicted with the gout, determined to head his army in perſon, conſidering Britain as one of the moſt important provinces belonging to the Roman empire. He had then two ſons, Baſſianus ſurnamed Caracalla, and Geta. The luxuries of Rome had already enervated both theſe youths, particularly the former, ſo that the emperor was pleaſed with the opportunity of drawing them from vice and iniquity, by taking them with him in his expedition.

The arrival of the emperor, famous for his military talents, having then no equal, and the powerful army he brought over with him, made ſuch impreſſions on the Caledonians, that they ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace. But Severus, who was determined to reduce them effectually, diſmiſſed the deputies without granting their requeſt. At the ſame time, that he might not meet with any obſtruction from the ſouthern inhabitants of the iſland, left his ſon Geta with a body of forces in theſe parts, taking his eldeſt ſon with him, that he might ſhare in the dangers and fatigues of the campaign.

A. D. 208. Severus did not, however, paſs into Caledonia, without meeting with great difficulties, and loſing a conſiderable part of his army. The country was mountainous, woody, and full of marſhes; ſo that his forces underwent exceſſive fatigue, without taking a fortreſs, or even ſeeing the face of an enemy. His firſt care, therefore, was to cut down woods, level hills, make cauſeways acroſs the plains, and lay bridges over rivers; being perſuaded that the Britons could have no advantage over him, while both armies had the ſame advantage from the country. In a word, the dangers and difficulties he had to ſurmount, were amazing; but no dangers could intimidate, no difficulties deter Severus from his undertaking: he continued his march to the extremities of Caledonia, and obliged that ferocious people to ſubmit to the terms he thought fit to propoſe. Accordingly a peace was concluded, on condition of their delivering up their arms to the conqueror; which being complied with, Severus returned with his forces to York, where he aſſumed the title of Britannicus Maximus, and cauſed a medal to be ſtruck on the occaſion, on which he is ſtiled FUNDATOR PACIS, the founder of peace.

A. D. 209. But tho' he had reduced all his enemies, and given peace to the Roman territories, he did not ſuffer his ſoldiers to ſlumber on the pillow of indolence; he employed them in repairing, and making additions to Adrian's wall, which he built wholly of ſtones, in ſo firm and ſubſtantial a manner, as to render it one of the greateſt glories in his reign.

The bodily infirmities of Severus now increaſed ſo faſt, that he was often imagined to be within a few moments of his end. This, together with the aſſurance of being joined by the Caledonians, encouraged the Meætæ to break the peace they had been forced to ſign; and they accordingly took up arms to recover their ancient poſſeſſions, which had been wreſted from them by the Romans. Severus ſo highly reſented this breach of faith, that he determined to puniſh it not only with rigour, but inhumanity. Accordingly, in delivering his orders to his army, he made uſe of ſome verſes of Homer, which Mr. Pope has thus tranſlated:

" Not one of all the race, nor ſex, nor age,
" Shall ſave a Trojan from our boundleſs rage;
" Illion ſhall periſh whole, and bury all,
" Her babes, her infants, at the breaſt ſhall
" fall."

He did not, however, live to ſee his cruel orders executed; his diſtemper increaſed, and he fell a victim to its power, at the age of ſixty-ſeven, after reigning three years in Britain.

A. D. 211. He died at York on the fourth of February, and his funeral obſequies were performed with a pomp and magnificence ſuitable to the character of Severus, and the grandeur of the Roman people.

He was ſucceeded in the empire by his two ſons, Caracalla and Geta, who being both equally tired of reſiding in a country not yet ſufficiently refined for perſons of their delicacy, made a peace with the Meætæ and Caledonians, and returned to Rome, carrying with them their father's aſhes, which were depoſited in the tomb of Adrian. Here Caracalla found perſons baſe enough to gratify his brutal ambition, by imbruing their hands in the blood of his brother.

A. D. 239. We have no accounts of Britain after the departure of theſe princes for ſeveral years. All that we know is, that in the reign of Gordian III. Mæcilius Fuſcus commanded in this iſland, and repaired the barracks and arſenals which had fallen to decay.

A. D. 241. Two years after, Cneius Lucilianus, the proprætor, built a bath, together with an exchange, or portico; and was ſucceeded the following

ing year by Nonius Philippus, as appears from a votive inſcription, diſcovered ſome time ſince at Old Carliſle.

A. D. 282. The diſorders in Rome now increaſed ſo faſt, that no mention worth remarking, is made of the affairs of Britain, till the time of Probus, except the coming of Conſtantius, the father of Conſtantine the great, who was ſent into Britain by Aurelian, to eſtabliſh his authority in this iſland.

A. D. 284. At laſt Diocleſian aſcended the imperial throne, and admitted Maximian a partner in the empire. Diocleſian was a perſon of low birth, and had paſſed through many conſiderable offices before he was raiſed to the imperial purple. He had acquired the higheſt reputation as a ſoldier, and had acquitted himſelf with great political ſagacity in the civil parts of government: his perſonal accompliſhments ſeemed ſo ſuitable to the imperial dignity, that, in a time of leſs confuſion, he might ſingly have ſupported the weight of government with honour to himſelf and advantage to his country. But in the preſent juncture, the hands of a Briareus were ſcarce too many to hold the reins of the Roman empire, ſo that Diocleſian ſhewed the greateſt prudence in procuring the aſſiſtance of a partner in the throne. Maximian, his adopted ſon, did not indeed poſſeſs all the accompliſhments of Diocleſian; but he had both courage and activity, which were then of greater uſe to the public, than virtues more delicately illuſtrious, and more morally refined.

A. D. 286. The incurſions of the northern nations began now to be very troubleſome to the Roman empire, and the coaſts of Gaul and Britain were infeſted with the fleets of the Franks and Saxons. A commiſſion was therefore given to one Carauſius, a Menapian by birth, of mean extraction, but who had acquired great reputation in maritime affairs, to check the attempts of theſe barbarians. But Carauſius, who had more regard for his own intereſt than the good of the empire, ſuffered the pirates to continue their deſcents upon the coaſts, and then, by falling upon them in their return laden with booty, made himſelf maſter of the whole, without thinking himſelf in the leaſt accountable to the imperial exchequer. Thus the emperor, the empire, and even the pirates themſelves were robbed by this commiſſioned free booter. But his practices reaching the ears of Maximian, orders were iſſued for putting him to death; but theſe orders could not be executed.

A. D. 287. In the mean time, Carauſius had judiciouſly fixed his eyes upon Britain as a ſure place of refuge and ſecurity, whenever the Romans ſhould attempt to purſue him. An on hearing that he had been publicly proclaimed a traitor, he made himſelf maſter of Boulogne, and ſailed immediately from thence with his whole fleet to the Britiſh coaſt.

The ſteps he had previouſly taken, and the private correſpondence he had lately carried on with the Britons, rendered him a welcome gueſt to the iſlanders. And on his landing, the Roman legion and auxiliary forces quartered in the kingdom, acknowledged and proclaimed him emperor.

A. D. 287. He now harraſſed the coaſts of Gaul, Italy, and Spain, in ſuch a manner, that Maximian was obliged to purchaſe peace by acknowledging Carauſius emperor in Britain, which he governed very diſcreetly. During his adminiſtration, the Britons were entirely freed from their obedience to the Roman empire, and ſubject only to the laws and government of their own ſovereign.

About this time the Scots and Picts began to make incurſions into the Engliſh territories; upon which Carauſius declared war againſt them, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, and recovered all the country ever enjoyed by the Romans. But when he had thus ſignalized his courage againſt the northern nations, and convinced them he was at once a dangerous and powerful enemy, he made peace with them, wiſely foreſeeing he might, ſome time or other, ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance againſt the power of the Roman emperors, who only waited a favourable opportunity of attacking him to advantage.

At the ſame time he took the utmoſt care to increaſe his fleet, and in order to this, entered into a treaty with the Franks, and ſome nations ſettled on the Thracian Boſphorus, who were alſo become famous for their power at ſea. By this treaty it was agreed that they ſhould ſend a ſtrong fleet through the ſtreights, to act in conjunction with the Engliſh navy againſt the Romans, whenever they attacked Carauſius.

A. D. 289. Alarmed at this formidable alliance, the Romans began to arm in their own defence; and the emperors, Maximian Galerus, and Conſtantius Chlorus, the adopted ſons of Dioleſian and Maximian, applied themſelves jointly to raiſe forces by ſea and land. Maximian undertook to march with an army into the territories poſſeſſed by the enemy in Gaul, while the other fitted out a thouſand ſail of ſhips from the magazines on the Rhine.

While Conſtantius was buſy in fitting out his fleet, Maximian beſieged Carauſius in Boulogne, who having the ſea open, defended himſelf without much difficulty, and thereby convinced his enemies that while he enjoyed this advantage, their beſieging the place would be of very little conſequence. Conſtantius therefore continued to block up the port, which he effected by raiſing a bank of ſtone; and Carauſius was left without any other reſource than that of cutting his way through the Roman camp. This, by taking the advantage of a dark night, he effected at the head of a few ſoldiers, and embarking on board of a ſmall veſſel, landed in Britain, where he had both a numerous fleet, and a powerful army.

Conſtantius, whoſe fleet was not ſufficient to attack Carauſius in his retreat, collected ſhips from every part of his dominions, and ſtationed ſtrong ſquadrons on the coaſts of Britain, Spain and Gaul, to prevent Carauſius from joining his allies. Having taken this precaution, he ſailed himſelf, with the reſt of his fleet, through the ſtreights to meet the Franks, whom he ſo totally defeated, and purſued his victory ſo cloſely, that hardly a ſingle veſſel eſcaped. The other nations who had joined in this confederacy, met with nearly the ſame fate; being obliged to ſurrender up their arms: and were afterwards tranſplanted into countries too far from Britain to obſtruct his enterprize againſt that iſland.

A. D. 293. While Conſtantius was thus employed in deſtroying the fleets of the confederates, Carauſius himſelf was not idle. He did every thing in his power to put the iſland into a proper poſture of defence, that the attempts of the Romans might prove abortive: but in the midſt of his preparations he was baſely murdered by Alectus, one of

the principal officers of his army, and his intimate friend.

Having perpetrated this perfidious action, he ſeized the government, but wanted power to ſupport it: he had neither the capacity nor reſources of his predeceſſor. He was, indeed, for ſome time, ſuperior to the Romans at ſea; but he employed that power rather as a pirate than a prince. His ſquadrons plundered the adjacent coaſts of Gaul, and interrupted the trade of the Roman provinces.

This behaviour of Alectus gave Conſtantius great uneaſineſs. He redoubled his efforts to augment his fleet, and having ſucceeded, he ſailed for the Britiſh coaſt. Alectus lay then at the Iſle of Wight, with a navy no ways inferior to that of Conſtantius; and on the firſt intelligence that the Roman fleet was ſailed, ſtood off to ſea in order to intercept it; but Conſtantius eluded all his vigilance by means of a thick fog, and landed ſafely in Britain. And to convince his ſoldiers that he was determined either to conquer or periſh, he burnt all his ſhips the moment his forces were on ſhore.

The Britons, who hated Alectus for his treachery, conſidered this action of Conſtantius as a proof of his ſincerity to free them from the dominion of the tyrant, and his inſolent crew of foreigners. They flocked to his ſtandards, implored his pity, and put themſelves under his protection.

In the mean time Alectus, perceiving the Romans were landed, came aſhore, and put himſelf at the head of his troops, and raſhly engaged Aſclepiodotus, captain of the guards of Conſtantius. The battle was unequal, between a band of lawleſs robbers, and a well diſciplined force. The tyrant, animated by deſpair, threw away his purple robe, ruſhed into the midſt of the Roman forces, and was ſlain. His death was followed with a prodigious ſlaughter of the Franks; but thoſe who eſcaped had nearly completed the deſtruction of London, which they determined to pillage, and ſail away with the plunder. But this deſign was fruſtrated the very moment it was going to be carried into execution. Part of the Roman fleet, which had been ſeparated from the reſt in the late fog, came up the Thames, and the troops landed, in the very criſis, near the city, fell upon the Franks, and put almoſt every man of them to the ſword. Their commander, named Gallus, endeavouring to ſave himſelf by flight, was drowned in a ſmall rivulet, called by the Saxons Wallbrook.

This was a happy deliverance to the Britons, eſpecially to the inhabitants of London; and Britain was once more united to the Roman empire, after having been diſmembered from it near ten years.

Conſtantius, having thus avenged himſelf of his enemies, embraced the opportunity that now offered of diſplaying his clemency and juſtice: he iſſued a general pardon to all that had been concerned in the revolt; and reſtored to the owners all that had been taken from them during this ſcene of war and confuſion. He then marched to the northward and ſubdued ſome nations who refuſed to ſubmit, opened the ports, reſtored commerce, and was eſteemed by the Britons as the deliverer of their country.

At this time London was become conſiderable for its extent, its beauty, and its riches: it is, therefore, no wonder that Conſtantius thought it worthy of his reſidence. This partiality in favour of Britain was, perhaps, increaſed by his indulgence to a lady whom he had made the partner of his bed; I mean the famous Helena, mother of Conſtantine the Great, and, according to ſome of our beſt writers, a native of Colcheſter. But however that be, ſhe was certainly a woman of extraordinary accompliſhments; her public ſpirit ſhewed itſelf in ſeveral works carried on at her own expence; and her liberality was ſo great, that ſhe attracted at once the love and veneration of the Britons.

A. D. 306. Conſtantius ſeemed happy in himſelf, and his adminiſtration, which ſhewed great addreſs and humanity, endeared him to his grateful people. But how fleeting human felicity! after reigning a few years in this iſland, he paid the debt of nature at York, leaving the Britons to bewail his loſs.

His ſon Conſtantine, ſurnamed the Great, no ſooner heard of Conſtantius's indiſpoſition, than he repaired to York, where he arrived time enough to perform the laſt offices to his father, who named him his ſucceſſor: a nomination ſo agreeable to the army, that they immediately declared him emperor.

Conſtantine, on his firſt aſcending the throne, repelled the Scots and Picts, who had lately made ſeveral inroads into the Roman provinces. Soon after Conſtantine raiſed a powerful army of Britons, whom he carried with him into Gaul, where he conquered the Franks, who by this time were conſiderable enough to communicate their name to that country.

A. D. 311. From Gaul his army paſſed into Italy againſt Maxentius, who was now declared emperor. Conſtantine's army was compoſed of ninety thouſand foot and eighty thouſand horſe, all of them excellent troops, and he himſelf the beſt general of his time. The greater part of this army was formed of Britons, moſt of whom were chriſtians. A battle was ſoon the conſequence, in which Maxentius was defeated and ſlain.

A. D. 320. Conſtantine now publicly declared himſelf a convert to the chriſtian faith. And as religion has always a great influence on the civil affairs, the Roman government in Britain received a conſiderable alteration. This gave a ſevere blow to idolatry: and the religion of the Druids, which had been ſo long ſubſiſting in Britain, vaniſhed like a morning cloud.

The iſland was divided into four governments, namely, Britannia Prima, comprehending the country between the Thames and the ſea; Britannia Secunda, containing that part which lies between the Severn and the Iriſh ſea; Flavia Cæſarienſis, conſiſting of Cornwall, Somerſetſhire, and part of the counties of Wilts and Glouceſter; and Maxima Cæſarienſis, which included the northern counties of England, with the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Stafford and Lincoln.

A. D. 340. We have but very imperfect accounts of what paſſed in Britain during the reign of Conſtantine the Great; all we know is, that the iſland continued in peace; no diſturbance, no inſurrection happened during the whole period. He was, indeed, formed for empire; he poſſeſſed the talents of a Julius, and the liberality of a Titus; his genius was uncommonly enterprizing, and his capacity equal to accompliſh the great undertakings he was continually forming. He was affable, polite, equitable, humane, and obliging even to exceſs; no perſon ever aſked his aſſiſtance in vain, or quitted his preſence with diſappointment. His adniſtration

miniſtration of juſtice was conducted with the greateſt impartiality, and ſoftened with a liberality without example; for he often indemnified, from his own purſe, the loſſes which had been juſtly incurred by his ſentence. In victory he was ſomething more than man; he pardoned all that had fought againſt him, and reſtored the forfeited eſtates of his moſt inveterate enemies. His laws were the undeniable teſtimony of the equity of his government, and the humanity of his diſpoſition. They breathe only tenderneſs to the unfortunate, encouragement to the virtuous, and are calculated to inſpire the human breaſt with the noble ſpirit of genuine liberty.

A. D. 337. Such was Conſtantine the Great, who, after a long and proſperous reign, died on the twenty-ſecond of May, leaving the empire between his ſons, Britain, France, Spain, and part of Germany, fell to the ſhare of the eldeſt, who was of the ſame name of his father.

A. D. 340. But he did not long enjoy his portion, he was killed in a battle at Aquileia, in making an attempt on the dominions of his brother Conſtans, who ſucceeded to the inheritance.

A. D. 343. Having thus united the poſſeſſions of his brother to his own, he came into Britain in the middle of winter, bringing his other brother Conſtantius with him. Conſtans was deſtitute of all the great qualities that rendered his father amiable. He employed his time in hunting and other rural diverſions, leaving the cares of government to perſons unworthy of the truſt, and who abuſed his confidence. They even conſpired againſt their maſter, whoſe vices and the intolerable burdens laid by themſelves on the people, had rendered him odious. They ſet up one Magnentius, a Gaul of Britiſh extraction, and proclaimed him emperor, and Conſtans was ſoon after ſlain.

A. D. 350. Conſtantius was now the only ſurviving ſon of the great Conſtantine. He laid claim to the undivided inheritance of his father; but the relation which Magnentius had in Britain, prevailed with the Roman Britons to declare in his favour. Conſtantius, however, who was ſuperior to his brother in genius, and much leſs contaminated with vice, had a ſtrong party both in this iſland and in Gaul. Magnentius, indeed, made head againſt all his power during a period of three years; but at length the fortune of Conſtantius prevailed, and Magnentius was reduced to the wretched alternative of putting an end to his own life, or falling into the hands of the emperor. He choſe the former, and finiſhed his courſe at Lyons in France.

A. D. 354. Britain now returned to the allegiance of Conſtantius, who, to the eternal ſtain of his memory, erected a court of confiſcation, and ſent over one Paulinus, a Spaniſh notary, to act the part of inquiſitor-general. His buſineſs was to diſcover and proſecute the abettors of Magnentius, in order to confiſcate their eſtates to the imperial exchequer. The character of Paulinus was well adapted to his poſt; with the appearance of kindneſs, and under the maſk of friendſhip, he committed the moſt ſhameful violences on the eſtates and perſons of the wretched Britons. It was not enough that their wealth fell a ſacrifice to his avarice; unleſs their lives alſo became the victims of his cruelty.

A. D. 355. One Martin, then the imperial vicar in Britain, could not ſee ſuch cruelties practiſed without ſhewing his deteſtation of them. He expoſtulated frequently with Paulinus upon his injuſtice, his violence, and his impolitic proceedings, which muſt ſoon alienate the affections of the people from their common maſter. But his expoſtulations were fruitleſs; the avarice of the inquiſitor was not more inſatiable than his cruelty was unrelenting. At laſt Martin, thinking to ſtrike an awe into the Spaniard, threatened to leave the iſland. But Paulinus, eminent in the practice of inſidious arts, fearing that Martin would diſcover his practices to the imperial court, and terminate his trade of rapine and cruelty, contrived to draw the generous Roman into ſome unguarded action, that might have, at leaſt, the appearance of a crime. His ſcheme was ſo artfully laid, that it had nearly produced the deſired effect, and Martin, together with ſeveral Romans of his party, were on the point of being adjudged to fetters by the imperial commiſſion. This ſo exaſperated Martin that he drew his ſword, and aimed a thruſt at the Spaniard; but miſſing his blow, turned the point of it againſt himſelf, and plunged it into his own boſom.

The inquiſitor did not, however, long eſcape the puniſhment due to his crimes. He was afterwards burnt alive in the reign of Julian, the adopted ſucceſſor of Conſtantius.

In the mean time, the Scots and Picts, encouraged by the weakneſs, or exaſperated by the ſeverity of the Roman government, made ſeveral inroads among the provinces. Julian, afterwards called the apoſtate, beheld theſe devaſtations he was unable to prevent. He commanded in Gaul with the title of Cæſar, but was too much embarraſſed with his own affairs on the continent, to viſit Britain in perſon. He, however, ſent over one Lupicinus, an able officer, but haughty, avaricious, and cruel, to oppoſe the invaſions of the northern tribes. He performed the ſervice effectually; but he diſguſted the Britons, and gave them a diſtaſte to the Roman government. But we have no further accounts relative to this iſland till Valentinian aſcended the imperial throne.

A. D. 362. In his reign the Roman provinces were in danger of being overwhelmed by an inundation of Picts, Scots, Saxons and Attatoci, who made inroads in ſeveral places at the ſame time. They alſo drew Nectarides, count of the ſea-coaſt, and Fullofaudes, general of the imperial forces, into an ambuſh, which, at once, proved fatal to themſelves and the greater part of their forces.

A. D. 363. Valentinian, alarmed at this diſaſter, diſpatched Severus, the ſteward of his houſhold, to ſtem the torrent which threatened deſtruction to the Roman intereſt in Britain; but all the endeavours of this officer proving ineffectual, he was recalled, and ſucceeded by Jovinus; who, on his arrival, found that the victorious Britons had broke through the Roman pretentures, and that all the footing his maſter had here, was in the greateſt danger of being loſt, without ſome ſpeedy reinforcement from the continent. Jovinus, therefore, diſpatched one of his officers to Rome, in order to report a true ſtate of the iſland, and repreſent the neceſſity of a ſpeedy ſupply. On examining this report, the emperor found that the preſence of a general of the greateſt reputation and experience would be neceſſary to retrieve the affairs of Britain. Accordingly Theodoſius, the moſt experienced ſoldier of his time, was appointed to command in this expedition; and ſelect detachments being drawn from the imperial forces on the continent, Theodoſius ſet out at the

head

head of a powerful army to repel the incurſions of the northern nations.

A. D. 364. On his arrival in Britain, he found the city of London in great diſtreſs; and therefore haſtened to its relief. This being accompliſhed, he divided his army into three parts, ſurprized the enemy in ſeveral places at once, and recovered the plunder they had taken, which conſiſted chiefly of captives and herds of cattle. A ſmall part of theſe ſpoils Theodoſius reſerved as an encouragement to his ſoldiers, and returned the reſt to their original owners. This generous conduct had ſuch an effect upon the Britons, that they became firmly attached to the Roman government.

The Caledonians and their allies being thus driven out of the Roman territories, Theodoſius had time to conſult proper meaſures for finiſhing the campaign with ſucceſs. For this purpoſe he returned to London, where the people received him as their deliverer; but when he came to examine into the ſtate of the provinces, he found there was a neceſſity for civil as well as military virtue; that wiſdom as well as courage muſt be applied to repair the miſerable devaſtations already made in the country, and prevent the barbarians from offering any inſults for the future. In order to this he publiſhed an act of indemnity to all rebels, inviting them to repair to his ſtandard. This had the deſired effect: his army was greatly increaſed, ſo that he was ſoon in a condition of marching to the northward againſt the Caledonians; but thought it prudent, before he left London, to provide for an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, by giving that department to a civilian of great parts and integrity; and, at the ſame time, to prevent any commotion, entruſted the command of the army to Dulcitus, an officer of reputation and experience.

Having taken theſe precautions, he marched againſt the enemy, and, by degrees, drove back the Caledonians into their own territories; placed garriſons to defend the frontiers, repaired the forts and walls that had been damaged by the barbarians, and laid the foundation of a laſting peace with the Caledonians.

A. D. 369. But a conſpiracy now happened which threatened at once the life of Valentinian, and the total ruin of the Roman intereſt in Britain. One Valentinus, a native of Pannonia, a man of bold and deſperate ambition, whoſe practices were too dangerous, and his ſpirit too reſtleſs for a well ordered government, had been baniſhed from the continent into Britain. But being an exile at large, he had opportunity for giving his reſtleſs ſpirit full ſcope, and accordingly formed a ſcheme for ſeizing the government. For this purpoſe he engaged his fellow exiles, all deſirous of an opportunity for revenge, and found means to draw many of the ſoldiers from their allegiance. A conſpiracy of this nature could not remain long a ſecret, it ſoon reached the ears of Theodoſius, who immediately ſeized the ringleaders, and delivered them up to public juſtice. This being done, he gave a noble proof of his wiſdom and moderation. He ſtopped all farther inquiſition, and even pardoned ſome wretches who had been engaged in a conſpiracy againſt his life. By this means he ſaved the guilty from deſpair, which might have produced ſome fatal convulſions in his own army, and encouraged the enemy to undertake a new invaſion.

Theodoſius, during his northern expedition, had obſerved that the celebrated wall was but a feeble defence againſt the force of the barbarians. He therefore reſolved to ſtrengthen the barrier of the Roman empire in Britain, by erecting all the lands which lay between the wall of Severus, and that of Lollius Urbicus, into a ſeparate province, and repairing the wall of Antoninus in Scotland. This new erected province was called Valentia, in honour of the reigning emperor, and committed to the charge of a diſtinct governor. The Romans had hitherto made uſe of a kind of huſſars, or light horſe, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Areani, in order to give them notice of the motions of the Caledonians; but theſe troops having betrayed their charge, and acted rather as ſpies to the barbarians than a body of obſervation in the ſervice of their country, Theodoſius broke the corps, and inſtituted a regular company of light horſe in their ſtead.

A. D. 370. Having by theſe means reſtored tranquillity to the Roman provinces, he returned to the continent, where he was received by his maſter with all the honours due to his great merit, and important ſervices. The ſenate alſo paid him their debt of gratitude, by conſidering him in the ſame light as their anceſtors conſidered their republican dictators; they erected a ſtatue to his memory among thoſe of their moſt celebrated heroes.

A. D. 375. The death of the emperor Valentinian encouraged the Picts and Scots to renew their incurſions into the Roman territories in Britain. And the emperor Gratian, who ſucceeded Valentinian in the weſtern empire, too feeble of himſelf to ſuſtain the weight of government, aſſociated with himſelf the young Theodoſius, ſon to the celebrated conqueror of the Caledonians.

A. D. 385. This young man had ſerved under his father in Britain, with one Maximus, a Spaniard, of great quality, great merit, and at the head of the Roman army in this iſland, when Theodoſius was raiſed to the imperial purple. Maximus was greatly diſguſted at the ſudden riſe of Theodoſius, who was the younger officer; and the army in Britain were ſo averſe to Gratian's government, that they were ready to join in any attempt that ſeemed to promiſe a revolution. Theſe were motives, at once, too inviting and too intereſting for Maximus to reſiſt the calls of ambition; and he accordingly ſuffered himſelf to be declared emperor.

As Maximus was endowed with every quality that could adorn the imperial purple, he conciliated the love of the Roman inhabitants in Britain, by giving a vigorous check to the ravages of the northern barbarians. By this means he thought his power eſtabliſhed beyond the force of any rival, and fatally for this iſland, reſolved, as emperor, to make good his claim upon the continent.

Accordingly he raiſed a powerful army of Britons, recalled all the Roman forces from the barrier, and, at the head of this combined army, ſailed over to the continent. He landed at the mouth of the Rhine, and found means to perſuade all the imperial forces in Germany to acknowledge his title. Maximus now fixed his reſidence at Tiers; his power become irreſiſtable; he levied contributions; he quelled the reſtleſs Germans, and his name filled his boldeſt rivals with terror.

In the mean time, the Britons at home were threatened with the ſame chains their countrymen abroad

abroad were impoſing upon others. The northern Britons again broke through the barriers, and reduced the Britons to a condition truly deplorable.

A. D. 387. Gratian now advanced againſt Maximus, but being deſerted by great part of his army, fled to Lyons, where he was killed by Andrigathius. This ſucceſs confirmed the power of Maximus, and he might, in all probability, have enjoyed his good fortune and acquiſitions, had not his ambition extended with his fortune: he attacked, and drove the emperor Valentinian out of Italy; but the latter flying to Theodoſius, emperor of Conſtantinople, obtained the aſſiſtance of a very powerful army; at the head of which, Theodoſius attacked and defeated the tyrant, who being abandoned by the Britons, his ſole ſupport, was delivered up to the conqueror, and put to death.

A. D. 388. During theſe ſtruggles for empire on the continent, Britain, robbed of her forces, drained of her natives, and deprived of the fleets which uſed to guard the ſeas, was expoſed to invaſions of foreign nations, The Iriſh now landed near Dunbritton, and ravaged the adjacent country. Theodoſius, tho' incumbered with a multiplicity of affairs, and the diſtractions which reigned in many parts of the empire, had ſtill a great regard for the affairs of Britain. He ſent over Chryſanthus, who put an effectual ſtop to the depredations of the Scots and Iriſh.

A. D. 395. The ſeveral parts of the Roman empire had now, for ſome time, been united in the perſon of Theodoſius, who, at his death, left it between his two ſons, Arcadius and Honorius: The eaſtern empire fell to the ſhare of the former, and the weſtern to that of the latter, who was then but twelve years old, and committed, during his minority, to the care of Stilicho, a man of great abilities.

A. D. 399. About this period, Neil-Nao-gaillac, the chief of the Iriſh monarchs, landed in the weſt of England, and ravaged the country as far as the coaſt oppoſite to Gaul. At the ſame time, the Picts and Saxons were carrying on their depredations in other parts. In this diſtreſs, the Britons applied to the imperial court for aſſiſtance, and Stilicho immediately ſent over Victorinus at the head of a legion, who effectually repulſed theſe perpetual invaders of the Britiſh territories, and ſoon after forced them to leave the country.

A. D. 403. After this the nation enjoyed a profound tranquillity during the reſidence of Victorinus; but he being recalled with his legion, to make head againſt Alaric the Goth, who now threatened to attack even the capital of the Roman empire, the iſland was again left without defence.

This event gave the Barbarians another opportunity for attacking the diſpirited Britons, who now again applied to Honorius for relief. But notwithſtanding the pathetic repreſentation they made of their diſtreſs, they received no other favour from the emperor, than a letter, wherein he told them, it was impoſſible for him to ſend them any troops, and therefore exhorted them to take up arms in their own defence, and repel, with their own force, the invaders of their country.

A. D. 408. This anſwer drove the Britons to deſpair. They determined to diſclaim all connection with Rome, and to erect themſelves into an independent ſtate. Accordingly they choſe and murdered two emperors in leſs than ſix months. After this they ſet up one Conſtantine, a perſon of low birth, merely for the ſake of his name, which was at that time very popular. But this iſland was a ſcene too narrow for the ambition of Conſtantine; he affected nothing leſs than the poſſeſſion of the whole weſtern empire. For this purpoſe, he followed the ſteps of his predeceſſor Maximus; he collected the whole force of the iſland, paſſed over into Gaul, and on his landing at Boulogne, was joined by all the Roman forces on this ſide the Alps.

Stilicho now ordered Sarus to march againſt Conſtantine, which was at firſt atttended with the greateſt ſucceſs: the Britons were routed, purſued to Valence in Dauphine, and that city inveſted by the Roman forces. But before they could make themſelves maſters of the place, a powerful army, headed by Edobechus, a Frank, and Gerontius a Briton, advanced, and obliged the Romans to retire with ſo much precipitation, that Sarus was forced to purchaſe a paſſage through the Alps to Italy, of the Bragradæ. We ſhall not follow the fortune of Conſtantine any further, than to inform the reader, that his bold attempt ended about two years after, in the deſtruction of himſelf and his whole family.

In the mean time the Britons were reduced to the laſt extremity, by the incurſions of the Scots and Picts, which ſo alarmed the remainder of the Romans, that they gave up the whole country for loſt, and, after burying their treaſures, tranſported themſelves to the continent, counſelling the Britons to rebuild their wall, and defend their frontiers with their whole force,

But the Barbarians did not wait to attack the defenceleſs works of the Britons: they croſſed the friths by the help of ſmall boats, in prodigious numbers, and ſpread deſolation through the whole country.

A. D. 426. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, applied once more to Rome for aſſiſtance. They again repreſented their country as on the brink of deſtruction, and implored the pity of the imperial court, not to ſuffer the barbarity of foreigners to extinguiſh the glory of a province ſo long eminent under the Roman government.

Valentinian, who then filled the imperial throne, commiſerated their diſtreſs, and ſent over a legion to their aſſiſtance. The Romans arrived in the autumn, and immediately attacked, routed, and drove the Barbarians back into their own country.

A. D. 445. The Britons now enjoyed tranquillity for a conſiderable time; but being again attacked by the northern Barbarians, they again applied to Rome, and a legion, under the command of Gallio, was ſent to their aſſiſtance, by which means, the Scots and Picts were once more driven back into their own country, and the provinces freed from their cruel invaders.

A. D. 446. The northern nations had now, like an inundation, overſpread the face of the Roman empire; ſo that it was impoſſible for the emperor to ſpare any of his forces, and Gallio was accordingly recalled. But notwithſtanding the affairs of the continent demanded his preſence, he was unwilling to leave the Britons expoſed and defenceleſs to the future attacks of their enemies. He again exhorted them to arm in their own defence, and to repair their barrier. And as the former wall, built on the Iſthmus, between the friths of Clyde and Forth, had proved entirely ineffectual for their protection,

he adviſed them to repair that of Severus, and to build forts along the coaſts, againſt the ſudden attacks of pirates. He then told them plainly, that the affairs of the empire would not permit the Romans to aſſiſt them any more, and therefore exhorted them to practice the art of war, and to become expert and regular in military diſcipline; but above all, to act upon one general plan, and to uſe their whole collective ſtrength againſt their northern invaders. At the ſame time he furniſhed them with patterns for making arms, and gave them directions for forging them. Then taking a final leave of the Britons, the Roman forces embarked, and never more returned to this iſland.

BOOK III.

From the Time of the Romans *leaving* Britain, *to the Converſion of the* Saxons, *by the preaching of* Auſtin *the Monk.*

A. D. 446. THE Britons, being deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Romans, conſidered their ſtate as deſperate, and their liberty as the moſt fatal gift that could be offered them. Strangers to the cares of civil government, and unaccuſtomed to the toils of war, they found it impoſſible to form or execute any effectual meaſures for putting a ſtop to the inroads of the Barbarians. At the ſame time the Picts and Scots, knowing the Romans had finally relinquiſhed Britain, conſidered the whole kingdom as their own, and attacked the northern wall with their whole force. The Britons, already ſubdued by their own fears, found the ramparts but a weak defence; and deſerting their ſtation, left the country entirely open to the inroads of a barbarous enemy. A terrible devaſtation enſued, and a dreadful famine was the conſequence. The Britons again applied to the Romans for relief; but Rome now experienced all the miſeries felt by the Britons. The Goths, the Vandals, the Huns, and other barbarous nations, were committing the ſame ravages on the continent, which the Scots and Picts were carrying on in Britain.

A. D. 448. Ætius was at this time general to Valentinian, and ſuſtained, by his valour and magnanimity, the tottering ruins of the empire, and revived, for a moment, among the degenerate Romans, the ſpirit, as well as the diſcipline of their anceſtors. The fame of his ſucceſs having reached the ears of the Britons, encouraged them to apply once more to Rome for relief. Accordingly ambaſſadors were diſpatched to Valentinian, with a letter written in the moſt abject ſtrain, and inſcribed "The Groans of the Britons. Nor was the epiſtle leſs abject than the inſcription. "The Barbarians, "ſay they, drive us to the ſea; the ſea repels us "upon the Barbarians; and only the hard alterna- "tive is left us, that of falling by the ſword, or "periſhing in the waves."

But Ætius, preſſed by the arms of Attila, had no leiſure to attend to complaints from others. The requeſt, therefore, of the Britons, was denied, and this refuſal drove them to deſpair, inſtead of animating them to take the manly reſolution of repelling the lawleſs invaders of their country. Some of them were mean enough to throw themſelves on the mercy of the enemy, while others, retiring to the woods and mountains, ſought a livelihood from hunting. This robuſt manner of life ſtrengthening their nerves, and calling forth their natural vigour, prompted them to make repriſals upon the enemy, who now began to feel the miſeries of famine in a country they had themſelves laid deſolate; and therefore retired to their own country with the ſpoils they had taken.

The Britons taking advantage of this interval of peace, returned to their former occupations; and a favourable ſeaſon ſucceeding, their labours were crowned with the deſired ſucceſs, plenty ſucceeded the famine, and they forgot at once their miſeries and their danger. They made no proviſion for reſiſting the enemy, and the faint glimmerings of the old Britiſh ſpirit that appeared, when the Scots and Picts were repelled, was ſtifled in the lap of indolence. Oſtentatious in council, fearful in execution, they relapſed into all their former degeneracy, and, tired with liberty, they ſought refuge in ſubjection.

Ambition was not, however, totally unknown among the Britons. Several petty tyrants were ſet up, and enjoyed a ſhort-lived command; but their power excited the envy of others, and proved fatal to themſelves. Among theſe monarchs of a day was Vortigern, who obtained the ſovereign authority by murdering his predeceſſor, and tho' contaminated with every vice, governed, for ſome time, this degenerated people. But his power was not to be envied, he trembled at the thought of a freſh invaſion of his northern foe, and inſtead of animating his ſubjects to defend themſelves, he formed a ſcheme for inviting over a foreign army to protect his people. Accordingly a council was called, the propoſition approved of, and a deputation ordered to be ſent into Germany, to treat with the Saxons for their protection and aſſiſtance,

The Saxons were, at this time, formidable for their numbers, their fierceneſs, and their naval power. They had now ſpread themſelves through the northern parts of Germany, and had taken poſſeſſion of all the ſea-coaſts, from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland; whence they had long infeſted, with their piracies, all the weſtern coaſts of Britain, and the northern parts of Gaul. The Romans, in order to oppoſe their inroads, had eſtabliſhed an officer, whom they called "Count of the Saxon ſhore;" and as the maritime arts can flouriſh, only among a civilized people, they ſeem to have been more ſucceſsful in repelling the Saxons, than of any other Barbarians by whom their country was invaded. After the departure of the Romans, they renewed their piratical inroads, ſo that the appearance of the Britiſh

tiſh deputies could not be diſagreeable among a people whoſe inclinations already prompted them to viſit their country.

Among the Saxon tribes were two brothers, called Hengiſt and Horſa, who had gained great credit among their own people, by their valour and noble deſcent. Like the reſt of the Saxon princes, they were believed to have ſprung from Woden, who was worſhipped as a god among this rude people. This circumſtance was of the greateſt conſequence; it added much to their authority among an illiterate and ferocious multitude.

The Saxons well knew, that all the provinces of Germany, as well as thoſe of Gaul, were over-run by a neceſſitous and warlike people; ſo that theſe two brothers had no great difficulty to perſuade their countrymen to liſten to the offers of the Britiſh deputies, as the enterprize promiſed them a favourable opportunity of diſplaying their valour, and gratifying their avidity.

A. D. 450. Accordingly the Saxons embarked their troops, amounting to about one thouſand ſix hundred men, in three ſmall veſſels, and landed in the iſle of Thanet. Vortigern was already attacked by the northern invaders of his country, ſo that it was not long before the Saxons had an opportunity of convincing the Britons, that they had not applied to a people incapable of defending them. The Scots and Picts were unable to reſiſt the valour of theſe auxiliaries, who obtained a complete victory near Stamford in Lincolnſhire, and recovered all the ſpoils the northern Barbarians had taken during their incurſion.

Vortigern thus delivered from the fears of an invaſion, from an old and inveterate foe, began now to conſider how he might beſt ſecure himſelf, by gaining the friendſhip of the Saxons. But the victory over the Scots and Picts having been obtained with ſo little difficulty, inſpired the two brothers, Hengiſt and Horſa, with the thought of ſubduing the Britons, and making themſelves maſters of the whole iſland. They, however, concluded an agreement with Vortigern, by which they were to receive every thing neceſſary to their ſubſiſtance, and for ſome time continued quiet: but at the ſame time ſent intelligence to Saxony of the ſucceſs that had atended their arms, and painted the riches and fertility of Britain in the moſt pleaſing colours. They repreſented the Britons as a people long diſuſed to arms, and without union among themſelves, careleſs of their liberties, and deſtitute of all national attachments and regards. Accounts, like theſe, could not fail of ſucceſs. The Saxons in Germany, deſirous of ſharing the good fortune of their countrymen, came over in great numbers, ſo that Hengiſt and Horſa ſoon ſaw their army reinforced with five thouſand men.

A. D. 451. The Britons were now aware of the danger to which they were expoſed. The great ſervice their allies had already performed, ſufficiently indicated what they muſt expect, ſhould they turn their ſwords againſt them. They accordingly remonſtrated to the Saxons, the unreaſonableneſs of their hoping to be ſupplied, according to the terms of the agreement, when their numbers were ſo conſiderably increaſed. This gave the Saxons a plauſible reaſon for an open rupture: they immediately formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts, and proceeded to open hoſtilities againſt the Britons.

A. D. 455. Filled with indignation againſt their treacherous auxiliaries, the Britons had recourſe to arms, and having depoſed Vortigern, now become odious for his vices, and the council he had given with regard to the Saxons, placed his ſon Vortimer on the throne. Under that prince they fought many battles with various ſucceſs, tho' the advantage was generally on the ſide of the Saxons. In one remarkable action, however, fought at Eglesford, now Ailsford, victory declared for the Britons, and Horſa, one of the Saxon generals, was ſlain.

A. D. 457. Hengiſt being now the ſole commander of his countrymen, ſent over to Germany for a freſh ſupply of troops, and on their arrival, carried devaſtation into every part of Britain. Impelled by cruelty, or anxious to ſpread the terror of his arms, he ſpared neither age, nor ſex, nor condition; ruin and deſtruction continually attended the route of his army. The public and private edifices of the Britons were reduced to aſhes; the prieſts were ſlaughtered upon the altars, and the nobility ſhared the fate of the vulgar.

Hengiſt now took upon himſelf the title of king of Kent. This addition of regal dignity, offered his countrymen a fair pretence of ſettling in a country, which one of their princes called his own. They furniſhed aſſiſtance with alacrity, conſidering themſelves as principals, inſtead of auxiliaries, and fought to obtain poſſeſſions for themſelves, rather than in the defence of others.

A. D. 465. Vortimer, after contending ſome time with theſe foreign auxiliaries, paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by Ambroſius, a Briton, tho' of Roman deſcent, who endeavoured all in his power to unite his countrymen in their reſiſtance againſt the Saxons. His labours were not wholly without ſucceſs: the military ſpirit of the ancient inhabitants, which had been long ſunk into a fatal lethargy, was revived, and their ſtruggles for maintaining their liberty, ſeemed to promiſe a favourable iſſue.

Hengiſt, however, found means to keep his ground in Britain; but was obliged to call over a new tribe of Saxons, under the command of his brother Octa, and his ſon Ebiſſa, who were ordered to ſettle in Northumberland, in order to divide the forces and attention of the Britons; while he himſelf remained in the ſouthern parts of the iſland.

It was about this time that the famous Arthur began to make his appearance in the world. This hero, we are told, was born at Tindagium, or Tindangel, in Cornwall, but, like ſome other great men in hiſtory, his origin is obſcure. Some writers make him the ſon of Utherpendragon, brother to Ambroſius; while others ſay, he was the ſon of Nazan Leod, who was either one of the kings of Wales, or a general of the Britons; but others, and indeed with more probability, make him the ſon of Gurlois, and add, that he was king of Cornwall.

A. D. 468. Ambroſius now applied himſelf to ſettle the affairs of the kingdom, and for that purpoſe ſummoned a general aſſembly at York, where orders were taken for reſtoring the ſtate of the churches, which had been almoſt wholly deſtroyed by the Saxons; and Ambroſius was afterwards ſolemnly crowned at Stonehenge, the famous monument upon Saliſbury plain.

In the mean time, freſh forces were continually arriving from the northern parts of Germany, under dif-

different leaders. They were chiefly compoſed of three tribes, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, who all paſſed under the common appellation, ſometimes of Saxons, and ſometimes of Angles, for ſpeaking the ſame language, and being governed by the ſame policy, they were naturally led to unite themſelves againſt the ancient inhabitants.

A. D. 477. Ella, the Saxon, attended by his three ſons, Cymer, Wlecing, and Ciſſa, now landed on the coaſt of Suſſex. The Britons apprized of their coming, oppoſed their landing, but were defeated and cut in pieces by the Saxons. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter, by their magnifying relations, increaſed the panic of the neighbouring inhabitants, and diſcouraged the troops who were marching to their aſſiſtance, while others were drove by the enemy to an adjacent wood.

This defeat, by filling the Britons with apprehenſions of the great ſtrength of the enemy, gave the Saxons time to fortify themſelves, which they did at a place called Ciſbury, and laid the foundation for what was afterwards called the kingdom of the South-Saxons.

The Britons did not, however, tamely abandon their poſſeſſions; nor were they expelled, till defeated in ſeveral battles by their warlike invaders. The moſt memorable of theſe actions was fought at Maer-credes-burn, where, tho' the Saxons ſeem to have obtained the victory, they ſuffered ſo conſiderable a loſs, that the progreſs of their conqueſts was for ſome time retarded. But Ella, being reinforced by freſh numbers of his countrymen, once more took the field againſt the Britons, and beſieged Andred-Ceaſter, which was bravely defended by the garriſon and inhabitants. This reſiſtance, added to the fatigues and dangers they had already ſuſtained, exaſperated the Saxons. They redoubled their efforts, took the place by ſtorm, and put every ſoul in it to the ſword, without diſtinction. Their fury extended even to the walls; for they utterly demoliſhed the monument, both of their ſucceſs and barbarity. This deciſive advantage, ſecured the conqueſts of Ella, who now aſſumed the name of king, and extended his dominion over Suſſex, and a great part of Surry.

A. D. 495. Cerdic, and his ſon Kenric, landed about this time at a place in the weſt of England, called Cerdicſhore. The Britons, taught by paſt experience, were continually on their guard, and ſo well prepared to receive the enemy, that they gave Cerdic battle, the very day of his landing; and tho' vanquiſhed, continued for ſome time to defend their poſſeſſions and liberties againſt the invaders of their country.

A. D. 501. Porta and his two ſons, Bieda and Megla, were the next generals that invaded the Britiſh coaſts. They landed at Portſmouth, where they were oppoſed at their landing by the governor, at the head of a confuſed multitude, who were ſoon routed. For raſhneſs only impelled the Britons upon their enemies, while the courage of the enemy turned the temerity of the Britons into confuſion.

A. D. 508. In the mean time, the Britons ſo vigorouſly oppoſed Cerdic, that he was obliged to call to his aſſiſtance his countrymen in Kent, together with Porta and his ſons. Reinforced by theſe ſuccours, he fought a deſperate battle with the Britons, commanded by Nazan Leod their leader, who was victorious in the beginning of the action, and routed the wing in which Cerdic himſelf commanded. But Kenric, who had prevailed over the other wing of the enemy, brought timely aſſiſtance to his father, and reſtored the battle, which ended in a complete victory on the ſide of the Saxons. Nazan Leod periſhed, with five thouſand of this army; but left the Britons more weakened than diſcouraged by his death.

The war was ſtill continued, though the ſucceſs was commonly on the ſide of the Saxons. And Cerdic, willing to puſh his good fortune as far as poſſible, beſieged mount Badon, or Baneſdowne, near Bath, whither the moſt obſtinate of the diſcontented Britons had retired.

A. D. 520. In this extremity, the Britons implored the aſſiſtance of the famous Arthur, whoſe heroic valour now ſuſtained the declining ſtate of his country. Arthur has been ſo much celebrated by the ſongs of Thalieſſin, and other Britiſh bards; and his military atchievements ſo blended with fable, that ſome have entertained a doubt of his real exiſtence. But though poets may diſfigure hiſtory by their fictions, and take great liberties with truth, where they are themſelves the ſole hiſtorians, yet their relations, however exaggerated, are generally founded on truth. Certain it is, that the ſiege of Badon was, at this time, raiſed by the Britons, and the Saxons defeated with great ſlaughter, and there is reaſon to believe that the Britons were headed by the famous Arthur.

The progreſs of Cerdic was, by this misfortune, ſtopped for ſome time, but the Britons were not ſtrong enough to wreſt from him the conqueſts he had already made.

A. D. 527. While the Saxons were buſied in extending the conqueſts in the ſouth, a large tribe of adventurers, headed by ſeveral leaders, landed on the eaſt coaſt of Britain; and after fighting many battles, of which hiſtory has preſerved no particular account, they eſtabliſhed three new kingdoms in the iſland, namely Eaſt Anglia, Mercia, and Eaſt Saxony, or Eſſex. Uffa aſſumed the title of king of the firſt, Crida of the ſecond, and Erkenwin of the third.

A. D. 547. We have already obſerved, that the Saxons had been ſettled in Northumberland ſoon after the landing of Hengiſt. They, however, made but ſmall progreſs in ſubduing the inhabitants, who made a very obſtinate reſiſtance; ſo that their affairs were in ſo unſettled a condition, that none of their princes, for a long time, aſſumed the appellation of king. At laſt Ida, a Saxon prince of great merit, who, like the reſt of the princes among his countrymen, claimed a deſcent from Woden, brought over a reinforcement from Germany, and enabled the Saxons to carry on their conqueſts againſt the Britons. He entirely ſubdued the country, now called Northumberland, the biſhopric of Durham, together with ſome of the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland, and aſſumed the crown under the title of king of Bernicia. About the ſame time Ella, another Saxon prince, having conquered Lancaſhire, and the greater part of Yorkſhire, received the appellation of king of Deïri. Theſe two kingdoms were united in the perſon of Ethelfrid, grandſon of Ida, who married Acca, the daughter of Ella, and expelling her brother Edwin, eſtabliſhed one of the moſt powerful of the Saxon kingdoms, under the title of Northumberland.

A. D. 571. The Saxons perceiving, that their own diviſions gave the Britons great advantages over them, agreed to form a general confederacy,

and

and accordingly Ceaulin, king of Weſſex, firſt enjoyed that dignity: but being defeated by Ethelbert at Wodenſburgh, in Wiltſhire, he was obliged to fly, and died in obſcurity.

A. D. 591. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was now declared head of the Saxon confederacy; and ſoon after married Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of France. It was in his reign that Auſtin, the monk, came into England to convert the Saxons to Chriſtianity, as we ſhall more particularly mention in the following hiſtory of the kingdom of Kent.

BOOK IV.

From the Converſion of the Saxons *to Chriſtianity, to the Reign of* Egbert.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of the Saxon Heptarchy, it will be neceſſary to premiſe a ſhort account of the Saxon government, before their converſion to Chriſtianity.

Tho' monarchial government was eſtabliſhed among the German tribes, yet their kings poſſeſſed only a very limited authority. The ſovereign was, indeed, uſually choſen from among the royal family; but he was obliged to be directed in every meaſure by the common conſent of the nation, over whom he preſided. When any important affairs were tranſacted, all the warriors of the nation met in arms; where the men of the greateſt authority among them, had recourſe to the arts of perſuaſion, to engage their conſent; and the people expreſſed their approbation by rattling their armour, or their diſſent by murmurs. There was no neceſſity for a nice ſcrutiny of votes among a multitude, who are uſually carried by a ſtrong current to one ſide or the other; and the meaſures thus choſen by general agreement, were executed with alacrity, and proſecuted with vigour. Even in war, their princes governed more by example than by authority: but in peace, the civil union was in a great meaſure diſſolved, and the inferior leaders adminiſtered juſtice, after an independent manner, each in his particular diſtrict. They were elected by the votes of the people in their great councils; and tho' regard was paid to nobility in their choice, their perſonal qualities, chiefly their valour, procured them that honourable but dangerous diſtinction, from the ſuffrages of their fellow-citizens. The warriors of each tribe attached themſelves to their leader, with the moſt devoted affection and unſhaken conſtancy. They attended him as his ornaments in peace, as his defence in war, as his council in the adminiſtration of juſtice. To die for the honour of the band was their chief ambition: to ſurvive its diſgrace, or the death of their leader, was infamous. They even carried into the field their women and children, who adopted all the martial ſentiments of the men: and being thus impelled, by every human motive, they were invincible, unleſs oppoſed by the ſimilar manners and inſtitutions of the Germans, or by the ſuperior diſcipline, arms, and numbers of the Romans.

Both the leaders, and their military companions, were maintained by the labour of their ſlaves, or by that of the weaker and leſs warlike part of the ſociety, whom they defended. But the contributions they levied, went no further than a bare ſubſiſtance; ſo that the honours acquired by a ſuperior rank, were the only reward of their dangers and fatigues. At the ſame time, the Saxons were ignorant of all the refined arts of life: tillage itſelf was almoſt wholly neglected: they ſeem to have been anxious even to prevent any improvement of that nature; and the leaders, by annually diſtributing anew, all the adjacent lands among the inhabitants of each village, prevented them from attaching themſelves to any particular profeſſions, or making any ſuch progreſs in agriculture, as might divert their attention from military expeditions, which compoſed the principal occupation of the community.

Their religion, like that of all the pagan nations, was full of ſuperſtition. They practiſed divination by lots, in a peculiar manner; the prieſt preſiding in all public affairs, and the maſter of the family in private.

Their idols were various. Woden, their principal deity, ſeems to have been the ſame with Mercury; and to him they offered human ſacrifices, and conſecrated the fourth day of our week. They worſhipped Venus, under the name of Friga, and conſecrated the ſixth day to her. Tuyſco they worſhipped on Tueſday; the ſun on Sunday; the moon on Monday; an idol called Thor, on Thurſday; and another called Seater, on Saturday.

But the peculiar patroneſs of our Engliſh anceſtors was Herthus, or the earth: ſhe was placed in a vehicle, covered with a ſacred veſtment, and placed in a holy wood, in an iſland of the ocean. This portable temple was carried about by cows, and attended by a prieſt, who was ſuppoſed to know the ſecrets of the goddeſs; nor did any other mortal dare to touch the vehicle in which ſhe was carried. When the deity pleaſed to honour any place with her preſence, all the inhabitants were inſtantly filled with joy; all tumult and war ceaſed; the ſword was ſheathed, and tranquillity and harmony filled every breaſt. Such were the manners, and ſuch was the religion of the Saxons when they ſettled in England; how the former were ſoftened, and the latter deſtroyed, by the introduction of Chriſtianity, will appear hereafter.

THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

THE ſeven Saxon kingdoms being eſtabliſhed in the manner we have already related, the inhabitants, language, cuſtoms, and political inſtitutions of the whole ſouthern part of the iſland, except Wales and Cornwall, were totally changed.

While the conteſt was maintained with the natives, the ſeveral Saxon princes preſerved an union of councils and intereſts; but after the Britons were ſhut up in the barren countries of Cornwall and Wales, and gave no farther trouble to the conquerors, the band of alliance was, in a great meaſure, diſſolved among the princes of the Heptarchy; and tho' one prince was ſtill conſidered as the head of the whole, yet his authority was extremely limited; and each ſtate acted as if it had been wholly ſeparated from the reſt. Wars, revolutions, and diſſentions, were therefore unavoidable among a turbulent and military people; and theſe events, however intricate or confuſed, ſhould now become the objects of our attention. But as it is, perhaps, impoſſible, from the confuſed manner in which they have been related by the monks, who were the only hiſtorians of thoſe times, to reduce the whole into one continued narrative, we ſhall divide the ſubject, and endeavour to give a ſuccinct account of the ſucceſſion of the kings, and the revolutions of each particular kingdom, of which the Saxon Heptarchy was compoſed.

The Kingdom of KENT.

WE have already ſeen Hengiſt ſettled in the kingdom of Kent, and the methods he took to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Ecus, who poſſeſſed but a ſmall ſhare of the military ſpirit of his father, and was contented to poſſeſs in tranquillity his kingdom, which, at his death, he left to his ſon Octa; during whoſe reign the Eaſt Saxons eſtabliſhed their monarchy, and diſmembered the provinces of Eſſex and Middleſex from that of Kent. His death, which happened after a reign of twenty-two years, made room for his ſon Hermenric, who performed nothing memorable during a reign of thirty-two years, except aſſociating his ſon Ethelbert with him in the government.

Ethelbert revived the reputation of his family. And after defeating Ceaulin, king of Weſſex, he became the head of the Saxon Heptarchy. But the moſt memorable and fortunate event which diſtinguiſhed the reign of this great prince, was the introduction of the chriſtian religion among the Engliſh Saxons. Whether the Britons made any attempts to convert them is uncertain; indeed the Saxons, except thoſe who inhabited the kingdom of Kent, had been ſo continually engaged in the hurry and tumults of war, that they had no leiſure to examine into the truths of chriſtianity. At the ſame time, it could hardly be ſuppoſed they would liſten to the reaſonings of the Britons, who were at once both their ſlaves and their enemies. Theſe inſuperable difficulties were at laſt happily removed by the marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of France, as we have already mentioned.

This princeſs was a chriſtian, and enjoyed, by the articles of marriage, the free exerciſe of her religion: in conſequence of which, ſhe was attended by Luidhard, a prelate venerable at once for his learning and exemplary life. He officiated in the church of St. Martin, which had been built in the time of the Romans, near the walls of Canterbury; and by his frequent diſcourſes with the nobility, converted many to the chriſtian faith. In the mean time, the excellent underſtanding of the queen, her irreproachable life, and uncommon learning, had inſpired the king with a very favourable idea of her religion.

Gregory the great, who now filled the papal chair, informed of theſe happy circumſtances, ſent Auguſtine, or Auſtin, a Roman monk, with about forty aſſociates to preach the goſpel in Britain. But on their arrival in Province, the monks were ſo terrified at the difficulties and dangers they had to encounter in their voyage, that they ſent their ſuperior back in order to obtain leave for relinquiſhing the undertaking. Gregory, however, perſiſted in his deſign, and ſent orders for them to proceed on their miſſion. At the ſame time he diſpatched letters to the French court, recommending the monks to their protection, and requeſting that they might be furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to promote the ſucceſs of their undertaking.

A. D. 597. With this aſſiſtance, Auguſtine with his followers landed in the Iſle of Thanet, and immediately diſpatched one of his interpreters to the Kentiſh court, then the moſt ſplendid in Britain, declaring that he came from Rome, with an offer of eternal happineſs to thoſe who ſhould embrace his doctrine; and to preach the knowledge of the true deity, to which the Saxons were yet ſtrangers. Ethelbert, on receiving Auguſtine's meſſage, did not think proper to grant them audience; but ordered him to be furniſhed with all kinds of neceſſaries in the Iſle of Thanet, and ſoon after came thither in perſon. When the monks were ſummoned to appear, they advanced with a ſlow pace, bearing a crucifix, and ſinging their litanies. After hearing them preach, Ethelbert returned without

profeſſing

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S.t Austin Preaching before
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profeſſing himſelf a proſelyte to their doctrine; but permitted them to reſide in Canterbury, with the free liberty of preaching their religion whenever they pleaſed, and making as many proſelytes as they could.

A religion built on the principles of ſelf-denial, required the practice of this virtue to recommend it; and Auguſtine took care that this ſhould not be wanting. No ſooner were he and his companions placed in the houſes aſſigned for their reception, than they endeared themſelves to the people by the purity of their manners, and the diſintereſtedneſs of their conduct. At the ſame time they took every opportunity of preaching in the queen's chapel, when all had free admiſſion. Their labours were attended with remarkable ſucceſs; and Ethelbert himſelf, unable to withſtand the double influence of their arguments and examples, declared himſelf their convert.

The liberties of the miſſionaries were now enlarged, and their labours extended to every part of the kingdom. Chriſt-church in Canterbury, which had been built in the time of the Romans, was made a cathedral; the churches which had fallen to decay, were repaired; the heathen temples were conſecrated, and ſet apart for divine worſhip, and a ſeminary for learning was opened in Canterbury.

This converſion confirmed the power of Ethelbert, and its luſtre eclipſed all the civil actions of that prince, ſo that we have no further account of him, except his digeſting a body of laws, which he publiſhed in the vulgar tongue, that no man might plead ignorance in defence of his tranſgreſſion. He reigned in peace ſeveral years after his converſion, and, at his death, left his kingdom to Eadbald his ſon.

A. D. 616. Eadbald ſoon degenerated both from the virtue and religion of his father; he relapſed into paganiſm, and even practiſed vices the pagans themſelves deteſted. He took his mother-in-law to his bed; but this lady was not the virtuous Bertha, ſhe having paid the debt of nature before her huſband. This ſtep, together with the open contempt he profeſſed for chriſtianity, proved a great ſtumbling block to the new converts, and turned many from the faith.

A. D. 639. But Laurentius, who ſucceeded Auguſtine in the ſee of Canterbury, laboured inceſſantly for his reformation, and, at laſt, happily ſucceeded. He embraced the chriſtian religion, and, as a mark of his ſincerity, divorced his inceſtuous conſort. The example of a king is always prevalent among his ſubjects; and accordingly, that of Eadbald, greatly influenced the people in favour of the chriſtian religion.

It would be unjuſt to the memory of this prince, not to mention the methods he purſued to convince himſelf of the truth of the chriſtian doctrine. He proceeded with calmneſs, care, and deliberation. Not contented with his own reflections, which were the reſult of privacy and retirement, nor with the reaſons which paſſed between him and his miniſters on this intereſting ſubject, he convened all his nobility, counſellors and friends, to examine the proofs of both religions. Paulinus was firſt heard in defence of chriſtianity, and then the chief pontiff in favour of paganiſm. After which the proofs offered by each were thoroughly examined; and the reſult of the whole was ſo favourable to the chriſtian ſyſtem, that an unanimous reſolution was taken in its behalf; and the pagan pontiff himſelf was ſo thoroughly convinced of the ſtrength of its evidence, that he was more forward than any of the audience to deſtroy the altars and temples of the idols he had worſhipped.

But notwithſtanding the wiſe precautions of Eadbald to ſatisfy himſelf with regard to the evidence on which his religion was founded, he was by no means equal to his father. His life, however, was irreproachable after his converſion, and he was bleſſed with an uninterrupted tranquillity during an interval of two and twenty years. Before his death he obtained the conſent of his ſubjects to ſettle the ſucceſſion of his throne on Ercombert, his youngeſt ſon, with this reſtriction, that the heirs of Ermenfrid, his eldeſt brother, ſhould ſucceed to the crown at his deceaſe.

A. D. 659. Ercombert readily agreed to the conditions, and as readily forgot them when ſettled on the throne. Excepting this breach of promiſe, he might be called a zealous chriſtian; he demoliſhed the heathen temples, and deſtroyed the idols that had hitherto been worſhipped there.

A. D. 663. At his death he left two ſons, Egbert and Lotharius; but Egbert inſtead of acting as guardians to his nephews, who were the true heirs to the throne, he reſolved to put them to death. Accordingly, he prevailed upon Thunner, one of his nobles, to murder the royal innocents. This execrable monſter performed the inhuman office, and threw their bodies into a river; where they were afterwards found floating on the water by the country people, and interred in the abbey of Ramſay. But the death of theſe young princes was not ſufficient to remove the jealouſy of Egbert: their ſiſter Domneva was ſtill alive, and married to the king of Mercia. He, therefore, prevailed upon her to relinquiſh all pretenſions to the throne, in conſideration of a certain quantity of land in the Iſle of Thanet, where ſhe built a monaſtey.

When he had thus fixed himſelf upon the throne, his adminiſtration was mild and peaceable during an interval of nine years, when he died, leaving two ſons Edric and Widred. But the injuries he had offered to the children of his brother, were retaliated upon his own; they were both excluded from the crown worn by their father.

A. D. 673. Lotharius, the brother of Egbert, took poſſeſſion of the throne on the death of his brother, and enjoyed it without moleſtation during a period of ten years, when he aſſociated his ſon with him as his partner in the kingdom. Edric, his nephew, perceiving that, by this artifice, his pretenſions to the crown were wholly ſet aſide, withdrew privately from court, in order to proſecute his right in a more effectual manner. In order to this, he applied to Adelwalch, king of Suſſex, who aſſembled an army in his favour; and Edric marched at the head of theſe forces into Kent. A general battle enſued, in which the forces of Lotharius were defeated, and himſelf mortally wounded.

A. D. 685. This victory ſecured Edric the poſſeſſion of the crown, but he enjoyed it only two years, and even this ſhort interval of time, was filled with tumults and commotions, occaſioned by the party of the late king, and the various diſputes that aroſe about the ſucceſſion.

Ceadwalla, king of the Weſt-Saxons, took advantage of theſe inteſtine commotions; he invaded Kent, and plundered a conſiderable part of the country

country without oppoſition; till the inhabitants, provoked by their loſſes, took up arms in their own defence, and defeated the Weſt Saxons. Mollo, the brother of Ceadwalla, fled to a houſe for ſafety with twelve of his followers, where he defended himſelf for ſome time with incredible bravery. The Kentiſh men, finding it impracticable to diſlodge him, ſet fire to the building, and both himſelf and his gallant companions periſhed in the flames. His brother, who loved him with the warmeſt fraternal affection, was ſo exaſperated at this cruel action, that he entered Kent at the head of a powerful army, and laid the whole country waſte with fire and ſword.

A. D. 693. Withred, the youngeſt ſon of the late king, now aſſumed the reins of government; and in order to appeaſe the commotions which ſtill ſubſiſted among the nobility, he aſſociated one Swabert, a very popular nobleman, with himſelf in the kingdom. But Swabert did not long enjoy his power; he died two years after, and left Withred in the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne. This prince, being now freed from the commotions which had ſo long diſtracted the kingdom, governed his people with remarkable prudence and equanimity. He was a great benefactor to the church, which, together with his juſtice, candour and humanity, gained him the love and eſteem of all his ſubjects. He died after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving three ſons, Edbert, Edilbert, and Alric.

A. D. 726. Edbert ſucceeded his father both in his kingdom and his virtues. Very little, however, is recorded of this prince, beſides his peaceable government. Indeed the kingdom was reduced to ſo low a condition, that it had nothing to excite either the jealouſy or ambition of its neighbouring princes.

A. D. 749. He was ſucceeded by his brother Edilbert, who alſo imitating the pacific diſpoſition of his predeceſſor, died after a reign of eleven years, and was buried, according to ſome writers, at Canterbury, but according to others, at Reculuer.

A. D. 760. Alric, the third ſon of Withred, and the laſt Kentiſh prince of the Hengiſt family, now aſcended the throne. During his reign, the affairs of the kingdom were in a very diſtreſsful ſituation. The neighbouring princes took every opportunity of attacking Alric, till his power was reduced to a very narrow compaſs. He, however, made one ſtand againſt Offa, king of Mercia; but the fortune of the latter prevailed, and the Mercian would certainly have taken poſſeſſion of the crown, had not the jealouſy of the Saxon princes prevented him, leſt ſo great an acceſſion of power ſhould endanger the balance of the Heptarchy.

A. D. 794. On the extinction of the Hengiſt family, the crown of Kent became the prey of every impudent pretender, to whom fortune had given riches, or faction power. One Edilbert, ſurnamed Prinn, being the moſt fortunate of theſe competitors, ſat two years upon the throne. Cenulph, king of Mercia, now again invaded Kent, and laid it waſte from one extremity to the other. Edilbert aſſembled all his forces, and gave the Mercian battle; but his army was defeated, and himſelf taken priſoner.

A. D. 797. The kingdom of Kent being now become tributary to that of Mercia. Cenulph beſtowed it upon one Cuthred, a creature of his own, who enjoyed the crown during an interval of eight years, notwithſtanding the violent commotions of the people.

A. D. 805. Baldred, the ſon of Cuthred, was ſuffered to ſucceed his father in the kingdom of Kent. In his reign, the Saxon Heptarchy was diſſolved; and this prince, being defeated by Egbert, fled over the Thames, leaving his dominions to the mercy of the conqueror, and died in obſcurity. His dominions were now united to thoſe of the Weſt Saxons, after having continued a ſeparate and diſtinct kingdom three hundred and ſeventy-two years.

The Kingdom of SUSSEX; or, the SOUTH SAXONS.

THE kingdom of Suſſex was the ſmalleſt in the whole Heptarchy, containing only the counties of Suſſex and Surry; the greater part of which was covered with a vaſt foreſt, called by the Saxons Andredſwald, from its ancient name Anderida. The capital of this ſmall kingdom was Chicheſter, built by Ciſſa, ſon to Ella the founder of the Suſſex monarchy, and whoſe actions have been already mentioned.

Ella was a perſon of great military merit, and choſen by the Saxons to ſucceed Hengiſt as head of the confederacy; but his deſcendants ſat ſo ſhort a time on this petty throne, that ſome Engliſh hiſtorians have not even given them a place among the Saxon monarchs.

A. D. 514. Ciſſa ſucceeded his father, and being contented with the quiet poſſeſſion of a kingdom, the foundations of which were ſo lately laid in blood, choſe to pay a yearly proportion of money and troops to Cerdic, king of the Weſt Saxons, who ſucceeded Ella as head of the confederacy. By this means, he kept the flames of war from reaching his own kingdom, and, at the ſame time, enabled Cerdic to repel and ſubdue the Britons. Both his life and his reign were extended beyond the common period of mankind: but the only actions recorded of him, are his building of Chicheſter and Ciſbury; the one for the reſort of his people, the other for the indulgence of his own repoſe. He died without iſſue, after reigning ſeventy-five years.

A. D. 590. Ceaulin, the king of the Weſt Saxons, ſeized the kingdom of Suſſex on the death of Ciſſa. But this uſurpation was the cauſe of a league being formed againſt him, by which he was vanquiſhed and diſpoſſeſſed by his nephew Ceolric, who retained Suſſex as part of his conqueſts. The South Saxons, indeed, made ſeveral attempts to recover their independence; they revolted againſt Ceolwulph, king of Weſſex; but were at laſt reduced to obedience: their next effort, however, was crowned with better ſucceſs; for during the exile of Cenewalch, king of Weſſex, now under the dominion of Penda, king of Mercia, they took the opportunity of placing Adelwalch on the throne.

A. D.

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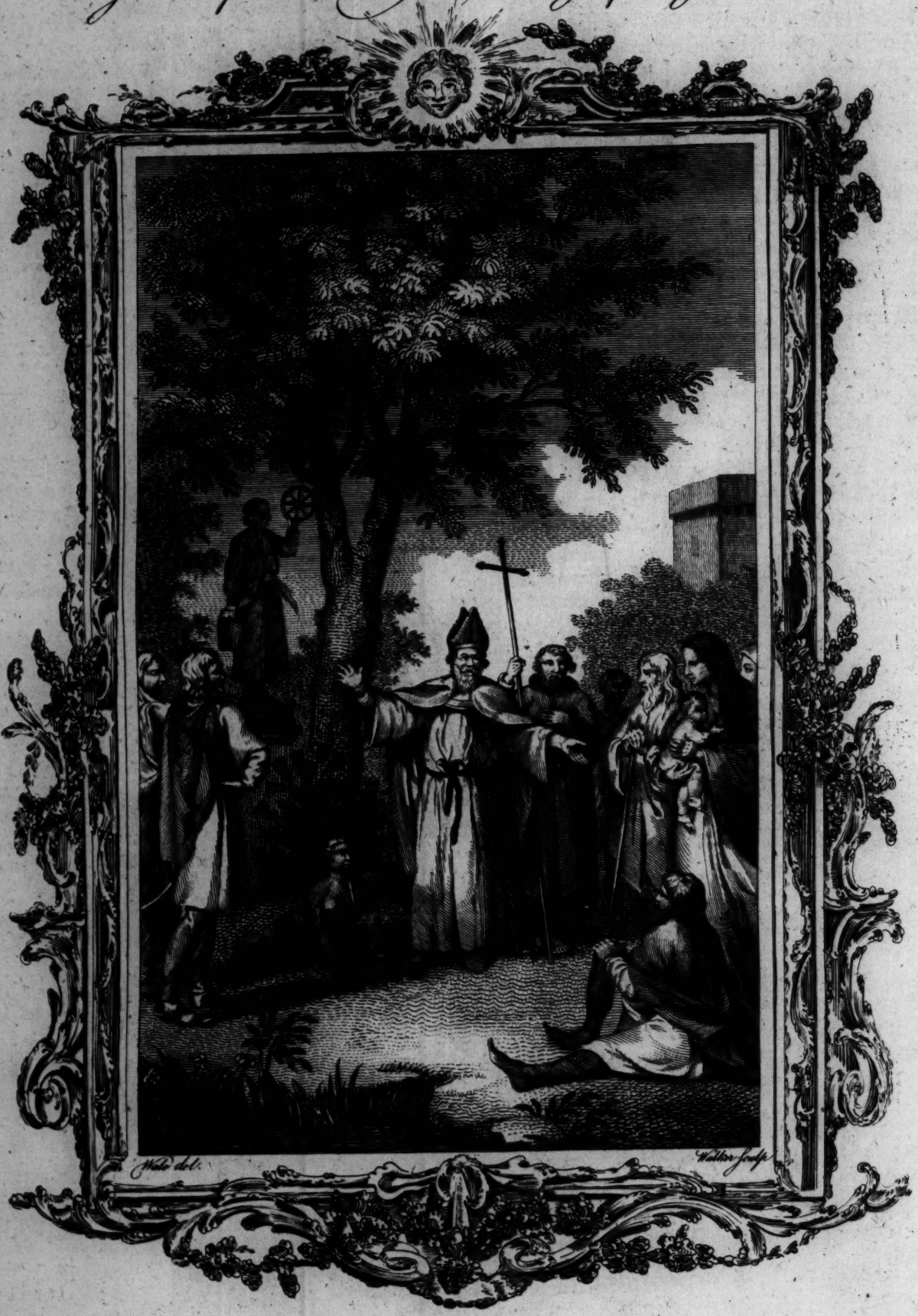

BERINUS *Converting the* SAXONS *to Christianity.*

A. D. 641. Adelwalch kept poſſeſſion of the kingdom after the reſtoration of Cenewalch, who was too weak to dethrone him. But he did not long enjoy this tranquillity; for Wolfur, king of Mercia, having defeated Cenewalch, ſeveral times, penetrated into Suſſex, defeated Adelwalch, and took him priſoner. This captivity proved, however, a happy event; for Wolfur, being a zealous Chriſtian, laboured ſo effectually with his royal priſoner, that he became a convert to Chriſtianity. Wolfur, now conſidering him in a religious ſenſe, as his own ſon, gave him his liberty, together with his own dominions, to which he added the Iſle of Wight, and the province Meanvari, in Hampſhire.

A. D. 685. But Adelwalch did not long enjoy theſe territories; for ſoon after the death of Wolfur, his ſucceſſor, Ceadwalla, invaded his dominions; upon which Adelwalch oppoſed him, at the head of his forces, but was defeated and ſlain in the action, leaving two infant ſons, who falling into the hands of the conqueror, were put to death. The abbot of Redford, indeed, oppoſed this barbarous execution; but could only prevail on Ceadwalla to ſuſpend it till they ſhould be baptized. Berthun, and Anthun, two noblemen of character, reſiſted, for ſome time, the power of the Weſt Saxons: but their oppoſition ſerved only to prolong the miſeries of their country; and the ſubduing this kingdom was the firſt ſtep, made by the Weſt Saxons, towards acquiring the ſole monarchy of England.

The Kingdom of WESSEX; or, the WEST SAXONS.

THIS extenſive kingdom, which at laſt ſwallowed up all the Saxon ſtates, met with great reſiſtance on its firſt eſtabliſhment; the Britons, who were now inured to arms, did not yield up tamely their poſſeſſions to the invaders of their country. Cerdic, the founder of the monarchy, and his ſon Kenric, fought many battles againſt the natives, and with various ſucceſs; but, by this powerful oppoſition, the martial ſpirit, common to all the Saxons, was carried to the greateſt height among this tribe.

A. D. 560. Ceaulin, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Kenric, excelled even his predeceſſors in ambition; and by carrying on a perpetual war againſt the Britons, added great part of the counties of Devon and Somerſet to his other dominions. Hurried away by the tide of ſucceſs, he invaded the other Saxon ſtates in his neighbourhood, and became ſo terrible to all, that a general confederacy was formed againſt him. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was made general of the allied forces, and Ceaulin, who had already loſt the affections of his own ſubjects, by the violence of his diſpoſition, was totally defeated. This misfortune rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects, who expelled him from the throne, and he died in exile and miſery.

A. D. 591. His nephew Ceolric, whom he had in his lifetime, appointed governor of Weſſex, ſucceeded him on the throne. He had joined the confederacy formed againſt his uncle, which is the only act we find recorded of him, except his dying, after a reign of ſeven years.

A. D. 598. He was ſucceeded by Ceolwulph, a prince of great military abilities, and whoſe whole reign was one continued ſcene of action. He was indeed inferior to his predeceſſors in age, but not in virtue. He was ever active in enlarging; ever vigilant in defending his kingdom. Redwald, who was at this time chief of the confederacy, oppoſed him; but Ceolwulph, ſurmounted all oppoſition: but died while he was engaged in reducing the South Saxons.

A. D. 611. Cingils, or Kengils, his brother's ſon, ſucceeded to the throne; and, in the third year of his reign, aſſociated with himſelf his ſon Quinchelm, in the government. Theſe princes fought a deciſive battle with the Britons at Banton. We are told, by the hiſtorians of theſe times, that when the armies were drawn in order of battle, the ſplendor of the maſſy axes of the Saxons, together with the length of their ſpears, and the compact order of their ranks, ſtruck the Britons with a panic, which the Saxons improving, obtained a cheap victory: above two thouſand of the Britons were left dead on the field of battle; and that people, diſabled from giving the Saxon princes any more trouble for ſome time.

A. D. 628. But this ſucceſs procured them another enemy in the perſon of Penda, king of Mercia, who attempted to take Cirenceſter from them. In conſequence of this attempt, both armies met in the neighbourhood of that town, and a battle enſued with invincible reſolution on both ſides, without either gaining the advantage, and at laſt were ſeparated by the darkneſs of the night. The next morning preſented to their eyes a diſmal ſcene of ſlaughter, and cooler thoughts ſuggeſted, that a renewal of the engagement would end in the deſtruction of both armies. In conſequence of which, each party relaxed in its demands, and a peace was happily concluded.

About this time, Kengils and his ſon embraced Chriſtianity, thro' the perſuaſions of Oſwald, king of Northumberland, who married his daughter. Quinchelm died ſoon after he was baptized; but Kengils ſurvived him ſeven years.

A. D. 643. Kenwalch, or Kenwal, ſucceeded his father Kengils, but inherited none of his virtues. He married a ſiſter of Penda, king of Mercia, whom he ſoon after divorced, without aſſigning any reaſon, and then renounced the Chriſtian religion. Incenſed at this outrage offered to his ſiſter, Penda invaded his dominions, before he was prepared for a defence, and obliged him to fly for refuge to Annas, king of the Eaſt Angles, and kept poſſeſſion of Weſſex, while he continued an exile, which was three years. During this interval, the pious expoſtulations of Annas prevailed, and he once more embraced the Chriſtian doctrine. After which he was, by the aſſiſtance of the ſame monarch, reſtored to his dominions. He was ſcarce ſettled in his throne, before a civil war broke out, which was at laſt terminated by a general battle at Bradenford, in favour of the royal party.

Theſe inteſtine commotions encouraged the Britons, who ſeem to have continued quiet ſince the

battle of Banton, to attack the kingdom of the West Saxons. Kenwal took the field; but as he was advancing towards them, his army was ſo furiouſly attacked near a hill, called Pine, in Shropſhire, that the Saxon ranks were greatly diſordered; but the latter, who dreaded diſhonour more than death, bravely returned to the charge, and obtained a complete victory.

A. D. 661. Kenwal did not, however, long enjoy tranquillity. He had no ſooner quieted the commotions of the Britons, than he was attacked by Wulphur, king of the Mercians, and a battle was fought between theſe two princes at Ponteſbury, in Shropſhire, but the event of it is uncertain, tho' there is reaſon to think that victory declared for Wulphur, becauſe he afterwards ravaged the country of Kenwall, as far as Aſhton, and made himſelf maſter of the Iſle of Wight.

The latter part of his life was leſs diſturbed by the hurry and diſorders of war. He ſpent his days in tranquillity, and that he might have a ſee in his own dominions, he built the church of St. Peter at Wincheſter, which became ſoon after the ſeat of a Weſt Saxon Biſhop. During this interval of peace, he paid the debt of nature, and left his kingdom to his wife Saxeburga.

A. D. 672. This lady was excellently qualified, both from nature and education, for the art of government. She took every neceſſary precaution for defending her territories from the attacks of foreign enemies, while the wiſdom of her conduct, kept her ſubjects to their duty. But her efforts ſeem to have got the better of her conſtitution, for ſhe died, after a ſhort reign of twelve months.

A. D. 674. Eſcwin, a deſcendant from the great Cerdic, ſucceeded Sexaburga in the throne. In the ſecond year of his reign, he was attacked by Wulphur, king of Mercia, and a general action enſued at Bedwin in Wiltſhire. The battle was long, and a terrible ſlaughter in both armies enſued; but the ſcale at laſt preponderated in favour of the Mercian, who, on this occaſion, exerted all the military virtues of his family. Two years after this battle, Eſcwin died, and left the throne of Weſſex to Kentwin, a ſon of the late Kynegils.

A. D. 676. Kentwin purſued the meaſures of his father with regard to the Britons, whom he drove back, even to the weſtern ſhore. Towards the latter end of his reign, he obliged Ceadwalla, his nephew, a prince of great expectations, to leave the kingdom. He retired to the foreſt of Andreſwald, in Suſſex, where he was joined by ſuch a number of perſons from every quarter, that he ſoon became very formidable. Adelwalch, king of Suſſex, alarmed at his encreaſing power, aſſembled a body of forces to drive him out of his dominions, but loſt his own life in the attempt, as we have already obſerved. Fluſhed with victory, Ceadwalla attempted to make himſelf maſter of Suſſex, but met with ſuch oppoſition from the inhabitants, headed by two popular noblemen called Berthun and Anthun, that he was obliged to retire. In the mean time Kentwin died, and he aſcended the thrown of Weſſex without oppoſition.

A. D. 685. He was no ſooner ſettled in the kingdom, than he returned into Suſſex, defeated Berthun, and laid the whole country waſte with fire and ſword. He purſued his conqueſts, and Kent next felt the weight of his tyranny; after which he attacked the Iſle of Wight.

That unhappy iſland was then governed by a prince, whoſe name was Arwald, and who had, at that time, two ſons, both under age; a circumſtance that greatly heightened the affections of their father. Ceadwalla had no ſooner made himſelf maſter of the iſland, than he reſolved upon an action, which exceeds the very bounds of barbarity itſelf: he determined to exterminate all the inhabitants, and repeople the iſland with his own ſubjects, cloaking his deteſtable deſign, under the pretence of their being pagans. Wilfred, biſhop of Selſey, however, interpoſed, and ſaved about an hundred families from deſtruction, but the reſt fell victims to the tyrant's cruelty. The royal youths, already mentioned, found means to eſcape out of the iſland; but being diſcovered near Southampton, Ceadwalla ordered them to be put to death. It ſhould, however, be remembered, for the honour of Chriſtianity, that this monſter, in the human ſhape, was ſtill a pagan. He had indeed been very munificent to the church; and the clergy of thoſe times thought this ſacrifice a ſufficient atonement for his crimes; but, as William of Malmſbury juſtly obſerves, "Whoever offers "a victim from the ſubſtance of the poor, ſacrifices "the ſon in the eyes of the father."

We have already mentioned the tragical death of Mollo, the brother of Ceadwalla. The loſs of this favourite brother, ſeems to have made a deep impreſſion upon his ſpirits. He had recourſe to religion, the ſtrongeſt of all cordials for removing anguiſh from the mind, and blunting the ſtings of a guilty conſcience. Accordingly he ſet out for Rome, where he was baptized on Eaſter-day, by Pope Sergius II. who gave him the name of Peter. He did not long ſurvive his baptiſm, for he died on the twentieth of April following, and was buried in St. Peter's church.

A. D. 689. He was ſucceeded by Ina, his nephew, to whoſe care he had entruſted his kingdom, when he ſet out for Rome. Ina was one of the moſt illuſtrious monarchs mentioned in the Saxon Heptarchy. He was at once a general and a ſcholar, and formed to ſhine either in the council or the field. His moderation, prudence, and religion, was as conſpicuous as his courage; ſo that it is no wonder he was declared the head of the Saxon confederacy, two years after he aſcended the throne. His firſt act of royal authority, was a body of laws, which ſerved as a foundation to thoſe afterwards enacted in the ſucceeding century, by his ſucceſſor Alfred the Great. He convoked a general aſſembly of the clergy, in which ſeveral wiſe regulations were made with regard to the church.

A. D. 694. But if his piety was remarkable, he ſeems to have underſtood but little of the firſt principles of Chriſtianity, that of forgiveneſs. Ina was not ſatisfied with the revenge that had been taken for the death of Mollo; he required a further atonement, and accordingly marched an army into Kent. But Withred, who then filled the Kentiſh throne, thought it more prudent to pay a large fine, as a compenſation for the death of Mollo, than meet the victorious Ina at the head of his army.

After his return from Kent, he made war upon the Britons, who inhabited the weſtern parts of England, and having ſubdued great part of their territories, he treated the vanquiſhed with an humanity hitherto unknown to the Saxon conquerors. He allowed the proprietors to retain the poſſeſſion of their lands, encouraged marriages, and alliances

between

between them and his ancient ſubjects, and gave them the privilege of being governed by the ſame laws. Some inſurrections now diſturbed the kingdom of Weſſex; but Ina found means to quell theſe diſturbances, ſo that his long reign may be juſtly conſidered as one of the moſt glorious and proſperous of the Heptarchy.

But what dignified his character in the eyes of the clergy, was his munificence to the church, and the ſacrifice he made of his regal dignity, in order to dedicate himſelf entirely to the exerciſes of devotion. Before he put this enthuſiaſtic project into execution, he undertook a journey to Rome, in order to confer with Pope Gregory II. and during his reſidence in that city, erected the Engliſh college for the reception of eccleſiaſtics, and the entertainment of ſuch kings as might be deſirous of viſiting the tombs of the apoſtles. For the ſupport of this ſeminary, and the church adjacent, he aſſigned a fund, called afterwards Peter's-pence; which, tho' at firſt accepted as a gift, was ſome centuries after claimed as a debt by the Popes, and conſidered as a legal part of their revenues. In order to eſtabliſh this fund, he returned once more to his native country, reſigned his government into the hands of Ethelhard, and, with his queen, retired to Rome, where he entered himſelf in a convent of monks, and withered to old age, in a habit as mean as the converſation of the fraternity, unſeen and forgotten. His queen alſo followed his example, took the veil, and died in obſcurity.

A. D. 728. Ethelhard, on his aſcending the throne, found himſelf oppoſed by Oſwald, a nephew of the late king Ceadwalla. But Ethelhard, being ſupported by the principal nobility of the kingdom, drove his rival into exile. The reſt of his reign was not diſturbed either by foreign or domeſtic enemies; ſo that he died in peace, after ſwaying the ſceptre thirteen years.

A. D. 741. Cuthred, his brother, or, as ſome ſay, his nephew, ſucceeded him on the throne; but his whole reign was one continued ſcene of tumult and war. His ſon was ſlain in a mutiny, which happened in the beginning of his reign; and this misfortune was followed by a rebellion, raiſed in the weſtern parts of his kingdom. The inſurgents were headed by Edelhun, one of their chief nobility, and celebrated for his military abilities and intrepid courage. This brave and experienced commander, met Cuthred in the field, with a body of forces, far unequal in number to thoſe brought by that prince; but the bravery and conduct of their general, ſo animated the ſoldiers, that the victory remained for ſome time doubtful, and was on the point of declaring in favour of Edelhun, when that general was dangerouſly wounded. This accident ſo diſpirited his followers, that they left the field to Cuthred. But the manner in which Edelhun had ſuſtained himſelf with a handful of men, againſt ſuch numbers, recommended him ſo ſtrongly to the favour of Cuthred, that he not only gave him his pardon, but alſo made him general of his army.

Soon after this reconciliation, Ethelbald, king of Mercia, once more lighted up the torch of diſcord, by harraſſing the territories of the Weſt Saxons, and depopulating the tributary kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex and Eaſt Anglia, as far as Burford. Edelhun, who now commanded the army of Cuthred, oppoſed Ethelbald, though greatly inferior in numbers. But began the engagement with ſuch an act of intrepidity as could not fail of inſpiring his own ſoldiers with courage, and filling the enemy with confuſion. For advancing before the ranks with the ſtandard in his hand, he challenged the ſtandard-bearer of the Mercians, who thought proper to decline the combat. A bloody battle then enſued, with prodigious ſlaughter on both ſides, tho' neither thought of retiring, both ſeeming to have determined either to conquer or periſh. After the victory had remained for ſome time doubtful, it was aſcertained by Edelhun, who charged the enemy with his battle-axe in ſo irreſiſtable a manner, that his way was marked with death. Ethelbald, who had, during the whole action, performed the duty of a brave and experienced general, being encountered by Edelhun, was unable to ſuſtain the ſhock. He fled from the battle; and his troops, who had till now ſtood their ground with great reſolution, were ſo intimidated by the flight of their leader, that they ſoon followed his example. As this victory was chiefly owing to the conduct and perſonal valour of Edelhun, it gained him the higheſt honour, while it covered Ethelbald with diſgrace.

After this victory Cuthred turned his arms againſt the Britons in Cornwall, united part of that diſtrict to his own kingdom, and dying at Benford, left his crown to Sigebert, his nephew.

A. D. 755. Sigebert was young, head-ſtrong, and violent; he refuſed to liſten to the advice of thoſe who were well acquainted with the ſecrets of government, and had gained wiſdom from experience. Proud of the merit of his anceſtors, without poſſeſſing any of his own; haughty without dignity, and cruel without provocation; he treated his people with inhumanity, and his nobles with inſolence. Theſe exceſſes could not fail of exaſperating a people long accuſtomed to freedom: they attacked the tyrant, and being headed by Kinewulf, a prince of the royal blood, drove him from the throne; but offered no violence to his perſon. He was even allowed a large diſtrict in Hampſhire for his ſubſiſtence, where he might have ended his days in peace, though not on the bed of royalty: but having taſted the intoxicating cup of power, he was reſtleſs to attain it a ſecond time. Unable to confine his paſſions even in this epitome of his former greatneſs, he killed one Cumbran, a nobleman who had continued faithfully attached to his fortunes. This execrable cruelty rendered him odious to mankind. And Kinewulf, who had ſucceeded him in the throne of Weſſex, thought himſelf obliged, by the duty he owed his people, to deprive ſo deteſtable a monſter of the means for gratifying his cruel diſpoſition. He therefore diſpoſſed him of his territory, and drove him into the foreſt of Andreſwald, where he met the fate he ſo juſtly merited, from the hand of a ſwineherd.

Kinewulf or Kenulph, who now poſſeſſed the throne of Weſſex, turned his arms againſt the Britons in Cornwall. His genius had a natural propenſity to war, and his undertakings, in the beginning of his reign, were generally ſucceſsful: but in the latter part, fortune deſerted his ſtandards, and the victorious Offa took from him all his dominions north of the Thames. In the mean Kyneherd, the brother of Sigebert, kept hovering on the borders of the kingdom, at the head of a few faithful adherents, in order to take the firſt opportunity of revenging himſelf on Kinewulf for the death of his brother. He did not wait long: Kinewulf had an

intrigue

intrigue with a lady at Merton in Surry, and uſed to viſit her with a ſmall retinue. Kinehard choſe this unguarded hour for executing his deſign: he followed the lover to the houſe of his miſtreſs, and ſurrounded it with his choſen friends. Kinewulf made a very gallant defence; and neglecting the more ignoble croud of his aſſailants, pointed all his efforts at Kynehard, whom he dangerouſly wounded, and would, in all probability, have cut his way through the traitors, had his efforts been ſeconded by his attendants. But the conſpirators, directing their ſwords wholly againſt Kinewulf, he fell in the unequal conflict. The few noblemen who attended him being apprized, when too late, of this barbarous aſſaſſination, broke into the room, and deſpiſing every offer of ſafety, they all, except one nobleman, periſhed in endeavouring to revenge the death of their maſter. The news of this aſſaſſination being carried to Kingſton, the nobility and gentlemen ſet out the next morning, headed by Oſric the eoldermen, and Wivorth his thane, for Merton, and advanced in a body againſt the murderers. On their arrival, they found the gates ſhut and barricaded againſt them by the rebels, who intended to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. Kynehard appeared on the battlements, and endeavoured to gain them over to his party. He laid before them his right to the crown, the provocations he had received, and the impoſſibility of ſeeking juſtice by any other method. Adding, that he would very readily confirm their liberties, and increaſe their honours. At the ſame time he told them, that ſome of their own relations were ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for the juſtice of his cauſe. The noblemen anſwered, that the ties of blood were but feeble, compared to thoſe of duty: that their maſter was baſely ſlain, and they were come to revenge his murder. They added, that if any of the conſpirators thought proper to abandon Kinehard, they ſhould have liberty to depart without moleſtation. But this offer being refuſed, the gates were forced open, and Kinehard with his adherents cut to pieces after an obſtinate defence.

A. D. 784. On the death of Kinewulf, Brithric, deſcended from the great Cerdic, mounted the throne of Weſſex, This prince, addicted to the arts of peace, was very aſſiduous in conciliating domeſtic animoſities by his prudence, and averting foreign wars by his addreſs. About this time, the famous Egbert, deſcended from the royal houſe of the Weſt Saxons, began to be taken notice of in the world, for thoſe great qualities which ſoon after raiſed him to the ſovereign command of the Saxon Heptarchy. His great merit, added to the affections of the people which he had acquired to an eminent degree, excited the jealouſy of Brithric. Egbert, ſenſible of his danger, withdrew ſecretly into France, where he was kindly received by Charlemagne, who then ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom. By reſiding in the court, and ſerving in the armies of a prince, at once the moſt able and generous Europe had for many ages ſeen, he acquired thoſe accompliſhments which afterwards enabled him to make ſuch a ſhining figure on the throne; and by familiarizing himſelf to the manners of the French, who, as Malmſbury obſerves, were then eminent both for valour and civility, above all the weſtern nations, he learned to poliſh the rudeneſs and barbarity of the Saxon character. So that the misfortunes of his youth were of infinite advantage to his future conduct and fortune.

In the mean time, Brithric married Eadburga, the daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, a woman equally famous for cruelty and incontinence. Having great influence over her huſband, ſhe often incited him to deſtroy ſuch of the nobility as were obnoxious to her; and where this expedient failed, ſhe made no ſcruple of putting the cruel deſign in execution with her own hand.

A. D. 789. At this period, the Danes began their ravages on the Engliſh coaſts. They landed from three ſhips at Portland, in order to plunder the adjacent country. But their number appearing ſo inconſiderable, that the chief magiſtrate of the diviſion came down to the coaſt with a ſmall party, intending to treat them rather as priſoners than enemies. He ſoon percieved his miſtake, but not before it was too late to prevent the conſequence; for the Danes attacked him with ſo much fury, that hardly a ſingle man eſcaped. The fate of their countrymen, ſoon rouſed the ſpirit of the Engliſh, who poured upon the enemy from all quarters, and obliged them to retire to their ſhips without their booty.

In the mean time, Brithric was acquiring great reputation for the prudence and mildneſs of his government, notwithſtanding all the arts made uſe of by Eadburga to ſatisfy her cruelty, which now put a period to the life of her huſband. This inhuman princeſs having conceived a hatred againſt a young nobleman who was a great favourite with the king, determined to take away his life. In order to this, ſhe mixed poiſon in a cup of wine, and preſented the potion to the victim of her revenge; but the king unfortunately drank part of the wine, and ſoon after expired.

This action, added to her other crimes, rendered Eadburga ſo odious, that ſhe was obliged to fly into France; whence Egbert was at the ſame time recalled by the nobility, in order to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors. But the hiſtory of that great prince, who ſubdued the whole Heptarchy, and became ſole monarch of the iſland, muſt be deferred to the ſucceeding book, where we ſhall begin that of our Engliſh monarchs.

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The **MONKS** *of* **BANGOR** *put to the Sword by Order of Ethelfrid*

The Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND.

THIS kingdom had its name from its ſituation on the north-ſide of the Humber. It was divided into two provinces, Deïra and Bernicia; the former containing the ſouthern part of Northumberland, between the Humber and the wall of Severus; and the latter the country ſituated to the northward of that wall, and bounded by Scotland.

Tho' the Saxons were early in poſſeſſion of part of Northumberland, having been ſettled there by Hengiſt, yet none of their chiefs arrogated the title of king, till near an hundred years after their landing in that country, owing, perhaps, to the precarioufneſs of their poſſeſſions; for none of the Saxon princes aſſumed the title of royalty, till they thought themſelves fully ſecured in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective provinces.

Ida was the firſt of the Saxons who aſſumed that title, after founding the kingdom of Bernicia. He was juſt, humane, and generous in all his actions; brave, active, and invincible in war. He built and fortified the caſtle of Bamburgh, where he reſided, till he was ſlain in a battle with the Britons.

During the reign of Ida, another party of Saxons ſubdued the north and eaſt ridings of Yorkſhire, as far as the Humber, and upon the death of Ida, one of their chiefs called Ella, aſſumed the title of king of Deïra, which he enjoyed during the reigns of five kings of Bernicia.

A. D. 586. Ethelfrid, or Adelfrid, one of the deſcendants of Ida, married Acca, the daughter of Ella, who dying two years after, and leaving only an infant ſon, named Edwin, Adelfrid ſeized the kingdom of Deïra, united it to Bernicia, and by that means formed the kingdom of Northumberland. Thoſe who had the care of Edwin, apprehending his life to be in danger, fled with him into North Wales, where he was educated in the court of prince Cadwan.

Adelfrid having thus united the power of two kingdoms in his own perſon, and being of a very active diſpoſition, turned his arms againſt the Britons, and after over-running their country, as far as Cheſter, the Britons marched out with all their forces to engage him. They were attended with a body of twelve thouſand five hundred monks from the monaſtery of Bangor, who ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the field of battle, in order to encourage their countrymen by their preſence and exhortations. Had they been armed with ſwords inſtead of prayers, they might have ſaved their country from ruin, and their monaſtery from deſtruction, by defeating the forces ſent againſt them. For Adelfrid, being informed they were prieſts, planted there to pray for the deſtruction of his army, ſent a detachment, who fell upon the defenceleſs monks, and committed ſuch ſlaughter, that only fifty eſcaped the ſwords of the aſſailants. The Britons, aſtoniſhed at this event, received a total defeat; Cheſter was obliged to ſurrender, and Adelfrid purſuing his victory, made himſelf maſter of Bangor, and entirely demoliſhed the monaſtery. This ſtructure was ſo amazingly capacious, that the gates were a mile aſunder, and was inhabited by two thouſand one hundred monks, who maintained themſelves by their own labour.

A. D. 616. The conſtant ſtream of victory that had hitherto attended the fortune of Adelfrid, gave him no leiſure to reflect, that there was ſtill alive a young prince, who had an undiſputed title to part of his dominions: we mean the famous Edwin. This young prince, now growing up to manhood, diſcovered the ſeeds of thoſe virtues which always render a king great, and his people happy. Adelfrid was too good a judge of mankind, not to perceive theſe growing qualities; he ſaw their dawn, and dreaded their effect: what in others would have been amiable, was criminal in Edwin. But the young prince, conſcious that the right of ſucceſſion is conſidered by an uſurper, as an unpardonable crime, avoided the deſtruction that awaited him by a ſpeedy flight. He wandered thro' the neighbouring kingdoms for ſome years, and at laſt took refuge in the court of Redwald, king of Eaſt-Anglia, where he found the protection he had ſo long ſought in vain, and where his engaging and noble behaviour gained him univerſal reſpect and eſteem. Adelfrid was alarmed at his ſafety, and, with that mean jealouſy, inſeparable from conſcious uſurpation, ſollicited Redwald either to deſtroy or deliver up his gueſt: rich preſents were promiſed if he would comply, and war denounced againſt him in caſe of a refuſal. After rejecting ſeveral meſſages of this kind, his generoſity began to yield to the motives of intereſt; and he retained the laſt ambaſſador, till he ſhould come to a reſolution in a caſe of ſuch importance. Edwin, informed of his friend's heſitation, was determined to remain in Eaſt-Anglia, thinking it would be better to die, in caſe the protection of that court failed him, than prolong a life ſo much expoſed to the perſecutions of his powerful rival. This confidence in Redwald's honour and friendſhip, together with his other accompliſhments, engaged the queen in his favour; and ſhe effectually repreſented to her huſband, the infamy of delivering up, to certain deſtruction, their royal gueſt, who had fled to them for protection, againſt his cruel and jealous enemies. Redwald, therefore, embracing more generous reſolutions, thought it ſafeſt to prevent Adelfrid, before he was aware of his intention, and to attack him while he was as yet unprepared for a defence. Accordingly, he marched ſuddenly at the head of an army into Northumberland, and fought a pitched battle with Adelfrid, where that monarch was defeated and ſlain, after having killed Regner, ſon to Redwald, with his own hand. The two ſons of Adelfrid, Oſwald and Oſwy, fled to Scotland, and Edwin was placed on the throne of Northumberland.

A. D. 617. When Edwin received his crown, it was to reign over a people, warlike indeed, brave, and tenacious of liberty, but void of civil manners.

Their late prince was ſo far from poliſhing them, that he ſat them the example of rapine and injuſtice in his own perſon. Edwin had the courage to attempt, and the happineſs to perfect their reformation. The groſs ignorance which then prevailed among the heathen, and indeed the chriſtian Saxons, gave no reaſon to believe, that he copied his plan of civil polity from any former inſtitution: his regulations ſeem to have flowed entirely from his own good ſenſe. The vicinity of Northumberland to the Scots, and other northern nations, had introduced the practice of mutual rapine; all good faith was loſt, and Northumberland was, at this time, a ſcene of theft and pillage. But no reformation is too difficult for a king who has merit and popularity on his ſide, and Edwin, without the aſſiſtance of written laws, found means of introducing ſo ſtrict a courſe of juſtice, that a woman with an infant in her arms, might carry openly a purſe of gold in her hand, without the leaſt danger of violence or robbery. We have a remarkable inſtance tranſmitted to us of the affection borne him by his ſervants. Quinchelm, king of Weſſex, was his enemy, and finding himſelf unable to maintain an open war againſt ſo gallant and powerful a prince, determined to have recourſe to the dark and deteſtible ſchemes of treachery, and employed one Eumer to execute his horrid purpoſe. The aſſaſſin having obtained admittance, by pretending to deliver a meſſage from Quinchelm, drew his dagger, and ruſhed upon the king. Lilla, an officer of his army, ſeeing his maſter's danger, and having no other means of defence, interpoſed his own body between the king and Eumer's dagger, which was puſhed with ſuch violence, that after piercing Lilla, it even wounded Edwin; and before the aſſaſſin could renew the blow, he was diſpatched by the guards.

Exaſperated at the treachery of the Weſt-Saxon prince, Edwin attacked his territories at the head of a powerful army, and laid great part of the country waſte.

Edwin, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, married Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent; and this princeſs, emulating the glory of her mother Bertha, who had been the inſtrument of converting her huſband and his people to chriſtianity, carried with her Paulinus, a learned biſhop. A toleration for the exerciſe of her own religion, had been ſtipulated previous to the marriage; and this gave her many opportunities of perſuading the king to embrace the ſame faith. Edwin, like a prudent prince, heſitated on the propoſal, but promiſed to examine the proofs on which that doctrine was founded, and if he found them ſatisfactory, he declared himſelf willing to be converted. Accordingly, he held ſeveral conferences with Paulinus, canvaſſed the arguments propoſed with the wiſeſt of his counſellors, retired frequently from company, in order to revolve in his own mind that important queſtion; and after a long and ſerious enquiry, declared in favour of the chriſtian religion. At the ſame time Choiſi, the high prieſt, being converted after a public conference with Paulinus, led the way in deſtroying the idols he had ſo long worſhipped, to make ſome atonement for his paſt idolatry. Edwin was baptized at York, with many of his nobles, in a church dedicated to St. Peter, which he had cauſed to be built of timber on this occaſion. His example was ſoon imitated throughout his dominions, and the crouds of people that profeſſed themſelves chriſtians, were ſo prodigious, that they were obliged to receive baptiſm in the rivers Geni and Swale.

A. D. 633. The great proſperity of Edwin, raiſed the jealouſy of the other Saxon princes, eſpecially Ceadwalla, king of the Britons, and Penda king of Mercia, who joined their forces, and marched as far as Hatfield-foreſt, in Yorkſhire, before Edwin met them. His army was much inferior in number; but being deſirous of freeing his people as ſoon as poſſible from the ravages of an inſolent enemy, he gave them battle. Victory for ſome time ſeemed to incline for the Northumberland forces, when Edwin's eldeſt ſon, Offa, was ſhot with an arrow, and fell dead at his father's feet. Edwin, in the inſtantaneous rage of a parent, loſt his ſteadineſs and preſence of mind, and ruſhing with all the violence of deſpair, into the midſt of the enemy, ſoon found the death he ſought for. The Northumberland army, no longer headed by their king, fell into confuſion, and abandoned the field of battle.

The devaſtations that followed in Northumberland, cannot be deſcribed; neither age nor ſex were ſpared, the old and the young fell the undiſtinguiſhed victims of an unrelenting foe. And Paulinus, ſeeing the horrid ſcenes of rapine and cruelty, fled with the queen dowager back to their native country of Kent, carrying with them the remains of the royal family, the jewels of the crown, and the plate belonging to the church.

In the mean time Oſric, a relation of Edwin, and Anfrid, the ſon of Adelfrid, who had been generouſly protected by the Scottiſh king, found means to ſeize the dominions of Edwin. Oſric was made king of Deïra, and Anfred of Bernicia. Ceadwalla was now at York, where Oſric imprudently undertook to beſiege him; but Ceadwalla making an unexpected ſally, the beſiegers were routed with great ſlaughter, and their new king left dead upon the ſpot. The victor immediately ſeized the kingdom of Northumberland, where he exerciſed the greateſt cruelty during the ſpace of a year; at the expiration of which, Anfrid coming very unadviſedly, with only ten ſoldiers, to treat with him, was ſeized by his orders, and put to death.

A. D. 635. Oſwald, the ſecond ſon of Adelfrid, by Acca, was born to be the deliverer of his country, from this ſcene of devaſtation and ſlaughter. He fled to Scotland on the death of his father, and there embraced the chriſtian religion; he had ſpent his youth in ſuch ſtudies as were ſuitable to his birth, but had particularly applied himſelf to military exerciſes, in which he made great proficiency. He was a perſon of ſtrict religion and virtue, and endued with every talent neceſſary to adorn a throne. Pierced with the calamities of his country, he armed in its defence, and having collected a handful of men, marched againſt the tyrant, who was now at the head of an army, conſidered as irreſiſtable. They met at Cockley, upon the rivulet Erringburn, near the Picts wall. Ceadwalla, flushed with victory, conſidered Oſwald and his ſmall party as doomed to ſlaughter, and advanced againſt them rather as a prey than an enemy. Oſwald took care to poſſeſs himſelf of a place, ſo advantageouſly ſituated, as to enable him to reſiſt the firſt attack of hoſtile fury; and to confirm his little band in the noble reſolution they had taken, either to conquer

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or periſh, erected a croſs by way of ſtandard, and then commanded his whole army to fall on their knees, and implore the aſſiſtance of heaven.

Animated by this act of devotion, his little army ſtood the charge of Ceadwalla, who attempted to force their intrenchments; but while he was encouraging his men in perſon, and leading them up to make a ſecond attack, he was killed by an arrow. Oſwald took care to improve that diſorder which muſt neceſſarily attend the death of a great general, ſlain in the heat of a battle, and his troops being freſh and unbroken, ruſhed out ſuddenly, and falling on the enemy, obtained a complete victory.

Oſwald having thus defeated the army, and ſlain the tyrant, who had ſo long ravaged his country, took quiet poſſeſſion of the united kingdom of Northumberland. His firſt care was to re-eſtabliſh civil polity, and reſtore religious worſhip. His education rendered him the wiſeſt prince of the age; while his great virtues, not only united the affections of the two kingdoms over which he reigned, but alſo gained him ſuch credit among the Saxon princes, that he was choſen the head of their confederacy.

A. D. 642. But the tranquillity and happineſs of his reign, the glory of his character, and the ſuperior ſtation he enjoyed over the Saxon monarchs, were ſuch obſtacles to the reſtleſs ambition of Penda, that he raiſed a powerful army to cruſh a prince whoſe power he envied, and whoſe happineſs, his reſtleſs ſpirit would not ſuffer him to taſte. Oſwald, not to be wanting to himſelf and his ſubjects, advanced to meet him with what forces he could haſtily collect. They met at Maſerfelt, where a battle enſued, in which Oſwald was ſlain; and Penda laid the kingdom of Northumberland waſte. But attempting to take Banbury-caſtle, he was baffled in his deſign, and retired out of Northumberland.

Oſwy, the ſon of Oſwald, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Bernicia, and two years after, Oſwin, the ſon of Oſric, and nephew to Edwin the great, was placed on the throne of Deïra. The affections of that people being attached to Oſwin, it was dangerous for Oſwy to oppoſe this partition, while ſo powerful an enemy as Penda, was waiting to take the advantage of their diviſions. But the mildneſs and inactivity of Oſwin, added to Penda's being employed in other wars, ſoon encouraged him to attempt the re-union of the two provinces. Oſwin, who was much better adapted to hold a crucifix than a ſceptre, made but a faint reſiſtance. He raiſed indeed a conſiderable army, but had not the ſpirit to act offenſively. He, therefore, diſbanded his forces, and retired to the houſe of one Hunwald, a nobleman, whom he thought would be faithful to him in his misfortunes; but his treacherous hoſt betrayed him to his rival, who put an end to his life.

A. D. 651. The death of ſo beloved a prince, effected by treachery, was properly reſented by the irreconcileable averſion his ſubjects immediately diſcovered for his rival, by placing Adelwald, the ſon of the late excellent king Oſwald on the throne. This greatly diſquieted Oſwy, who well knew that Penda, tho' now far advanced in years, would again attempt the ruin of his kingdom. Oſwin, therefore, had recourſe to every method he could poſſibly conceive, to divert him from his deſign; he offered him all the royal ornaments, together with a large ſum of money, but he remained inflexible. Foiled in every attempt, to procure the friendſhip of the ferocious Mercian, he determined to hazard all by one deciſive battle, rather than ſee his kingdom any longer the object of unrelenting fury.

A. D. 655. Putting himſelf, therefore, at the head of the few forces he could bring together, he took the field, making a ſolemn vow to devote his daughter to the cloiſter, and found twelve monaſteries, if his endeavours to free his country from the ſcourge of devaſtation, were crowned with ſucceſs.

In the mean time, Penda had ſtrengthened himſelf by an alliance with Adelwald, and the king of Eaſt Anglia. Thus aſſiſted and ſure of victory, he marched at the head of a powerful army, againſt the forces of Oſwy, and met them on the banks of the Wenvid in Yorkſhire. Adelwald now reflecting on his ſituation, was ſoon convinced that whoever gained the victory, he muſt himſelf fall the next victim to the conqueror, unleſs he kept his army entire. He therefore retreated to a place of ſafety with his troops, and left Penda and Oſwy to diſpute the prize of victory.

Penda now attacked the army of Oſwy; but the defection of Adelwald at this critical juncture ſo diſpirited the Mercians and Eaſt Angles, that they conſidered themſelves as betrayed, and every one began to ſuſpect his fellow. The two confederate kings did all in their power to undeceive them, and renew the battle; but Oſwy and his little army, reſuming freſh courage, broke in upon their diſorder, and Penda, and Ethelbert, king of the Eaſt Angles, were both killed upon the ſpot. A total rout now enſued; and numbers of the Mercians and Eaſt Anglians met that fate in the ſtreams of the Wenvid, which they endeavoured to avoid from the ſwords of the enemy.

Thus victorious, Oſwy religiouſly performed his vow; and to conciliate the minds of his ſubjects for his cruelty, in killing his kinſman Oſwin, he built a monaſtery on the ſpot where he was murdered; and ſoon after reduced Mercia to his obedience. Peada, the ſon of Penda, who had embraced chriſtianity in order to qualify himſelf for marrying Alchfleda, Oſwy's daughter, experienced, on this occaſion, the kindneſs of the conqueror, having that part of his father's dominions, which lay on the ſouth of the Trent, aſſigned him for his government. He did not, however, long enjoy this province, being ſoon after murdered by the treachery of his wife.

A. D. 658. Oſwy being now very powerful, was choſen chief of the Saxon confederacy, and exerciſed his ſuperiority with great pride and haughtineſs. But a ſtate of dependence proving diſagreeable to the Mercians, three of the nobles entered into a conſpiracy, by means of which Oſwy loſt the poſſeſſion of the country ſouth of the Trent and the Humber, and the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Penda was placed on the Mercian throne.

Adelwald dying ſoon after without iſſue, Oſwy took poſſeſſion of the undivided kingdom of Northumberland. But this re-union did not long continue; for Oſwy diſmembered it in favour of his natural ſon Aldfrid, and died in peace, after a life ſpent in all the dangers and fatigues of war.

A. D. 670. Egfrid his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom

kingdom of Bernicia, and ſoon after became maſter of Deïra alſo, by means of an inſurrection excited by the nobles, in which Aldfrid was obliged to quit his throne and retire into Ireland.

Egfrid was a prince of a bold and enterprizing diſpoſition; he was not to be intimidated by threats nor terrified by danger. He acknowledged no ſuperior, and was determined to ſubmit to no impoſitions. He defeated the king of Mercia, and deprived him of the whole country of Lindſey.

About the ſame time he was oppoſed by biſhop Wilfred, who having fallen under the diſpleaſure of Ermenburg, wife to Egfrid, ſhe prevailed upon her huſband to drive him from his ſee, and the ſentence of deprivation was confirmed by Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury. It was in vain for Wilfrid to remonſtrate againſt the ſentence; he was, therefore, obliged to appeal to Rome, where the pope, in a full ſynod, decreed him to be reſtored to his biſhopric; but Egfrid, who diſregarded the papal authority, would not ſuffer this decree to take effect.

A. D. 672. In the mean time the Picts, uneaſy at the tribute they had long paid to the king of Northumberland, raiſed a prodigious army among the northern nations, and advanced againſt the Saxons. Egfrid loſt no time to repel their force; and though his army was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, attacked and defeated them with ſuch prodigious ſlaughter, that two rivers being filled with the bodies of the ſlain, afforded a paſſage over the ſtreams for the purſuers, who killed ſo many of the enemy, that they never afterwards ventured to diſturb the tranquillity of Northumberland, during the whole reign of Egfrid.

A. D. 679. The Mercians now endeavoured to recover that part of Lincolnſhire, which had ſome years ſince been taken from them. A battle enſued, in which the Northumberland army were routed, and Elfwin, brother to Egfrid was ſlain. He was a prince of the moſt amiable qualities, ſo that his loſs was greatly regretted by both of the contending parties: and archbiſhop Theodore by his wiſe remonſtrances, ſtopped the farther effuſion of human blood, and a peace was concluded between the two nations.

A. D. 684. Egfrid now meditated the conqueſt of Ireland, and ſent over an army under the command of one Bertus, to reduce it to his obedience. The Iriſh, a very inoffenſive people, and always friendly to the Engliſh, endeavoured by prayers and ſubmiſſions, to avert the calamities of war from their country; but Bertus was deaf to their ſollicitations, and purſued his inſtructions with unparalleled fury; ſparing neither age nor ſex: the prieſts as well as the laity, fell the undiſtinguiſhed victims of his cruelty. Exaſperated by theſe inhuman practices, the inhabitants had recourſe to arms; and were ſo ſucceſsful, that Bertus was ſoon obliged to leave the iſland.

A. D. 685. Defeated in his attempt upon Ireland, he turned his arms againſt the Scots, and penetrated as far as Galloway, at the head of a numerous body of forces, conſiſting of Picts and Northumbrians: but Eugenius, king of Scotland, finding means to detach the Picts from his alliance, attacked him with ſo much fury, that his army was routed, and he himſelf dangerouſly wounded.

A. D. 686. Exaſperated at the behaviour of Picts, he entered their country at the head of a powerful army. The latter, who knew themſelves incapable of meeting him in the open field, made a feigned retreat towards their mountains, and by this ſtratagem, drew Egfrid into an ambuſcade, where he periſhed with the greater part of his army.

This battle was a ſevere blow to the Northumbrians: they loſt the flower of their nobility, and the legitimate line of their old race of kings was extinct in Egfrid, ſo that they had no head to unite them, and oppoſe the ravages of their northern foes. The Scots, Picts, and Britons, joined their forces, and invaded the kingdom on every ſide, and re-united to their dominions, the provinces which had been diſmembered from their countries by the preceding Saxon monarchs.

In this diſtreſs, the people recalled Alfrid from his exile in Ireland, and placed him upon the throne. This prince, who had greatly improved himſelf by ſtudy during the time he continued in Ireland, exerted himſelf to recover the ſplendor of the Northumbrian crown; but the northern nations had ſettled themſelves ſo firmly in the provinces they had recovered, that he was obliged to be contented with a more contracted territory than his predeceſſors had enjoyed. He, however, retrieved the affairs of Northumberland, in ſuch a manner, that he reigned happily near eighteen years, leaving his ſon Oſred, an infant only eight years of age, under the guardianſhip of Brithric, one of his noblemen.

A. D. 705. This minority furniſhed Eadwulf, a nobleman of that court, with an opportunity of forming a party, by which the young prince and his guardian were driven from the government, and Eadwulf was placed upon the throne. He might, perhaps, have enjoyed his uſurpation, had he not inſiſted upon the baniſhment of Wilfred, who therefore exerted all his intereſt in favour of young Oſred. This party was now too ſtrong for Eadwulf, who fled to the mountains, where he was ſeized, and ſuffered as a traitor. Oſred was now put under the guardianſhip of Wilfred, who adopted him for his own ſon.

A. D. 716. But the young prince profited little by his inſtructions, for he gave himſelf up to all manner of ſenſuality, and became ſo unpopular, that a conſpiracy, headed by Kenric and Oſric, deſcended from a natural ſon of Ida, was formed againſt him, and Oſred loſt both his crown and his life in the conteſt.

Kenric ſucceeded to the crown, which he enjoyed two years, without leaving any other monument of his having governed the kingdom of Northumberland, than the inſurrection by which he took poſſeſſion of the throne.

A. D. 718. Oſric ſucceeded to the crown on the death of Kenric, who enjoyed it eleven years, but we have no particulars of his reign, except his bequeathing his kingdom to Ceowulf, the brother of his predeceſſor Kenric.

A. D. 729. Ceowulf, imitating the pacific virtues of his anceſtors, did every thing in his power to preſerve his kingdom in a ſtate of peace; but during the firſt part of his reign, he was involved in ſo many difficulties, and ſurrounded by ſo many enemies, that he could not effect his purpoſe for ſome years. He, however, at laſt prevailed by perſeverance, when the tranquillity of the kingdom was ſo remarkable, that the nobility, forgetting their old inclination for arms, ran in crouds to the

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convents. Ceolwulf himſelf, was ſo deeply tinctured with monaſtic prejudices, that after ſurrendering the crown to Egbert, his nephew, he retired to the monaſtery of Lindisfarn; but took care to endow the cloiſter ſo largely, that every ſpecies of parſimony were baniſhed from its walls.

A. D. 737. Egbert was a perſon of great courage, corrected by prudence, and equally formed to ſhine in the cabinet or the field. In the begining of his reign, his dominions were attacked by Ethelbald, king of Mercia, while he was engaged in an expedition againſt the Scots and Picts. The Mercians met with very little oppoſition, for Egbert, depending on the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two kingdoms, had withdrawn his troops from the frontiers, ſo that the enemy returned loaded with plunder.

They had, however, very little reaſon to boaſt of their ſucceſs, for Egbert returning from his expedition, entered the kingdom of Mercia, and laid great part of it waſte with fire and ſword.

A. D. 740. Soon after taking this revenge on the Mercians, he was involved in a conteſt of another kind. Kinewulf, biſhop of Lindisfarn, had been guilty of a very atrocious crime, having put to death a prince of the royal blood, who had fled to the prelate's church for protection. Egbert, tho' himſelf ſuperſtitiouſly religious, would not ſuffer this open violation of the laws of his country to eſcape unpuniſhed. He took the biſhop from his monaſtery, and carried him priſoner to Banbury-caſtle.

A. D. 756. In the latter part of his reign, he made a peace with Onnuſt, king of the Picts, who joining him with a powerful army, they invaded the country of the Strath-Cluid Britons, ſubdued Kyle, and the adjacent parts of Galloway, and purſuing his conqueſts, made himſelf maſter of Aleluid, the capital of their dominions.

He was now both courted and feared by all the neighbouring princes; and the fame of his victories and his virtues, reached the ears of Pepin, who then ſwayed the ſceptre of France, and who ſent him many royal preſents, and courted his alliance. But neither the love of his ſubjects, nor the admiration of his enemies, could divert him from the reſolution he had taken of reſigning his crown. Hurried away by the reigning paſſion of the times for retiring to ſome monaſtery: he was deaf to the prayers of his ſubjects, and the remonſtrances of the neighbouring princes: he was obſtinate, he was inexorable. He reſigned his crown to his ſon Oſulf, and retired into a monaſtery; but he lived to ſee the fatal train of calamities which this weak ſtep had entailed upon his family and his kingdom.

A. D. 757. Oſulf aſcended the throne, on the reſignation of his father; but being wholly deſtitute of experience, and his mind fraught with very few princely qualities, he was murdered by his own ſervants, before he had reigned a year over the kingdom of Northumberland. On the death of Oſulf, the people placed Ethelwald, the ſon of Mollo on the throne; but this idol of the vulgar not being of royal blood, his acceſſion filled the kingdom of Northumberland with confuſion. Every one of the nobles thought they had as good a title to the crown as Ethelwald, and therefore formed parties to dethrone him.

A. D. 761. In the third year of his reign, Oſwin, a powerful nobleman, raiſed a body of forces that appeared formidable to that monarch. He marched to meet them, and a bloody battle enſued, at Eldam, near Melroſs, which continued for three days ſucceſſively; but at laſt the rebels were defeated, and Oſwin ſlain. But notwithſtanding this victory, another inſurrection happened three years after, in which the uſurper was obliged to quit the throne to Alcred the ſon of Oſred.

A. D. 765. Alcred's reign was of no long continuance; for the party of the late king prevailing over his intereſt, he was obliged to quit the throne, and fly for protection to Kinoth king of the Picts.

A. D. 774. Ethelred, the ſon of Ethelwald, and grandſon of Egbert, was now placed on the throne by the victorious party, and endeavoured to ſecure the poſſeſſion by the deſtruction of his enemies. Accordingly he put to death three of the principal noblemen, who had eſpouſed the intereſt of his predeceſſor. But this act of violence, inſtead of anſwering his expectations, furniſhed his enemies with a plauſible pretence for taking up arms. The conteſt was fatal, his army was defeated in two ſucceſſive engagements, and he himſelf forced to take refuge in one of the neighbouring kingdoms, where he wandered ſeveral years a deſpicable exile, unpitied and forgotten.

A. D. 778. Alfwold, the brother of Alcred ſucceeded Ethelred in the throne, and reigned in great tranquillity and reputation for ten years. He was a prince of great virtues; but theſe were not ſufficient to protect him from the common fate of the times: he was perfidiouſly murdered by Siega, one of his generals, near the wall of Severus.

A. D. 788. He was ſucceeded by Oſred II. the ſon of Alcred, a prince, whoſe talents for government were ſo contemptible, that his ſubjects dragged him from the throne in the very firſt year of his reign, and ſhut him up in a monaſtery, whence he afterwards eſcaped to the Iſle of Man.

The party who had driven Oſred from the throne, thought proper to recal Ethelred. This prince, who was not to be reclaimed by misfortunes, or taught wiſdom by experience, reſumed the reins of government with the ſame ſuſpicious and vindictive diſpoſition with which he had left it. He once more endeavoured to ſettle himſelf on the throne, by removing ſuch perſons as he thought were his competitors: and on this principle he treated ſeveral of the nobles with great cruelty. At the ſame time he ſeduced Oelf, and Oelfwin, the ſons of Alfwold, by fair promiſes, from the church of York, where they had taken ſanctuary, and then ordered them to be put to death.

But the nation, now grown weary of his barbarities, invited Oſred from the Iſle of Man, the nobility joining the people, in giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their fidelity. He accepted the invitation, but was no ſooner arrived, than he was deſerted by his troops, taken priſoner by Ethelred, and put to death at Aynſburgh. Theſe attempts to deprive him of his throne, determined Ethelred to ſtrengthen his intereſt, by contracting an alliance with ſome reſpectable prince. Accordingly he married Elfida, the daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, a prince reſpectable both for his power and conqueſts.

A. D. 793. During theſe tranſactions, the Danes, who ſubſiſted by piracy, made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Northumberland, and after burning the monaſtery of Landisfarn, and torturing the religious, they retired. Allured with a booty ſo eaſily

obtained, they returned the following year, landed at the mouth of the Tyne, and plundered the monaſtery of Tinemouth founded by Egfrid; but being oppoſed by Ethelbert and Offa, they were forced to retreat to their veſſels, which being afterwards overtaken by a tempeſt, the greater part of the Danes periſhed on the Engliſh coaſt.

Theſe ſucceſſes might have induced Ethelred to live at peace with his own ſubjects; but he was naturally ſuſpicious, and could not reſt while he had a ſubject in his dominions, whoſe intereſt rendered him either popular or formidable. It was from motives of this kind, that he was induced to baniſh Earldulph, one of the firſt noblemen of his kingdom. This impolitic action, however, cauſed ſuch diſcontent, that a civil war, which raged for two years, was the conſequence. The malecontens, at laſt, tired with ſuch a tedious proceſs, had recourſe to aſſaſſination as the more ready expedient; and thus freed themſelves from a tyrant, whoſe power they dreaded. Charlemagne was ſo exaſperated at the murder of Ethelred, that he would certainly have proclaimed war againſt them, had they not found means to pacify his anger.

A. D. 796. The enemies of Ethelred, though they had found means to diſpatch the prince ſeated on the throne, yet wanted power to prevent Oſbald, a firm adherent to the king, from ſeizing the crown. But while the people were employed in making rejoicings for the acceſſion of this new king, he was expelled from his ſtation, and forced to fly from Lindisfarn to the Pictiſh court, where he afterwards embraced the life of an eccleſiaſtic, and was made an abbot.

Eardulph, whom Ethelred had baniſhed ſome years before, was now recalled, and created king at York. But this kingdom being ſtill diſtracted by factions, he began to be alarmed at the popularity of Alcmund, the ſon of Alcred, who was then at the head of a party, and put him to death. This ſo exaſperated the Northumbrians, who looked upon Alcmund as a ſaint, that they broke out into open rebellion. Alaric, a noble lord, headed their forces. A general battle enſued, in which the rebels were defeated, and their general ſlain; which misfortune induced them to bury their reſentments for a little ſpace. But the embers of diſſention kindling afreſh, they engaged Eardulph in a pitched battle, under the command of one Weda, when their forces were again defeated.

A. D. 802. Three years after, Kenulf, king of Mercia, giving protection to ſome of the malecontents, Eardulph marched into Mercia, at the head of a powerful army, and a bloody battle would certainly have been the conſequence, had it not been prevented by the mediation of the biſhops and nobles of both parties, who happily brought about an accommodation.

But at length the oppoſite party prevailed, Eardulph was driven out of his kingdom, and obliged to take refuge in the court of Charlemagne. On his retreat Elfwold, who was at the head of the malecontents, ſeized the crown; but was ſoon after dethroned by Eanread. This prince did not, however, long fill the Northumberland throne, for he ſoon after ſubmitted to Egbert king of Weſſex, who put a period to the Saxon Heptarchy.

The Kingdom of EAST-ANGLIA.

THIS kingdom, which was bounded on the north and eaſt by the Humber and the German ocean; by Eſſex on the ſouth, and the kingdom of Mercia on the weſt, was founded by the Angles, who landed at different times in independent bodies, on the eaſtern coaſt of England.

The firſt perſon who aſſumed the title of King, was Uffa, after he had been above forty years in Britain. But we have no account of him after his aſcending the throne, till his death, when he was ſucceeded by Titel, or Titeſt, his ſon, who reigned one and twenty years in as great obſcurity as his father.

A. D. 593. On the deceaſe of Titel, his ſon Redwald aſcended the throne, and became the moſt illuſtrious monarch of all the king's of East Anglia; his merits rendered him ſo conſpicuous, that he was choſen the head of the Heptarchy, and filled that poſt with all the ſplendor which the moſt ſanguine expectations could conceive. The wars of this prince have already been mentioned in the hiſtory of Northumberland. He was baptized, but never thoroughly a chriſtian. His wife, who poſſeſſed all the virtues though not all the graces of chriſtianity, perſuading him to apoſtatize after he had received the chriſtian doctrine. But the generous protection ſhe afforded to Edwin, and the noble ſentiments with which ſhe inſpired her huſband, together with the great veneration the nation had for her family, give us the higheſt idea of her ſpirit and good ſenſe. Redwald having loſt his ſon in the battle with Edelfrid, as we have already obſerved, grew extremely jealous of Sigebert, this lady's ſon by a former huſband. Upon which the mother wiſely conſented to his being ſent into France, which quieted the ſuſpicions of Redwald, who paid the debt of nature, after reigning thirty-one years over the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia.

A. D. 624. He was ſucceeded by Eorpwald his ſecond ſon by a former marriage. He aſcended the throne with great diſadvantage, after ſo illuſtrious a father; eſpecially as he was but a weak and puſillanimous prince, leaving the care of the adminiſtration entirely to Edwin, king of Northumberland, who was even offered the crown of the Eaſt Angles, but generouſly declined it on account of his obligations to Redwald. Eorpwald, therefore, continued the nominal king, while Edwin enjoyed all the privileges and power of the monarchy. By his influence, Eorpwald was induced to embrace the chriſtian religion; but his converſion rendered him leſs active than before. He ſeemed more in love with a crown than a ſceptre, which ſo incenſed the diſguſt of his ſubjects that he was aſſaſſinated by Richbert, a pagan Saxon, who held the reins of government without

out aſſuming the title of king. The province of Eaſt Anglia, over which the light of chriſtianity had dawned during the reign of Eorpwald, was again immerſed in the gloom of paganiſm during the uſurpation of Richbert.

A. D. 633. But the Saxons, tired with this pagan uſurpation, recalled Sigebert from his exile in France, whither he had been baniſhed by the jealouſy of his father Redwald. During his reſidence on the continent, he had embraced chriſtianity, and improved himſelf in every branch of uſeful learning. When he was ſettled on the throne, he applied himſelf to the propagation of the goſpel among his ſubjects; being aſſiſted in this pious work by Felix, a Burgundian prieſt, and the ſucceſs they met with anſwered both their endeavours and expectations. Sigebert alſo introduced the firſt literary ſeminary we read of in the Engliſh hiſtory, and furniſhed it with maſters qualified to teach the ſciences. At length, pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his labours, and tired with the farce of greatneſs, he retired into a monaſtery, after reſigning his crown to his kinſman Egric; where we ſhall leave him till his unhappy fate drags him from his retirement.

A. D. 638. Egric was hardly ſettled on the throne, before his dominions were invaded by Penda, king of Mercia, whoſe military talents being dreaded by the Eaſt Angles, they had recourſe to Sigebert, requeſting him to leave his retirement, and put himſelf at their head to repel the ravages of the Mercians. The ſuperſtitious monarch, deeply ſmitten with monaſtic indolence and viſionary devotion, forgetting what he owed to his country, long refuſed to liſten to their requeſt. At laſt, unable any longer to reſiſt their preſſing importunies, he left the convent; but abſolutely refuſed to carry any other weapon than a wand. Thus armed, he accompanied Egric into the field, where they both periſhed, and their armies were defeated.

A. D. 652. Annas, a deſcendant from the royal houſe of Eaſt Anglia, ſucceeded Egric. He was one of the moſt celebrated kings of Eaſt Anglia, both with regard to virtue and valour. He received the king of Weſſex, whom Penda had driven from his kingdom, perſuaded him to return to the profeſſion of the true religion, and then replaced him on the throne of his anceſtors. This ſtep ſo highly provoked Penda, that he threatened to lay the whole kingdom of Eaſt Anglia waſte with fire and ſword. Annas was not intimidated: he took every precaution neceſſary for his own defence, and to check the career of the ferocious Penda; but death intervened, and put a period to all his undertakings.

A. D. 654. Edelbert, the brother of Annas, ſucceeded to the crown of Eaſt Anglia; but finding himſelf in no condition to oppoſe Penda, he purchaſed a peace for a conſiderable ſum of money, and joined him in his invaſion of the kingdom of Northumberland, where they were both ſlain in a battle with Oſwy.

A. D. 654. Edelwald his brother now aſcended the throne, but we have no account of his reign. He was ſucceeded by Aldulf, the ſon of Annas, a prince whoſe reign is alſo involved in equal obſcurity with that of his predeceſſor. Oſwald his ſon ſucceeded him, and at his death the kingdom was governed by Beorna and Aldred in conjunction; but Aldred dying after a reign of nine years, Beorna held the reins of government alone; and at his deceaſe was ſucceeded by Aldred, who left his crown to Ethelbert.

A. D. 749. This young prince was of a very amiable diſpoſition, and conſpicuous virtues. The goodneſs of his heart, and the humility of his mind, together with the regard he ſhewed for religion, and the public adminiſtration of juſtice, rendered him the delight of his people, who wanted nothing but an heir to ſucceed him in the throne at his deceaſe. Accordingly, a marriage was propoſed between this young monarch and Althrida, daughter to Offa, king of Mercia, a princeſs remarkable both for her piety and merit. Every thing being concluded, Ethelbert ſet out with a ſplendid retinue, and was met on the Mercian borders by the meſſengers of Offa, who conducted him to their maſter's court. But the perfidious Offa, by the inſtigation of his queen, cauſed the unſuſpecting Ethelbert to be murdered, and then ſeized upon the kingdom of Eaſt Anglia.

The Kingdom of MERCIA.

THIS kingdom, which owed its origin to Crida, was by much the largeſt of all the Saxon Heptarchy. It was bounded by the Humber on the north, by the Severn on the weſt, by the Thames on the ſouth, and by the kingdoms of Eaſt Anglia and Eſſex on the eaſt. We have already mentioned the founding of this kingdom by Crida; upon whoſe death it was ſeized by Ethelbert, king of Kent, who poſſeſſed it three years; but finding his uſurpation gave riſe to diſcontents which he feared might terminate in his own deſtruction, he reſigned the throne to Wibba, the ſon of Crida.

A. D. 597. Wibba reigned over the Mercian kingdom nineteen years; but we have no particulars of his reign, except his repelling the Britons, and adding a few diſtricts to his paternal dominions.

At his death, his nephew Creol was preferred to his ſon Penda, by Ethelbert, king of Kent, who placed him upon the Mercian throne. This prince, who could be conſidered in no other light than that of an uſurper, has left no traces of his reign, and dying without iſſue, the crown devolved to Penda, the lawful heir.

A. D. 616. Penda, though fifty years of age when he aſcended the Mercian throne, ſtill glowed with all the vivacity and temerity of youth; his martial diſpoſition was in no wiſe abated by experience or reflection. His wars and ravages have been already mentioned in the hiſtories of the kingdoms with which he was at variance. In a word, he was engaged

gaged in continual hoſtilities againſt all the neighbouring ſtates; and by his injuſtice and violence became at once equally odious to his own ſubjects and to ſtrangers. He erected, during his life-time, a little kind of territory in the ſouthern parts of Mercia, which he conferred upon his ſon Peada, who married the daughter of Edwin, king of Northumberland. Penda, though he never embraced the chriſtian religion himſelf, yet he gave free liberty to all his ſubjects to profeſs whatever religion they pleaſed, provided they lived up to their profeſſions; for he expreſſed the moſt ſovereign contempt for thoſe whoſe practice was at variance with their faith.

At an age when other princes are fond of repoſe, Penda glowed with the fire of ambition. He took the field in the eightieth year of his age, with a determined reſolution to lay the whole kingdom of Northumberland waſte, but fell a ſacrifice to his ferocious paſſions; for he periſhed in battle by the ſword of Oſwy, king of Northumberland, in the manner already related.

A. D. 655. On the death of this ſanguinary tyrant, Peada his ſon was placed by Oſwy on the throne of Mercia, but did not enjoy the whole of that kingdom. Oſwy reſerved the greater part to himſelf; and, on the demiſe of Peada, took poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom; till the Mercians, uniting under the conduct of three popular noblemen, recovered their liberties and independence, by driving Oſwy out of their territories.

A. D. 660. Wulfer or Wolphere, Peada's ſecond ſon, who had been concealed by his ſubjects, was now placed on the throne of Mercia. This prince proved both wiſe and fortunate, though he was not free from the blemiſhes of the times, jealouſy and ambition; though he was a remarkable friend to the church after his baptiſm. His conqueſt of the Iſle of Wight, and his generouſly beſtowing it on Edilwald king of the South Saxons, whom he had taken priſoner, have been already mentioned.

He next extended his dominions beyond the Severn, driving the Britons from their poſſeſſions between that river and the Wye, and ſubduing thoſe tracts of country, which afterwards formed the dioceſe of Hereford and part of that of Worceſter. The kingdoms of Eaſt Anglia and Eſſex felt the power of his arms, and were reduced to a ſtate of vaſſallage, in which they continued till the end of the Heptarchy. At laſt he fell in battle at Bedwin in Wiltſhire, by the ſword of Eſcwin, king of Weſſex, after ſitting ſeventeen years on the throne of Mercia.

A. D. 677. He was ſucceeded by Ethelred, his brother, in prejudice of his ſon Kenred, who affecting a private life, gave Ethelred no diſturbance in his poſſeſſion of the crown. This prince erected Herefordſhire into a ſeparate government, in favour of his brother Merewald; but he and his younger brother dying ſoon after, it was again annexed to the crown of Mercia.

A. D. 678. The firſt expedition he undertook was againſt the kingdom of Kent, great part of which he laid waſte, deſtroyed the city of Rocheſter, and returned loaded with plunder.

A. D. 679. The next year he turned his arms againſt Egfrid, king of Northumberland, from whom he recovered Lindſey. But a peace was at laſt concluded between the two kingdoms, by the mediation of Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

About this time the kingdom of Mercia was divided into five different dioceſes, Worceſter, Litchfield, Leiceſter, Lindſey, or Cedneaceſter, and Hereford.

A. D. 704. Soon after which, Ethelred, captivated with the prevailing notions of the times, ſurrendered his crown to Kenred, and retired into the monaſtery of Bardney, which he had himſelf founded, where he lived twelve years, ſeveral of which he was abbot of that cloiſter.

Kenred reigned four years, without performing any remarkable tranſaction to preſerve his memory from oblivion, when Offa, king of Eſſex, came to court to demand his aunt Kiniſwintha in marriage: but that princeſs, inſtead of accepting the offer, prevailed upon both her lover and nephew to quit their thrones, and retire to Rome, where they received the tonſure from pope Conſtantine, and ſequeſtered themſelves from the world, in the gloomy receſſes of a convent.

A. D. 709. Ceolrid, who aſcended the Mercian throne, on the reſignation of Kenred, was a more active prince than his predeceſſor. He ſupported a war with Ina, king of the Weſt-Saxons, and fought a bloody battle with him at Woodenſburg in Wiltſhire, when neither party could claim the victory. The memory of this prince, who was no friend to the monks, has been ſtrangely aſperſed by that fraternity, whoſe implacable hatred, inſtigated them to the inhuman act of taking away his life by poiſon.

A. D. 716. Ethelbald, the grandſon of Eoppa, brother to Penda, was ſeated on the Mercian throne, on the death of Ceolrid. This prince had acquired great popularity during the reign of his predeceſſor, by the gracefulneſs of his mein, the ſtrength of his body, and the warlike diſpoſition of his mind; but diſcovering an unbounded ambition, and a very turbulent temper, he raiſed the jealouſy of Ceolrid to ſuch a degree, that he drove him out of the kingdom. But by the good offices of the clergy, he was again reſtored to the favour of Ceolrid. At his firſt coming to the crown, he founded the monaſtery of Croyland, with a magnificence unknown to that age; though this was at beſt, but an equivocal mark of his religion, for he retained the ſame reſtleſs and inſatiable thirſt of power, after he was ſeated on the throne, for which he was driven out of the kingdom when a ſubject.

Being choſen chief of the Saxon confederacy, on the reſignation of Ina, he conſidered it as a mark of abſolute ſovereignty, though nothing more than a poſt of dignity. But not having the prudence to conceal his deſign of making himſelf an univerſal monarch, and uncontroulable tyrant, till his ſcheme was ripe for execution: the kings of Weſſex and Northumberland entered into a league to humble the aſpiring Ethelbald, and defeat the ſchemes he had formed for their ſubjection.

Ethelbald, apprized of their agreement, invaded Northumberland, and returned loaded with ſpoil; but in the mean time, his own dominions were attacked by Ethelhard, king of Weſſex, who routed a body of his troops, commanded by his ſon Oſwald. Ethelhald immediately marched againſt the Weſt Saxons, drove them back into their own country, and, purſuing his advantage, took and demoliſhed Somerton, a frontier garriſon of the Weſt-Saxons. Peace was, however, ſoon after concluded

ed, and theſe two princes joined their forces, and marched againſt the Britons, who had drawn together a prodigious army for invading the territories of the Saxons. In the engagement, the two princes vied with each other in feats of bravery, and totally routed the Britiſh army; but Ethelbald was ſoon after defeated by Cuthred, king of the Weſt-Saxons.

Ethelbald now applied himſelf to the affairs of his own kingdom, and particularly to the adminiſtration of juſtice, which had, for ſome time, been ſtrangely perverted. But while he was labouring for the good of his people, a rebellion broke out at Seckington in Warwickſhire, and Ethelbald, in endeavouring to reduce the inſurgents to obedience, periſhed in the conteſt.

A. D. 755. Offa, the ſon of Eawa, brother to Penda, ſucceeded Ethelbald on the Mercian throne. The character of this prince was compoſed of ſuch a mixture of virtues and vices, that it is difficult to ſay which were predominant. Ambition was certainly his ruling paſſion, and an inſatiable thirſt of power is conſpicuous in moſt of his actions. He was one of thoſe dauntleſs heroes, who imagine, that an extent of territories, however acquired, are the only certain marks of valour and greatneſs. Glowing with an ardent deſire of rendering himſelf reſpectable by his arms, he marched into Kent with a powerful army, and after killing the prince that then filled the throne with his own hand, in a battle at Otford, extended his authority over that province.

A. D. 771. Having, by this tranſaction, eſtabliſhed his character in the field, he marched to the northward, and invaded Northumberland, at that time diſtracted with civil wars and inteſtine commotions. He could meet with little oppoſition from a people employed in the deſtruction of one another, and accordingly returned loaded with ſpoils, after reducing Nottinghamſhire, and annexing it to his kingdom.

A. D. 775. The rapid progreſs of his arms alarmed Kinewulf, or Kenwulf, king of the Weſt-Saxons, who raiſed a powerful army, and marched againſt the Mercian conqueror. Both armies met at Beſſington in Oxfordſhire, where Kenwulf was defeated, and the place taken by Offa. The counties of Oxford and Glouceſter, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate; and Kinewulf, tho' a brave and experienced commander, was obliged to purchaſe a peace at the expence of all his territories on the north-ſide of the Thames.

A. D. 776. The Britons, taking advantage of theſe commotions, made ſudden inroads into the Saxon dominions, which being unexpected, proved very ſucceſsful. Offa, in whoſe territories they had got ſome footing, was engaged in making preparations to expel them, when Marmodius, their king, entered into a treaty with him, merely to gain time. The truce being concluded, Offa, to prevent the incurſions of the Britons for the future, threw up a ſtrong intrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river Dee, in Flintſhire, and extending along the mountains, ended at the influx of the Wye into the Severn. Some part of this ſtupendious work is ſtill remaining, and known by the name of Offa's dyke, or ditch. The Britons, who had given no diſturbance to the work while it was carrying on, were rouſed by the arguments of their king Marmodius, to attempt its deſtruction. With this view, they aſſembled their ſcattered forces, under pretence of celebrating Chriſtmas, and in the midſt of the truce, made an irruption into the Mercian territories, threw down the bank, and filled up the ditch in ſeveral places.

Exaſperated at this treacherous violation of the truce themſelves had requeſted, Offa condemned the hoſtages to ſlavery, and entering Wales at the head of a powerful army, defeated the Britons in a a very obſtinate battle.

This ſeries of ſucceſs raiſed Offa's reputation to a great height, and the luſtre of his actions, together with the merit of ſome good qualities, made the world willing, for ſome time, to overlook his vices. Charlemagne was induced by theſe fair appearances, to cultivate a friendſhip with him, and, as a mark of his eſteem, remitted his ſubjects ſome duties, which, till that time, had been uſually paid. Encouragements were given for a free intercourſe and commerce between the two nations. Charlemagne even wrote him letters of congratulation, on account of his victories, and preſented him with a book, containing the decrees of the ſecond council of Nice.

All the neighbouring princes now reſorted to the court of Offa, either to pay their homage, or to conciliate his favour. Offa had the addreſs to give each a reception, void of all haughtineſs of ſuperiority or conqueſt; and intereſted himſelf in compoſing their domeſtic differences, ſo that they might ſit eaſy and firm on their reſpective thrones. A conduct like this, could not fail of procuring him both the love and veneration of all the Saxons.

A. D. 792. But all theſe good actions were ſtained, by the treacherous murder of Ethelbert, king of Eaſt Anglia, and his violent ſeizure of that kingdom. Ethelbert had demanded Althrida, Offa's third daughter in marriage, and was in conſequence invited to the Mercian court, where he was murdered in violation of the moſt ſacred rights of hoſpitality, and his kingdom ſeized by violence.

The treacherous Offa, deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing his character in the world, and, perhaps, of appeaſing the remorſes of his own conſcience, paid great court to the clergy, and practiſed all the monkiſh devotions, ſo much eſteemed in that ignorant and ſuperſtitious age. He gave the tenth of all his goods to the church; beſtowed rich donations on the cathedral of Hereford, and even made a pilgrimage to Rome, where his great power and riches could not fail of procuring him the papal abſolution. And the better to ingratiate himſelf with the ſovereign pontiff, he engaged to pay him, from his kingdom, a yearly donation for the ſupport of the Engliſh college at Rome. This ſum was raiſed by a tax of a penny on each houſe, poſſeſſed of thirty pence a year. He even carried his hypocriſy ſtill farther: he pretended to be directed by viſions from heaven, where to find the relics of St. Alban the Martyr, which were taken up and depoſited in a monaſtery erected at Verulam, and dedicated to that ſaint, and where Offa himſelf ended his days.

A. D. 795. Offa was ſucceeded in the Mercian throne by his ſon Egfrith, who gave ſeveral indications of a happy diſpoſition for government; but reigned only five months.

On his death, the crown devolved to Kenulf, deſcended by a collateral branch from Penda. This prince, who ſhewed great favour to the clergy, is repreſented as an example of juſtice and piety; temperate without exceſs, humble without affectation,

and courteous without vanity; active and valiant in the field; ſtudious to enrich his ſubjects, during the calm intervals of peace; and ſo circumſpect in all his conduct, as to ſecure his memory, both from the ſhafts of envy, and the envenomed tongue of malice. He invaded Kent, at a time when that kingdom was diſtracted by domeſtic diviſions, took the king priſoner, and annexed that province to his own kingdom, and governed it by a ſubſtitute. After this, we have no particulars of his reign; but that, at his death, he left one ſon and two daughters.

A. D. 819. Kenelm being a minor, at the deceaſe of his father, was aſſaſſinated by the orders of his elder ſiſter Quendrida, in order to ſecure to herſelf the crown of Mercia; but tho' the murder was committed in the midſt of a thick and unfrequented wood, and the body of the infant thrown into a deep well to prevent a diſcovery; yet being found by accident, the traitoreſs was deprived of the fruits of her execrable wickedneſs, and obliged to reſign the crown to Ceolwulf, who, in the ſecond year of his reign, was driven out of his kingdom by Beornulph. Nor did this uſurper ſit long on the throne; for two years after, he was defeated and ſlain by Egbert, king of the Eaſt-Angles, during an invaſion he made on his dominions. Ludican, his ſucceſſor, underwent the ſame fate; and Wiglaff, who next mounted this unſtable throne, found every thing in ſuch confuſion, that he could not withſtand the fortune of Egbert, who united all the Saxon kingdoms into one great monarchy.

The Kingdom of ESSEX.

THIS kingdom, which was bounded by Eaſt-Anglia on the north; by the German ocean on the eaſt; by the Thames on the ſouth; and by the kingdom of Mercia on the weſt; made no great figure in the Saxon Heptarchy. Erkenwin was the firſt Saxon who aſſumed the title of king; and this prince held his kingdom as a fief of the dominions of Kent; but hiſtory is ſilent with regard to the manner in which it was rendered an independant monarchy. Tho' the very idea of the founder of a kingdom, includes in it courage and activity, yet Erkenwin's reign, tho' protracted to ſixty years, affords no remarkable event. We are told, indeed, that his ſon Sledda ſucceeded him at his death, otherwiſe we ſhould have been at a loſs to fix the limits of his reign. Sledda, like his father, ſeems to have lived in profound peace. He indeed married a daughter of the Kentiſh monarch, and enjoyed the benefit of ſo powerful an alliance, none of the neighbouring princes ever attempting to deſtroy the tranquillity of his kingdom.

A. D. 596. Sigebert, or Sebert, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Eſſex. Ethelbert, his uncle, was then king of Kent, and head of the Saxon confederacy, with a claim, at the ſame time, of a more particular ſuperiority over Eſſex; ſo that his influence on Sigebert was very conſiderable. This intereſt, together with the preaching of Melitus, converted him to chriſtianity; and he joined with his uncle, in erecting the cathedral church of St. Paul, on the foundations of an old temple of Diana. London was ſoon after made a biſhop's ſee, and given to Melitus, as a mark of approbation of his conduct. The two kings next joined in rebuilding St. Peter's, Weſtminſter, which had been originally erected by king Lucius, on the foundations of the temple of Apollo, in the time of Conſtantine the great. We have no farther account of the actions of Sigebert, during the remainder of his reign, that deſerves to be mentioned in hiſtory.

A. D. 616. On the death of Sigebert, his three ſons, Saxred, Seward, and Sigebert, formed a triumvirate, and governed the kingdom of Eſſex in conjunction. They publicly profeſſed the pagan religion, and gave free liberty to their ſubjects to practice idolatry. Not content with thus openly affronting chriſtianity, they behaved with the greateſt inſolence to Melitus, ridiculed the ſacred myſteries; and on the biſhop's refuſing to adminiſter the ſacrament to them, unleſs they would ſubmit to be baptized, they expelled him from their dominions; but ſoon after, raſhly engaging in a war with Kyngils king of Weſſex, they all three fell a ſacrifice to their temerity.

A. D. 623. Sigebert the little, ſon of Seward, one of the triumvirate, now aſcended the throne of Eſſex; but he lived in ſo great obſcurity, that even the time of his death is hardly known.

He was ſucceeded by Sigebert the good, a ſon of Sigebald, brother to the chriſtian king Sebert. This prince reſtored the chriſtian religion in Eſſex, by the aſſiduous application of Oſwy king of Northumberland, who had prevailed upon him to be baptized by Finnam. Sigebert was afterwards aſſiſted in his labours to reſtore the practice, as well as the profeſſion of chriſtianity in Eſſex, by one Ced, or Cedda, a Northumberland prieſt, afterwards conſecrated biſhop of the Eaſt-Saxons. He ſoon exerted his power, by excommunicating a nobleman, tho' one of the king's relations, for living in illicit cohabitation. Sigebert, who perhaps did not approve of ſuch an exerciſe of power within his own dominions, paid a viſit to the nobleman, and was met by the biſhop at his return. Sigebert, conſcious of his having diſregarded the eccleſiaſtical inhibition, alighted from his horſe, proſtrated himſelf at the biſhop's feet, and aſked his pardon. This puſillanimous conduct in the monarch, ſo exaſperated the nobleman, that he entered into a conſpiracy with his brother, for aſſaſſinating the king, which was accordingly executed.

A. D. 661. The excellent Sigebert, thus murdered in the boſom of peace, and poſſeſſed of his ſubjects affection, was ſucceeded by Swithelm, his brother, who was baptized by Cedda, in the firſt year of his reign. We have no farther account of this prince, except his death, which happened in the third year of his reign.

A. D. 664. He was ſucceeded by Sigher, the ſon of Sigebert the little, who reigned jointly with Seba his nephew. Sigher, with part of his people, abandoned the chriſtian religion, on account of a mor-

tality

tality breaking out in his kingdom, and reſtored idolatry; but Seba continued ſtedfaſt in the faith he had embraced. Sigher himſelf was afterwards reclaimed by means of Wulfur king of Mercia, who ſent a biſhop into Eſſex, by whoſe indefatigable labours, the chriſtian churches were again opened, and the heathen temples demoliſhed. Sigher died ſoon after, and Seba remained ſole king of Eſſex, which he governed with great juſtice and equanimity. In his old age, he became monk, and retired to the convent of St. Paul's, where he practiſed all the exerciſes, and endured all the hardſhips of the religious till his death. He was buried in a coffin of grey marble, which, Speed tells us, was remaining on the wall of St. Paul's church, ſo lately as the reign of James I.

A. D. 694. He was ſucceeded, on his retiring into the convent, by his two ſons Sigheard and Senfrid, who lived together in harmony, and died ſoon after each other.

A. D. 704. On their deceaſe, the crown devolved on Offa the ſon of Sigher, who, going to the court of Kenrid, king of Mercia, to demand Kineſwitha in marriage, was perſuaded by her to embrace a monaſtic life; accordingly he repaired to Rome with Kenrid the Mercian king, and Edwin, biſhop of Wincheſter, where he took the habit of a monk, and died in obſcurity.

A. D. 709. Salred, the ſon of Sigebert the good, ſucceeded to the throne of Eſſex. He reigned thirty-eight years, tho' no remarkable tranſaction is handed down to us. Perhaps the greater part of his reign was ſpent in the ſilent manſions of domeſtic peace; for we are told, in general, that he carried his clemency to exceſs, and that, for want of ſetting proper bounds to this virtue, he was aſſaſſinated by his ſubjects, but by whom, or in what manner the crime was committed, is not mentioned.

A. D. 747. Selred was the laſt of the royal line: the failure of which threw the kingdom into great confuſion, and reduced it to a dependance upon Mercia. Smithred firſt acquired the crown, and his death made way for Sigeric, who ended his life in a pilgrimage to Rome. He was ſucceeded by Sigered, who, unable to defend his kingdom, ſubmitted to the victorious arms of Egbert.

BOOK V.

From the Reign of Egbert, *Father of the* Engliſh *Monarchy, to the* Norman *Conqueſt.*

A. D. 800. WE have already obſerved, in the hiſtory of Weſſex, that the Saxons, on the death of Brithic, had ſent a deputation to Egbert, then learning the arts of government under Charlemagne, the greateſt prince of the age. The Weſt-Saxons, even during the reign of Brithric, appear to have conſidered Egbert as their future monarch; they liſtened with pleaſure to the fame of his growing virtues, and looked upon every acquiſition made by the royal exile, as an acceſſion to their own greatneſs. The deputies found him at the court of Charlemagne, and having informed him of the occaſion of their viſit, he took leave of his generous benefactor, and returned to his native country, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and placed on the throne of his anceſtors.

In all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, an exact rule of ſucceſſion was either unknown, or not ſtrictly obſerved; and thence the reigning prince was continually agitated with jealouſy againſt all the princes of the blood, whom he ſtill conſidered as rivals, and whoſe death alone could give him full ſecurity in his poſſeſſion of the throne. From this fatal cauſe, together with the admiration of the monaſtic life, and the opinion of merit attending the preſervation of chaſtity, even in a married ſtate, the royal families became entirely extinct in all the kingdoms, except that of Weſſex; and the emulations, ſuſpicions, and conſpiracies, which had formerly been confined wholly to the princes of the blood, were now diffuſed among the nobility in the ſeveral Saxon ſtates. Egbert was the ſole deſcendant of thoſe firſt conquerors, who ſubdued Britain, and who enhanced their authority, by claiming a pedigree from Woden, the ſupreme divinity of their anceſtors. But that prince, tho' invited by thoſe favourable circumſtances, to make attempts on the neighbouring Saxons, gave them, for ſome time, no diſturbance, but turned his arms againſt the Britons in Cornwall.

A. D. 808. The Corniſh Britons were a ſtubborn race of people, often vanquiſhed, never ſubdued, and now very powerful, from a long continuance of peace. Egbert, on leading his army into their country, was ſoon attacked, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued on both ſides, tho' Egbert gained the victory. The Britons in Wales made the cauſe of their countrymen their own, and not only rigorouſly ſupported them, but even carried their arms into Egbert's territories. The war, therefore, became long, doubtful, and bloody: and before he had wholly reduced them, he was recalled from his conqueſts, by an inroad made into his territories by Boernulf, king of Mercia.

The Mercians, before the acceſſion of Egbert, had nearly attained the abſolute ſovereignty over the Heptarchy: they had reduced the Eaſt-Angles under their ſubjection, and eſtabliſhed tributary princes in the kingdoms of Eſſex and Kent. Northumberland was in anarchy; and no ſtate of any conſequence remained but Weſſex, which being much inferior to that of Mercia in extent, was ſupported wholly by the abilities of its ſovereign.

Egbert led his army againſt the invaders of his country, and met them at Ellandun, in Wiltſhire, where a bloody battle enſued, and Egbert at laſt obtained a complete victory, which gave a mortal blow to the power of the Mercians. He himſelf, in the proſecution of his good fortune, entered the Mercian territories on the ſide of Oxfordſhire, and advanced towards the heart of their dominions, whilſt Ethelwolf, his ſon, Alſton biſhop of Sherburn, and Wulfheard, one of his eoldermen, were ſent at the head of an army into Kent.

Bladred, as we have already obſerved, was then king of that country, and held his precarious ſceptre from

from the Mercians. Subjection always ſits uneaſy upon a people who have taſted the ſweets of independance, and they often fancy, that a change of maſters will afford them relief. The Kentiſhmen ſeem to have been of that opinion; for they made very little oppoſition, ſo that Bladred was obliged to fly over the Thames, and leave Egbert in full poſſeſſion of his territories. The kingdom of Eſſex was conquered with equal facility; and the Eaſt-Angles, from their hatred of the Mercian government, which had been eſtabliſhed in their country by treachery and violence, and probably exerciſed with tyranny, immediately had recourſe to arms, and implored the protection of Egbert. And to ſhew how much they were in earneſt, he no ſooner promiſed to protect them, than they marched againſt Bernulf, defeated his army, and ſlew the tyrant in battle. On the death of Bernulf, one Ludecan, his kinſman, was placed on the Mercian throne, and having collected an army, marched againſt the Eaſt-Angles, but met the fate of his predeceſſors, and the Eaſt-Angles were left at full liberty to declare in favour of Egbert.

Theſe inſurrections and calamities facilitated the enterpriſes of Egbert, who advanced into the heart of the Mercian territories, and obtained eaſy conqueſts over a diſheartened and divided people. And in order to engage them more eaſily to ſubmiſſion, he allowed Wiglaf, their countryman, whom they had placed on the throne, to retain the title of king, while he himſelf enjoyed all the real powers of ſovereignty.

The anarchy, which had long prevailed in Northumberland, induced him to carry his victorious arms into that kingdom; and the inhabitants, unable to reſiſt his power, and deſirous of poſſeſſing ſome eſtabliſhed form of government, were forward on his firſt appearance, to ſend deputies, who ſubmitted to his authority, and expreſſed their allegiance to him as their ſovereign. Egbert, however, ſtill allowed the inhabitants of Northumberland, the power of electing a king, who was his dependant, and paid him tribute.

A. D. 827. In this manner were all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, united in one great ſtate, about four hundred years after the arrival of the Saxons in Britain; and the fortunate arms, and prudent policy of Egbert, at laſt performed, what had been ſo often attempted in vain by ſo many princes. His territories were nearly of the ſame extent with what is now properly denominated England; and a favourable proſpect was afforded the Anglo-Saxons, of eſtabliſhing a civilized monarchy, poſſeſſed of tranquillity within itſelf, and ſecure againſt foreign invaſions.

829. Egbert, being now acknowledged the independant ſovereign of England, reſolved to give his title the ſanction of a coronation. Accordingly he ſummoned all the great men of the kingdom, to meet in a general council at Wincheſter, where Egbert, by the unanimous conſent of the clergy and laity, was crowned king of Britain; and a proclamation or edict was publiſhed, commanding that no diſtinctions ſhould, for the future, be kept up among the Saxon kingdoms, but that they ſhould all paſs under the name of England.

Thus Egbert attained the ſummit of his wiſhes, and became the moſt glorious monarch that had ever hitherto filled the throne. His people were united and contented, under a prince, who conſidered their happineſs as his own. But theſe flattering days of proſperity, were ſoon obſcured by the clouds of adverſity, and the tranquillity of the nation interrupted, by the appearance of the Danes, who, during ſome centuries, kept the Anglo-Saxons in perpetual terror, committed the moſt barbarous ravages in their country, and at laſt reduced them to the moſt grievous ſervitude.

The Danes were a people compoſed of different nations, inhabiting the countries of Jutland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Theſe countries were originally peopled by the Goths, who changed their appellation to that of Danes, in the reign of one of their kings, called Dan, the ſon of Hamel. They were of the ſame original with the Saxons, who invaded England; they had the ſame religion, the ſame manners, and the ſame propenſity to cruelty and rapine. Charlemagne had carried on a war for the ſpace of thirty years with this people, and at laſt drove them out of the more ſouthern provinces of Germany, and obliged them to take ſhelter in Jutland, and other parts of the north. The inhabitants of thoſe tracts being, by the increaſe of their own natives, and the addition of theſe refugees, grown too numerous, to find ſubſiſtance in the barren territories of the north, they were obliged to ſeek ſettlements at a diſtance from their own country. The vaſt foreſts, common in theſe tracts, furniſhed them with ſufficient quantities of timber for building their veſſels, which would carry about an hundred men, with proviſions neceſſary for the cruiſe, and were worked with two ſails, and occaſionally with oars. Their method was to coaſt along the ſhore, and make deſcents in thoſe places where they were like to meet with no reſiſtance, and return home with what booty they could procure, which they diſtributed with the greateſt impartiality among the whole fraternity. Thus piracy, among theſe people, was not only neceſſary, but an honourable profeſſion; their kings did not think it beneath their dignity. The ſucceſs which attended the attempts of the firſt adventurers, encouraged their countrymen, who being joined by the Saxon refugees, made frequent deſcents on the French coaſt, in revenge for the ſufferings inflicted on them by Charlemagne. The French called them by the general name of Normans; but the Engliſh by that of Pagans, till they were attended in their deſcents by ſome of the Daniſh princes, after which they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Danes.

As they were divided into ſeparate and independant clans, and had the choice of a vaſt extent of coaſts for making their invaſions, it was impoſſible to guard againſt their attempts, or enter into a treaty with them, to prevent their deſcents for the future. As ſoon as one clan were departed with their booty, another would ſucceed them; and the good fortune of having expelled one enemy, was little or no ſecurity againſt another. The only defence againſt their incurſions was neglected by the Saxons, who had diſregarded their marine, and turned their thoughts entirely to battles on the land. The continual wars they had with the Britons, and the inteſtine quarrels which were always happening among themſelves, made them loſe ſight of this grand, this neceſſary object. They had either forgotten, or perhaps never heard of the political maxim, that a kingdom is preſerved by the ſame meaſures that were firſt uſed to acquire it. They might perhaps recollect, that it was by their marine alone, they

firſt

first acquired footing in this island; but they did not give themselves the trouble to infer, that their superiority at sea would be the best means of preserving their dominions, and defending from them the attempts of foreign enemies, who might be induced to follow their example.

A. D. 832. It was, for want of this precaution, that the Danes landed at the Isle of Shepey, plundered the country, and retired before it was possible to attack them. This success encouraged them to make a descent the year following at Tinmouth, but receiving a small check from the inhabitants, they re-imbarked, and cruising along the coast, landed a body of near fifteen thousand men at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire.

Egbert, on the first news of this invasion, marched against them at the head of a new-raised body of forces, and attacked the Danes with great fury; but the enemy pressed him so close, that he was obliged to retreat; nor could any thing, but the approach of night, have prevented the total rout of his army: at the same time, the Danes were so roughly handled, that they immediately retreated to their ships. Egbert now saw his error, in attacking the enemy at the head of raw and undisciplined forces. He found the Danes to be a brave, determined, hardy race, prompted by necessity, and therefore tenacious of their enterprizes; but above all masters of that element, which gave the sole security and safety to his own dominions. On the other hand, the Danes were convinced, from experience, that they must expect to meet with the most vigorous resistance from this brave and warlike prince, and therefore entered into an alliance with the Britons in Cornwall.

A. D. 835. Animated by this acquisition, they returned to the English coasts, and landed in Cornwall, where they were joined by the Britons, and both together, formed a considerable army. But Egbert was not to be intimidated; he advanced against them as they were marching to invade his dominions. The two armies met at Hengston-hill, in Cornwall, where the fortune of Egbert resumed her former ascendency; the Danes were totally defeated, and the few who had the good fortune to escape, fled back to their ships with the utmost precipitation.

A. D. 838. Egbert, now advanced in years, flattered himself with ending his life on the calm bed of domestic repose; but the restless Danes, continuing to harrass his dominions, he was again called to the field, and was again victorious. Soon after this victory, fortune put his fame beyond his own power; for he ended his days the same year, in the arms of glory, leaving behind him the character of an accomplished commander, a consummate politician, and an humane sovereign.

ETHELWOLF.

A. D. 838. ETHELWOLF, who succeeded Egbert on the throne, had neither the abilities nor the vigour of his father. He would, perhaps, have more nearly imitated the virtues of his predecessor, had he not been infected with the lethargy of the age; for, during the life of an elder brother, he was educated in a cloister, and had even taken sub-deacons orders in the monastery of Winchester; but his elder brother dying, a dispensation was procured from Pope Leo, by which he was allowed to assume a secular life. After his return to the world, he assisted his father in several of his expeditions, and behaved with great conduct and courage, but could never get the better of his indolent disposition.

A. D. 839. In the first year of his reign, the Danes landed at Southampton, from three and thirty ships, laying the adjacent country waste. Ethelwolf, who was too inactive to command the army in person, detached a considerable body of troops under the command of Wulfheard, a brave and experienced general, to chastise them for their insolence. Wulfheard attacked the pirates, totally routed their army, and drove them back to their ships. But this victory afforded only a transient gleam of exultation, being soon followed by the death of the general, and the news that the Danes had made a second descent at Portland. Ethelwolf now sent Edelhelm, at the head of an army, to oppose them. In the beginning of the engagement, the Saxons attacked the pirates with so much fury, that they were put into disorder; but receiving fresh supplies from their ships, they rallied, and returned to the charge, with such bravery, that the English were entirely defeated, and lost their general, who fell in the conflict.

A. D. 840. The following year they landed at Romney, and defeated Herebryht, an eolderman, who was sent to oppose their progress. Flushed with this victory, they wasted Lindsey, Kent, and the country of the East-Angles, leaving behind them such marks of cruelty, as must fill a benevolent mind with horror. The next year, London, Canterbury, and Rochester, felt the effects of their savage barbarity.

Hitherto their descents were generally made in small parties, as they came only for plunder. They were therefore chiefly opposed by the militia of the district where the descent was made; for, upon meeting with any opposition, they reimbarked, and went in search of some other place, where they might enrich themselves with less resistance, and be exposed to less danger. Thus every part of England was kept in continual alarm, and the inhabitants of one county dared not give assistance to those of another, lest their own families and properties should be exposed, in their absence, to the fury of these barbarous ravagers. All orders of men were involved in the same calamity; and the priests and monks, who had been generally spared in the domestic quarrels of the Heptarchy, were the chief objects on which the Danish idolaters exercised their rage and animosity. Every season of the year was dangerous, and no man could esteem himself a moment in safety, tho' the enemy might be absent.

A. D. 841. The variety of deſcents they had made in different parts of the kingdom, had made them acquainted with its fertility, and rendered them deſirous of procuring a ſettlement in the iſland. Accordingly they landed at Charmouth, from thirty-five large ſhips. Such a numerous body of forces, together with the meaſures taken by the Danes, for ſecuring a ſettlement, rouſed the indolent Ethelwolf from his monkiſh lethargy. He aſſembled his forces with the greateſt expedition, and marched himſelf at the head of his army, to oppoſe the invaders of his country. A bloody battle enſued, in which the troops of Ethelwolf were defeated, and the pirates continued maſters of the field. But having been greatly weakened by the late action, they thought proper once more to abandon the iſland.

About this time a rupture happened between Wiglaf, the tributary king of Mercia, and Maryyne, king of the Britons, and a battle enſued, in which the latter was ſlain. But this was ſo far from putting an end to the quarrel, that it ſerved only to inflame the animoſity which had long ſubſiſted between the two nations; the Danes were called in to the aſſiſtance of the Britons, and Ethelwolf flew to ſupport the Mercians. This rupture, together with the ravages continually committed by the Danes, induced Ethelwolf, to diveſt himſelf of one part of his dominions, that he might be the better enabled to defend the other. Accordingly he gave the provinces of Kent and Eſſex to his natural ſon Athelſtan, who now became an independant prince.

A. D. 845. This expedient did not free the kingdom from invaſions, tho' it tended greatly to the ſecurity of the ſouthern coaſts. The Danes landed at the mouth of the Parret, in Somerſetſhire, and committed great ravages in the adjacent parts of the country. But were ſoon attacked by the united forces of the counties of Dorſet and Somerſet, under the command of the governors Earnulf and Oſric, who obtained a ſignal victory, moſt part of the Daniſh army being cut to pieces.

A. D. 851. All theſe invaſions were nothing more than preludes to their grand deſign, the making a ſettlement in the iſland. They came now in greater bodies, and in more numerous fleets; but the event was not equal to their expectations. One party of them was routed at Wenbury, by Ceorle, governor of Devonſhire. Another of their armies was defeated by Alcher, governor of Kent, and nine of their ſhips taken in a ſea-fight by king Athelſtan: yet, notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, another of their fleets, conſiſting of three hundred and fifty veſſels, ſailed up the river Thames, took Canterbury and London, and routed Bertulph, king of Mercia; but, on their penetrating into Surry, they were attacked by Ethelwolf, and his ſon Ethelbald, who obtained a very bloody and complete victory. A party of the Danes, however, ventured, for the firſt time, to take up their winter quarters in the Iſle of Thanet, where they were attacked by Ealher and Huda, governors of Kent and Surry. The beginning of the action was favourable to the Engliſh; but at laſt, victory declared for the Danes, and both the governors fell in the conflict. The Danes then removed to the Iſle of Shepey, where they took up their winter quarters, that they might extend farther their ravages and devaſtations in the ſpring.

A. D. 854. But even this unſettled ſtate of the kingdom, was not ſufficient to prevent Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome, whither he carried his fourth and favourite ſon Alfred, then only ſix years of age. He ſpent there a twelve-month in exerciſes of devotion; nor did he fail in what was then thought the moſt eſſential part of it, liberality to the church of Rome. Beſides giving preſents to the moſt diſtinguiſhed eccleſiaſtics, he made a perpetual grant of three hundred mancuſes (about thirty-eight pounds) a year to that ſee; one third to ſupport the lamps in St. Peter's church, another thoſe in St. Paul's, and a third to the pope himſelf. At his return, he viſited the court of France, where he married Judith, daughter to the emperor Charles the bald; a widow, but very young, and therefore a very unſuitable conſort for a perſon of his years.

A. D. 855. In the mean time his kingdom was expoſed to the inſults of a rapacious enemy, who took the advantage of his abſence, and made ſeveral incurſions from their ſettlement in the Iſle of Shepey. Alſtan, an undaunted patriot, and biſhop of Wincheſter, was at this time in high reputation with the people; it was therefore his duty, to ſtretch forth his hand to ſave his ſinking country. Accordingly, he concerted with Ethelbald, the prince royal, and Eanwulf earl of Somerſetſhire, how they might beſt place the government on a firm foundation. After ſeveral deliberations, it was agreed that Ethelbald ſhould aſſume the government, and take poſſeſſion of the throne, which his father, from his weakneſs and ſuperſtition, was ſo ill qualified to fill.

But before theſe reſolutions could be carried into execution, Ethelwolf landed in England with his new ſpouſe. On his arrival, the people were divided between the two princes, and a bloody civil war, joined to all the other calamities, under which the nation laboured, appeared unavoidable; when Ethelwolf, rather than involve his country in ruin, condeſcended to yield to the greater part of his ſon's pretenſions. He divided with him his kingdom; and taking himſelf the eaſtern part, which was at that time, conſidered as the leaſt conſiderable, as well as the moſt expoſed, he delivered the ſovereignty of the weſtern into the hands of Ethelbald.

Having thus reſtored the internal peace of the kingdom, he ſummoned the whole ſtates of the realm, and by a formal charter, gave the tithes of the kingdom to the church. This grant was readily confirmed by the ſtates and people, who, terrified by the fear of future invaſions, were ſuſceptible of any impreſſions that bore the appearance of religion.

The remaining period of his life was employed in works of charity and devotion; and, when he found his end approaching, was finiſhed with an act of prudence, intended to prevent diſputes among his children, by ſettling the ſucceſſion, before death put an end to his exiſtence. The territories over which he ruled himſelf, he bequeathed to his ſon Ethelbert, in caſe of whoſe death, they were to deſcend to Ethelred; and for want of male iſſue, were entailed upon Alfred. His perſonal eſtate he divided among his children, and ordered, that all his ſucceſſors ſhould maintain one poor perſon out of every tenth family. Having thus diſpoſed of his eſtates, and procured theſe donations, to be confirmed at Langdene, by the Weſt-Saxon nobility, he paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by Ethelbald, in the kingdom of Weſſex, and by Ethelbert in Kent.

ETHEL-

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Engraved for Mountagues History of England.

The ABBESS of Coldingham Monastery & her NUNS cutting of their Noſes & upper Lips to prevent being Raviſhed by the Danes

ETHELBALD, and ETHELBERT.

A. D. 857. ETHELBALD was a very profligate prince, and governed his kingdom in an arbitrary manner. He married Judith, his father's widow, and for ſome time indulged himſelf in every vice that ſollicited his appetite: but being at laſt reclaimed, by the remonſtrances of Swithin, biſhop of Wincheſter, he divorced Judith, and made ſome atonement for his crimes, by a ſtrict obſervance of religious duties. On his death, which happened in the fourth year after his father's deceaſe, the crown devolved upon Ethelbert, who was as remarkable for his virtues, as his brother had been for his vices. His adminiſtration was conducted with ſo much prudence, that no civil commotion diſturbed the national tranquillity during his whole reign.

But the Danes, who had for ſome time intermitted their ravages, now landed at Southampton, ſpreading terror over the whole country; none made any preparations for ſtopping their progreſs, flight being the only means uſed for preſervation, and they were ſuffered to penetrate as far as Wincheſter, the metropolis of Weſſex, which they plundered, and laid in aſhes. But in returning to their fleet, loaded with booty, they were attacked by Oſric and Ethelwolf, two Engliſh generals, who, after a bloody engagement, put them to flight, and recovered the greater part of the plunder.

A. D. 865. Some time after they landed in the Iſle of Thanet, poſſibly with an intention to begin their ravages early in the ſpring; but the Kentiſhmen, in order to divert the ſtorm which threatened them, concluded a truce with their invaders, and promiſed to pay them a ſum of money. The perfidious Danes readily agreed to the propoſals; but afterwards thinking they could gain a much greater ſum by plunder, took the advantage of the truce, to attack the Engliſh unprepared, ſurpriſed them by night, and laid all the eaſtern part of the country waſte.

Ethelbert did not long ſurvive this treachery; he died the year following, univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, whoſe affections he had acquired by the prudence and juſtice of his government. He was buried at Sherburn, and ſucceeded in the government by Ethelred, his brother, agreeable to the will of his father, tho' he left two ſons, Adelhelm and Ethelwold.

ETHELRED I.

A. D. 866. ETHELRED, tho' a brave and valiant prince, enjoyed very little tranquillity from the Daniſh irruptions, during his whole reign. His younger brother Alfred, aſſiſted him in all his enterpriſes, and generouſly ſacrificed, to the good of his country, all reſentments which he might entertain, on account of his being excluded by Ethelred, from a large patrimony left him by his father.

The firſt deſcent of the Danes, during this reign, was made in the territories of the Eaſt-Angles, who, more anxious for their preſent intereſt, than the common ſafety of the kingdom, entered into a ſeparate treaty with the enemy, and furniſhed them with horſes, which enabled them to make an irruption into the kingdom of Northumberland, where they ſeized the city of York, and defended it againſt Osbricht and Ella, two Northumbrian princes, who periſhed in the aſſault.

Encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, they now ventured to leave the ſea-coaſts, and, under the command of their leaders Hinguar and Hubba, penetrated into Mercia, took up their winter quarters at Nottingham, and threatened the kingdom with univerſal ſubjection.

A. D. 868. The Mercians, alarmed at this invaſion of their country, applied to Ethelred for ſuccour; and that prince, in conjunction with his brother Alfred, conducting a powerful army to Nottingham, diſlodged the enemy from the poſts they had taken, and obliged them to retire into Northumberland.

A. D. 869. During their ſtay in theſe northern parts of the kingdom, they deſtroyed the city of Arcluid, and then purſuing their rout towards the Weſt-Saxons, thro' Lincolnſhire, they deſtroyed the Abbey of Bardney, putting all the monks to the ſword. Peterborough, Ely, and indeed all the monaſteries that were ſituated in their way, ſhared the ſame fate; towns and cities were laid in aſhes, women raviſhed and murdered, and neither age, ſex, nor quality, were ſufficient to ſecure the wretched inhabitants from the wantonneſs of ſavage cruelty. But the behaviour of Ebba, the abbeſs, and her nuns, at the monaſtery of Coldingham, deſerves particular mention. Underſtanding that the Danes intended to attack the convent, ſhe called her nuns together, and after laying before them the character of their pagan invaders for luſt and cruelty, added, that ſhe, for her own part, was reſolved to preſerve her chaſtity, at the expence of her beauty. Then taking up a razor, ſhe cut off her noſe and upper lip; and her example was followed by all the ſiſterhood. This expedient produced the deſired effect, with regard to their honour, tho' it coſt them their lives. For the brutal Danes, incenſed at their diſappointment, ſhut up the nuns in their monaſtery, and reduced the whole to aſhes.

A. D. 870. The Danes, after committing theſe ſhocking ravages, broke into Eaſt-Anglia, where they were engaged at Thetford by the Engliſh; but victory declared for the Pagans, who took Edmund, king of the Eaſt-Angles priſoner, and after offering him

him a thouſand indignities, transfixed his body with arrows, and then beheaded him.

A. D. 871. The next year the Danes abandoned Eaſt-Anglia, and advanced into Weſſex, as far as Reading in Berkſhire, fortifying the town with trenches and ramparts, extending from the Thames to the Kennet. Three days after their arrival, they detached a conſiderable party to forage, which being met at Engleſield, by Ethelwolf, earl of that county, was, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, routed and put to flight, and one of their commanders, killed on the ſpot.

Four days after this engagement, Ethelred and his brother Alfred, having united their forces, advanced to Reading, cutting all the advanced parties of the enemy to pieces, till they came to that fortreſs. The Danes, who had collected their forces within the town, made a vigorous ſally, in which Ethelwolf was ſlain, and the enemy continued maſters of the field.

Incenſed at the loſs of ſo worthy a perſon, and burning with a deſire to retrieve their honour, the Engliſh advanced a ſecond time againſt the Danes, who met them at Aſhdown, The Pagans were drawn up in two bodies, one of which was commanded by their two kings or leaders, and the other by ſeveral of their nobles. On ſeeing this, the Engliſh alſo divided their forces, under the command of Ethelred and Alfred, who, eager to wipe off the ſtain of his late defeat, was early in the field, watching the motions of the Danes, and ſeeing them drawn up in order of battle, ſent a meſſenger to his brother Ethelred, requeſting him to repair immediately to the army. But Ethelred, who was then aſſiſting at maſs within his tent, could not be prevailed upon, by any alarm or apprehenſion of danger, to leave his devotions unfiniſhed.

In the mean time, Alfred, unable of himſelf either to withſtand his enemies, who were advantageouſly poſted, or prevail upon his brother to take the field, was undetermined whether he ſhould fight or retreat. The Danes, ſoon ſenſible of his ſituation, attacked him with great fury, and were received with equal intrepidity by Alfred. After thus ſtanding the ſhock of the whole Daniſh army for ſome time, his brother came to his aſſiſtance, and ſoon put the Danes to flight, after an incredible ſlaughter, in which they loſt one of their kings, five of their earls, and a great number of ſoldiers.

The broken remains of the Daniſh army fled to Reading; and about a fortnight after, made an incurſion to Baſing, where a ſecond battle was fought, and in which the two royal brothers Ethelred and Alfred were defeated.

The Pagans, being now reinforced by a new army from their own country, became every day more terrible to the Engliſh. Amidſt theſe confuſions Ethelred died, leaving his brother Alfred to inherit his cares and misfortunes, rather than his grandeur. He was buried at Wimburn, in Dorſetſhire, greatly lamented by his ſubjects, whom he had governed with prudence, juſtice, and humanity.

ALFRED.

A. D. 871. ALFRED had given very early prognoſtics of thoſe great virtues and ſhining talents, by which he afterwards ſaved his country from utter ruin and ſubverſion. He was always the favourite of his father; but being indulged in all the pleaſures of youth, his education had been ſo greatly neglected, that in his twelfth year, he was totally ignorant of the loweſt elements of literature. His genius was firſt rouſed by the recital of Saxon poems, in which the queen greatly delighted; and this ſpecies of erudition, which is capable of making a conſiderable progreſs, even among Barbarians, expanded thoſe noble and elevated ſentiments which he had received from nature. Encouraged by the queen, and ſtimulated by his own ardent inclination, he ſoon learned to read theſe compoſitions; and thence proceeded to acquire a knowledge of the Latin tongue, where he met with authors better adapted to his genius and heroic ſpirit. Abſorbed in theſe elegant purſuits, his acceſſion to royalty, was rather an object of regret than triumph; but being called to the throne by the voice of the whole nation, in preference to his brother's children, as well as by the will of his father, which had great authority among the Anglo-Saxons, he ſhook off his literary indolence, and exerted himſelf in the defence of his people.

He had hardly paid the laſt duty to his brother's aſhes, when he was obliged to take the field, in order to oppoſe the Danes, who had ſeized Wilton, and were extending their uſual and cruel ravages over all the adjacent country. He marched againſt them at the head of the few troops he could aſſemble on a ſudden, and giving them battle, gained at firſt an advantage over them; but by purſuing his victory too far, the ſuperiority of the enemy's numbers prevailed, and Alfred was obliged to retreat.

The intrepidity with which he behaved in this action, the expedition with which he had collected an army to repair his loſs, and the great abilities he had already diſplayed, induced the Danes to enter into a treaty with him for a ſafe retreat, promiſing, on that condition, to leave his kingdom. Accordingly they were conducted to London, where they were permitted to take up their winter quarters.

A. D. 872. They did not, however, long continue quiet in their cantonments, but had recourſe to their old practices, pillaging the adjacent country, and committing all kinds of diſorders. Buthred, king of Mercia, in whoſe territories London was ſituated, engaged them for a ſum of money, to remove to Lindſey, in Lincolnſhire, a country they had already pillaged and laid deſolate. This was, therefore, no agreeable place to a people, whoſe trade is rapine and violence. Accordingly, they removed to Repton, in Derbyſhire, and laid the whole country deſolate with fire and ſword. Buthred, finding himſelf unable to withſtand an enemy, who could neither be reſiſted by force, nor bound by treaty, abandoned his kingdom, and repaired to Rome, where he took ſhelter in the gloomy receſſes of a cloiſter.

A. D. 874. The Danes, who had lately received ſeveral reinforcements from the continent, began now

now to be too numerous to ſubſiſt long in one place. They therefore divided their army into two bodies; one of which marched into Northumberland, under the command of Halfden their chief, where they employed themſelves in harraſſing the Strathcluid Britons, and wintered on the banks of the Tyne. The other headed by Gothrun, Oſcitel, and Amund, continued at Cambridge. Theſe motions of the enemy, convinced Alfred that he muſt either expel the pagans or loſe his kingdom; he therefore turned his thoughts to the revival of his marine, and fitted out a ſtrong fleet to guard the coaſts.

A. D. 875. Experience ſoon convinced him that he had not laboured in vain. A Daniſh ſquadron of ſeven ſail now attempted to land; but were prevented by Alfred's fleet, which engaged the enemy, took one of the ſhips and ſo greatly ſhattered the reſt, that they were obliged to return to their own country.

A. D. 876. Halfden now put to ſea and ſurprized Wareham caſtle, the ſtrongeſt fortification in all Weſſex. Alfred conſidering this as an infraction of the treaty, marched to attack the enemy. The Danes finding themſelves in no condition to reſiſt the Engliſh army, and Alfred unwilling to drive a powerful enemy to deſpair, concluded a treaty with them, cauſing them to ſwear upon the relics he moſt confided in, as well as upon a bracelet, held ſacred by the Pagans, that they would evacuate his dominions.

But no oaths could bind the perfidious barbarians; even their regard for the hoſtages they gave up on this occaſion, though the nobleſt in their army, could not prevail upon them to obſerve the terms of the treaty. For they ſoon took the opportunity of ſeizing his cavalry in the night, mounting their own men on the horſes, and ſurprizing the city of Exeter, where they took up their winter quarters.

A. D. 877. Alfred now applied himſelf to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to prevent the Danes from receiving any reinforcements by ſea, while he inveſted the city by land with his army. Alfred's fleet had the good fortune to meet with one hundred and twenty of their tranſports, loaded with ſoldiers. This body had been at ſea upwards of a month, and therefore unable to reſiſt a ſquadron well equipped and juſt out of their ports. The Engliſh attacked them with the utmoſt fury, and in revenge for the cruelties practiſed by their countrymen, and their ſhameful breach of treaties, ſunk the whole fleet.

In the mean time Alfred vigorouſly preſſed the ſiege of Exeter; and want of proviſions, added to the account the enemy received of their loſs by ſea, obliged them once more to demand a capitulation. Alfred, rather than endanger the few troops he had remaining, entered again into a treaty with them, and was even ſatisfied with ſtipulating, that they ſhould ſettle ſomewhere in England, provided they would undertake to prevent any more of their country from viſiting the kingdom. But while he was expecting the execution of this treaty, he was informed that another body of Danes had landed, and, after collecting the ſcattered troops of their countrymen, had ſurprized Chippenham, then a conſiderable town, and were exerciſing their uſual ravages all round the adjacent country.

A. D. 878. This attack upon one of Alfred's principal towns, in the heart of his country, gave our hero a melancholy preſage of the conſequence. Calamity now broke in upon him, not like a ſweeping torrent, which depopulates only the tract over which it runs, but, like a general inundation, covering the whole face of the country. The Danes filled every quarter of the land; ſo that reſiſtance had been madneſs. The wretched inhabitants were now driven to deſpair: ſome left their country and retired into Wales, or fled beyond the ſeas: others ſubmitted to the conquerors, in hopes of appeaſing their fury by a ſervile obedience. But ſubjection to a mind like Alfred's was worſe than death. Nor was he quite abandoned; the private virtues of the man had attached to the perſon of the king a choſen band, unconſcious of dependancy, and bravely reſerving themſelves for better times, with the fond hopes of being ſtill able to deliver their country. Diveſting himſelf, therefore, of all the enſigns of his dignity, and diſmiſſing his ſervants, Alfred concealed himſelf from the purſuit and fury of his enemies, under the habit of a peaſant, and lived, for ſome time, in the houſe of a neat-herd, who had been intruſted with the care of ſome of his cattle. The wife of the neat-herd was ignorant of the condition of her royal gueſt; and obſerving him one day buſy by the fire ſide in trimming his bow and arrows, deſired him to take care of ſome cakes which were toaſting, while ſhe was employed elſewhere in other affairs of the family. But Alfred, whoſe thoughts were engaged on very different objects, neglected the injunction; and the woman on her return, finding her cakes all burnt, rated the king very ſeverely; telling him he always ſeemed very well pleaſed to eat her warm cakes, though he was thus negligent in toaſting them. Alfred ſuffered this indignity with patience and chearfulneſs; his mind was too great to regard indignities like theſe, and conſtantly employed in meditating on the means of delivering his country.

In the mean time the ſearch of the enemy became more remiſs, ſo that Alfred had an opportunity of meeting his choſen band in the woody and boggy parts of Somerſetſhire, where they kept themſelves concealed, and often iſſued from their retreat with the king at their head, to plunder the Danes, by which they acquired a penurious ſubſiſtence. Succeſs in theſe incurſions rendering them bolder, and increaſing their numbers, they retired into the center of a bog, formed by the ſtagnating waters of the Thane and Parret. Here they found about two acres of firm ground, where they built a habitation, which they ſurrounded with intrenchments; but what rendered it much more ſecure than their fortifications were the inacceſſible roads leading to it, and the foreſts and moraſſes with which it was every way ſurrounded. From this retreat, now called the Iſle of Athelney, Alfred and his followers made frequent and unexpected ſallies upon the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm without being able to diſcover the quarter from whence the blow proceeded. Inexhauſtible in courage, as they in numbers, he attacked them at the head of his ſmall band, ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another; for misfortunes had only increaſed the vigour of his band, and humiliation given an edge to his revenge.

About this time, Hubba, the brother of Haldan,

and Hinguar, having landed with a freſh body of troops at the mouth of the Taw near Barnſtaple in the north of Devonſhire, and beſieged the caſtle of Kinwith. Oddune, earl of Devonſhire, with his followers, had taken ſhelter in this fortreſs; but being ill ſupplied with proviſions and water, determined by ſome vigorous blow, to prevent the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the barbarous enemy. Accordingly, Oddune made a ſudden ſally upon the Danes early in the morning, and taking them unprepared, routed their whole army, purſued them with great ſlaughter, killed Hubba himſelf, and took the famous Reafen, or inchanted ſtandard, in which the Danes put the greateſt confidence. It contained the figure of a raven, which had been interwoven by the three ſiſters of Hinguar and Hubba, with many magical incantations, and which, by its different movements, prognoſticated, as the Danes believed, the good or bad ſucceſs of any undertaking.

Theſe gleams of ſucceſs encouraged Alfred to put in execution a project he had ſome time ſince formed, of viewing, in perſon the Daniſh camp. No habit was ſo proper for this purpoſe as that of a muſician, a profeſſion in the higheſt eſteem among the moſt barbarous of the northern nations. Alfred's love of the liberal arts, had given him great opportunities of perſonating this character to advantage. He was accordingly well received by the ferocious Danes, and even introduced to the tent of Guthrum, their prince, where he remained ſome days. He remarked the ſupine ſecurity of the Danes, their contempt of the Engliſh, their negligence in foraging and plundering, and their diſſolute manner of waſting what they acquired by rapine and violence. At the ſame time he was informed that they were ſoon to celebrate a great feſtival, the natural conſequences of which are riot and diſſipation. Encouraged by theſe favourable appearances, he returned to his friends, and immediately diſpatched meſſengers to every part where the Saxons diſdaining ſervitude reſided, appointing a general rendezvous at Brixton, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of Selwood foreſt in Wiltſhire. This was joyful news to the diſtreſſed inhabitants, whoſe affection for their monarch was ſo great, that hardly a perſon capable of carrying arms was abſent. On his appearance among them, they received him with ſhouts of applauſe, and could hardly ſatiate their eyes with the ſight of their beloved monarch, whom they had long regarded as dead; but who now, both by his voice and geſtures expreſſed his confidence of ſucceſs, and called them to liberty and vengeance. Even thoſe, who by their ſubmiſſion to the Danes, had ſailed with the ſtream of conqueſt, were aſhamed of their deſpondency; and the glorious proof of virtue their monarch and his aſſociated few had given, determined them to follow their example, and either recover their liberty or periſh in the glorious conteſt.

Alfred led them immediately to Eddington, where the Daniſh army was encamped; and taking advantage of the knowledge he had previouſly acquired of the place, directed his attack againſt the moſt unguarded quarter of the enemy. The Danes, imagining that Alfred had periſhed in the wrecks of his fortune, and that with him the glory and power of England had expired, were ſurprized at ſeeing an Engliſh army, and ſtill more aſtoniſhed to hear that Alfred was at their head. Confuſion now enſued among the pagan multitudes; while Alfred charged them ſo furiouſly, that he found no reſiſtance but from the impenetrability of their numbers. Nothing, however, wasable to reſiſt the Engliſh, doubly animated by hope and revenge. What followed was a total rout. The ſword was let looſe upon the barbarians, who that day amply felt the miſeries they had inflicted upon the inhabitants of this iſland.

The poor remains of the Daniſh army fled to a caſtle, which was immediately inveſted by Alfred's forces; who by cutting off all ſupplies of proviſions, ſoon reduced the ferocious pagans to famine, and the moſt humble ſubmiſſion. Alfred equally generous and brave, gave them their lives; and even formed a ſcheme for rendering them friends and uſeful confederates. He offered to ſettle Guthrum and his followers in the kingdom of Eaſt Anglia, provided they would embrace the chriſtian religion, oblige their countrymen who refuſed the offer to quit the kingdom, and, to the utmoſt of their power, prevent any more foreigners from landing in the iſland. Theſe terms were readily accepted, and thoſe who refuſed to part with their old religion, embarked for Flanders, where they exerciſed their old trade of piracy, under the command of Haſtings, one of their generals.

Three weeks after this convention was ſigned, Guthrum, the Daniſh chief, attended by thirty of his officers, repaired to Aller, a ſmall village in Somerſetſhire, where they were all baptized. The king himſelf anſwered for Guthrum at the font, gave him the name of Athelſtan, and received him as his adopted ſon.

A. D. 878. After this converſion, the Danes entertained a much greater regard for the ſacredneſs of an oath than before, They ſtayed but a ſhort time at Chippenham, removing thence to Cirenceſter, where they paſſed the winter; and retired the year following to the kingdom of Eaſt Anglia, the country aſſigned them for their ſettlement; and which Guthrum held as a feudatory prince.

A. D. 879. Eaſt Anglia was now divided among them by lot; and the Danes applied themſelves to improve the potion each had acquired. Houſes were built; the land was cultivated; private property was defended; virtue and induſtry were encouraged, and every precaution taken to defend themſelves from the incroachments of their countrymen, or the invaſions of foreigners. The Danes were made denizens, and Guthrum was preſented by Alfred with a ſhort code of laws, for the government of his ſubjects. Theſe ſalutary inſtitutions produced the deſired effect in civilizing this barbarous people, in preventing rapine, and in keeping the kingdom in tranquillity during the life of Guthrum.

A. D. 880. But notwithſtanding theſe happy preſages of proſperity, the kingdom was not wholly free from the attempts of theſe northern invaders; another body of Danes landed the next year in England, and took up their winter quarters at Fulham. The wiſe regulations of Alfred, however, prevented them from uniting with their countrymen, and being unable of themſelves to form ſettlements in theſe parts, they re-embarked in the ſpring, and fixed their reſidence at Ghent in Flanders.

Peace and tranquillity now extended their happy influence over the whole iſland; and Alfred took care to employ the opportunity, in reſtoring order

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ALFRED *taking the* DANISH STANDARD.

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to the ſtate, which had been ſhaken by ſo many violent convulſions. He eſtabliſhed civil and military inſtitutions, encouraged induſtry, by every motive in his power; executed juſtice with the greateſt impartiality, and took the wiſeſt methods of providing againſt ſimilar calamities. By theſe prudent regulations, Alfred became the greateſt monarch that had hitherto filled the Engliſh throne: every part of the iſland owned his power, and the kingdom of Mercia was incorporated in his ſtate, and governed by Ethelbert, his brother-in-law, under the title of earl. The Danes, indeed, who were ſettled in Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, were, for ſome time, governed by their own princes; but at the ſame time, they acknowledged a ſubordination to Alfred, and ſubmitted to his ſuperior authority. At the ſame time Alfred, convinced that equality among ſubjects, is the only genuine ſource of concord, gave the ſame laws to the Danes and Engliſh, and put them entirely on the ſame footing in the adminiſtration of civil and criminal juſtice.

Former experience had convinced Alfred, that the only method of oppoſing an enemy, who made incurſions by ſea, was to meet them on their own element, and he therefore took care to provide himſelf with a naval power, which, tho' the moſt natural defence of an iſland, had, till Alfred's time, been totally neglected by the Engliſh. He accordingly increaſed his veſſels, both in number and force, and trained up his ſubjects to the practice of working ſhips, and fighting by ſea. Theſe fleets were diſtributed at proper ſtations round the iſland, and were ſure to meet with the Daniſh ſhips either before or after they had landed their troops, and to purſue them in all their incurſions.

A. D. 882. As Alfred had ſtipulated, by the peace he made with Guthrum, that no more Danes ſhould arrive in England: all who attempted to land, were conſidered as pirates, and no quarter was permitted to be given them. This injunction, producing an order of the ſame kind on the part of the Danes; the ſea-fights on both ſides were very deſperate. Four Daniſh pirates ſoon after appeared on the Engliſh coaſt, and Alfred going in perſon on board his own fleet, purſued the enemy. A furious engagement enſued, and victory at laſt declared for Alfred. Two of the Daniſh ſhips were ſunk, and the other two ſo much diſabled, that they were obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror.

A. D. 884. The enſuing year, the Danes remained quiet, which gave this indefatigable prince more time to provide for the internal ſecurity of his kingdom. In order to which, he eſtabliſhed a regular militia; took care that all his people ſhould be armed and regiſtered; aſſigned them a regular rotation of duty; diſtributed part into caſtles and fortreſſes, erected in proper places; directed another part to take the field on any alarm, and to aſſemble at ſtated places of rendezvous. At the ſame time, he took care that a ſufficient number ſhould be left at home, to cultivate the land, and who were afterwards to take their turn in military ſervice. By theſe wiſe regulations, the whole kingdom might be conſidered as one large garriſon; ſo that whenever an enemy appeared in one place, a ſufficient number could immediately aſſemble to oppoſe them, without leaving the other parts of the kingdom defenceleſs or diſarmed.

A. D. 885. Theſe precautions were hardly taken, before an army of the Daniſh pirates, under the command of Haſtings, landed on the coaſt of Kent, and laid ſiege to Rocheſter. The citizens, however, made a brave defence, till they were relieved by Alfred, whoſe very name carried with it ſuch terror, that the Danes, precipitately raiſing the ſiege, retired to their ſhips, leaving their horſes and booty of all kinds a prey to the Engliſh.

Alfred now reinforced his fleet, reſolving to free his coaſts entirely from the Daniſh pirates, eſpecially thoſe of Eaſt-Anglia, where they were ſecretly aſſiſted by their countrymen. The Engliſh had not been long at ſea, before they met, off the town of Harwich, a Daniſh fleet of ſixteen ſail, thirteen of which they ſunk, took the reſt, and returned with a conſiderable booty.

A. D. 886. Alfred had now another reſpite from his reſtleſs enemies, and wiſely employed it in rebuilding the monaſteries, churches, towns, and cities, that had been deſtroyed by the hand of ſavage barbarity. He repaired the caſtles on the ſea-coaſts, and erected new fortifications, in order to protect his kingdom from future invaſions and inſults. The only avenue to his kingdom, which remained at the mercy of the enemy, was the river Thames, which always gave them an opportunity to penetrate into his dominions. He therefore reſolved to fortify London, and keep it as a frontier. This reſolution was no ſooner taken, than that famous city roſe, by his munificence, out of its ruins. He fortified it with walls and towers, placed in it a ſtrong garriſon, reſtored it to more than its ancient ſplendor, and aſſigned the government of it to Ethelbert, earl of Mercia, who married his ſiſter Ethelfleda. This nobleman, who was equally great as a ſtateſman and a general, and as illuſtrious for his virtues as his abilities, ſoon rendered him very agreeable to the people under his government. The Danes, themſelves, implored his protection, and people flocked from every quarter to ſettle in London.

A. D. 892. But this interval of peace was at laſt terminated by the reſtleſs Danes, under the command of Haſtings, their famous leader, who having received two defeats from Eudes and Arnold, kings of France and Germany, reſolved once more to make a deſcent in England. Accordingly he equipped three hundred and thirty veſſels, which he divided into two fleets. The larger conſiſting of two hundred and fifty ſail, ſteered towards Kent, where the Danes landed and ſeized the fort of Appledore. The other, compoſed of eighty ſail, commanded by Haſtings in perſon, came up the river Thames, and the forces were landed near Milton, where the pirates erected a fort for their ſecurity. Haſtings now began to ſpread his forces over the whole country, and to commit the moſt dreadful ravages. But Alfred, on the firſt alarm of his deſcent, flew to the aſſiſtance of his people, at the head of a ſelect band of ſoldiers, whom he always kept about his own perſon, and being joined by the armed militia from all quarters, thro' which he paſſed, he appeared in the field with a force ſuperior to that of the enemy. All the ſtraggling parties, whom neceſſity, or the love of plunder, had drawn to a diſtance from their chief encampment, were deſtroyed by the Engliſh, and the communication between their two bodies entirely cut off. Thoſe who firſt encamped at Appledore, had made an incurſion to a conſiderable diſtance; but on hearing that Alfred had taken the field, retreated towards their ſhips. Alfred met them at Farnham, defeated them, and took all their

baggage.

baggage. The few who eſcaped fled on board their veſſels, and ſailing up the Colne, fortified themſelves at Brickelſey in Eſſex. Haſtings, at the ſame time made a motion, and abandoning Milton took poſſeſſion of Bamflete, near the Iſle of Canvey, in the ſame county, where he haſtily threw up fortifications for his defence.

Sometime before this invaſion happened, Guthrum, the Daniſh leader, ſettled in Eaſt Anglia, died, together with Guthred, whom Alfred had appointed governor of the Northumbrians. By the death of theſe two chiefs, the Danes were free from all reſtraint, and being encouraged by the appearance of ſo powerful a body of their countrymen, broke out into open rebellion, ſhook off the authority of Alfred, embarked on board two hundred and forty veſſels, and landed at Exeter in Devonſhire.

Alfred immediately on receiving intelligence of this perfidious behaviour of his Daniſh ſubjects, marched into the weſt at the head of a freſh body of forces, leaving ſome troops at London to make head againſt Haſtings. He did not, however, arrive ſoon enough to ſave Exeter, which the king now inveſted, and blocked it up cloſe, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſallies made by the Danes.

In the mean time, the forces left behind in London, on hearing that Haſtings had marched out at the head of a body of troops to pillage the adjacent country, took the advantage of his abſence to attack his fortifications at Bamflete, which they carried by ſtorm, and took a very large booty, the plunder of years. Among other perſons that fell into the hands of the conquerors on this occaſion, were the wife and two ſons of the Daniſh chief.

Haſtings on his return from his pillaging expedition, thought proper to throw himſelf upon Alfred's mercy, and accordingly ſent meſſengers to him at his camp before Exeter, and ſued for peace. The king, who was always ready to embrace every opportunity that offered for putting an end to the calamities of war, granted his requeſt on the eaſy terms of quitting his kingdom, and ſent him back his wife and children.

But though Alfred had thus freed himſelf from this dangerous enemy, he had not expelled the invaders of his country. The piratical Danes were willing to follow any fortunate leader who gave them hopes of booty; but were not ſo eaſily engaged to relinquiſh their enterprize, or ſubmit to return without plunder. Accordingly, great numbers of them after the departure of Haſtings, ſeized and fortified Shobury in Eſſex, near the mouth of the Thames; and after being joined there by ſome forces from Northumberland, paſſed the Thames, and marched to the Severn. Thence they proceeded to Buttington in Glouceſterſhire, where they hoped to be joined by the Welſh: but Alfred's generals, to prevent their receiving any aſſiſtance, blocked up the place immediately, by which they were reduced to ſuch extremity, that they were obliged to eat their horſes. In the height of deſpair, they made a furious ſally upon the Engliſh, and though the greater part fell in the action, a conſiderable body made their eſcape. Theſe roved about the country for ſome time, till being reinforced by a body of their countrymen from Northumberland, under the command of Laf, a Daniſh chief, they made another attempt to get into Wales. In order to this they marched night and day till they arrived at Cheſter, where they entrenched themſelves, and remained the whole winter.

In the mean time Alfred had reduced Exeter and obliged the Danes to re-embark, and fly to their camp in Eſſex, having firſt landed on the coaſt of Suſſex, and made a fruitleſs attempt upon Chicheſter.

As ſoon as the ſpring advanced, the Danes, who had ſubſiſted at Cheſter on ſuch plunder as they could procure in Wales, did not think proper to wait for the aſſembling the Engliſh army, or attempt a paſſage through Mercia, but paſſed into the country of the Eaſt Angles, whence they afterwards proceeded to Eſſex, and ſeized on a ſmall iſland called Merſey. Being here joined by great numbers of their countrymen, they went on board their ſhips, and taking the advantage of the abſence of Alfred's fleet, ſailed up the Thames to the mouth of the Lee, up which river they towed their veſſels as far as Hertford, where they fortified themſelves.

A. D. 896. This proximity to London induced the citizens to march in a body to attack their fortifications; but they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Alfred, therefore, was obliged to encamp a body of his troops during the harveſt, in order to cover the labourers from the inſults of the Danes. One day as he was reconnoitering the ſituation of the enemy, he perceived that their poſt was not tenable without the defence of the river, and therefore determined to divert the courſe of the ſtream. Accordingly, he turned the water another way, by which means their ſhips were left dry, and the pirates obliged to abandon both their veſſels and their fortifications. They fled towards the Severn, and built a fort at Quatford, where they were totally broken and ſubdued.

Alfred now found no difficulty in reducing the Eaſt Angles and Northumbrians; and being convinced, by experience, of the ill conſequences that reſulted from governing them by feudatory kings, took them under his immediate authority, and incorporated both theſe provinces with the reſt of the kingdom.

Being thus freed from foreign and domeſtic enemies, Alfred determined to ſecure himſelf from any future moleſtation of his piratical invaders, by acquiring a ſuperiority on the ocean. He had ſtudied the art of ſhip-building, ſo as to reduce it to a ſcience; and from conſidering the conſtruction of the Daniſh veſſels, invented others formed in a more advantageous manner. They were built in the form of gallies, and uſually furniſhed with ſixty oars. At the ſame time, they were longer, ſteadier, and ſwifter than thoſe of the Danes, which gave his men great advantage over the enemy.

A. D. 897. A fleet of ſhips built on this new conſtruction could hardly be fitted out before ſix pirates appeared on the coaſts off the Iſle of Wight and Devonſhire, and ſix of theſe new veſſels were ſent in queſt of them, with orders, if poſſible, to get between them and the ſhore. Three of the pirates, on perceiving Alfred's fleet, ran aground; but the other three ſtood off to ſea and bravely engaged the Engliſh. Two of theſe were ſoon taken, and the third, though more fortunate, eſcaped with only five men remaining alive out of her whole crew. After this ſucceſs, the Engliſh attacked the ſhips that were run on ſhore, and killed a great number

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ALFRED *the* GREAT *Making a Collection of Laws.*

1 Northumberland
2 Cumberland
3 Westmoreland
4 Lancashire
5 Cheshire
6 Yorkshire
7 Anglesey
8 Caernarvonshire
9 Denbighshire
10 Flintshire
11 Derbyshire
12 Nottinghamshire
13 Lincolnshire
14 Merionethshire
15 Montgomeryshire
16 Shropshire
17 Staffordshire
18 Worcestershire
19 Warwickshire
20 Leicestershire
21 Rutlandshire
22 Cambridgeshire
23 Herefordshire
24 Radnorshire
25 Brecknockshire
26 Glocestershire
27 Oxfordshire
28 Huntingdonshire
29 Norfolk
30 Suffolk
31 Pembrokeshire
32 Carmarthenshire
33 Brecknockshire
34 Glamorganshire
35 Monmouthshire
36 Glocestershire
37 Oxfordshire
38 Buckinghamshire
39 Bedfordshire
40 Hertfordshire
41 Middlesex
42 Somersetshire
43 Berkshire
44 Wiltshire
45 Kent
46 Surrey
47 Kent
48 Cornwall
49 Devonshire
50 Dorsetshire
51 Hampshire
52 Sussex

English Miles 60 to a Degree
20 40 60
Scotch Miles 50 to a Degree
10 20 30 40 50

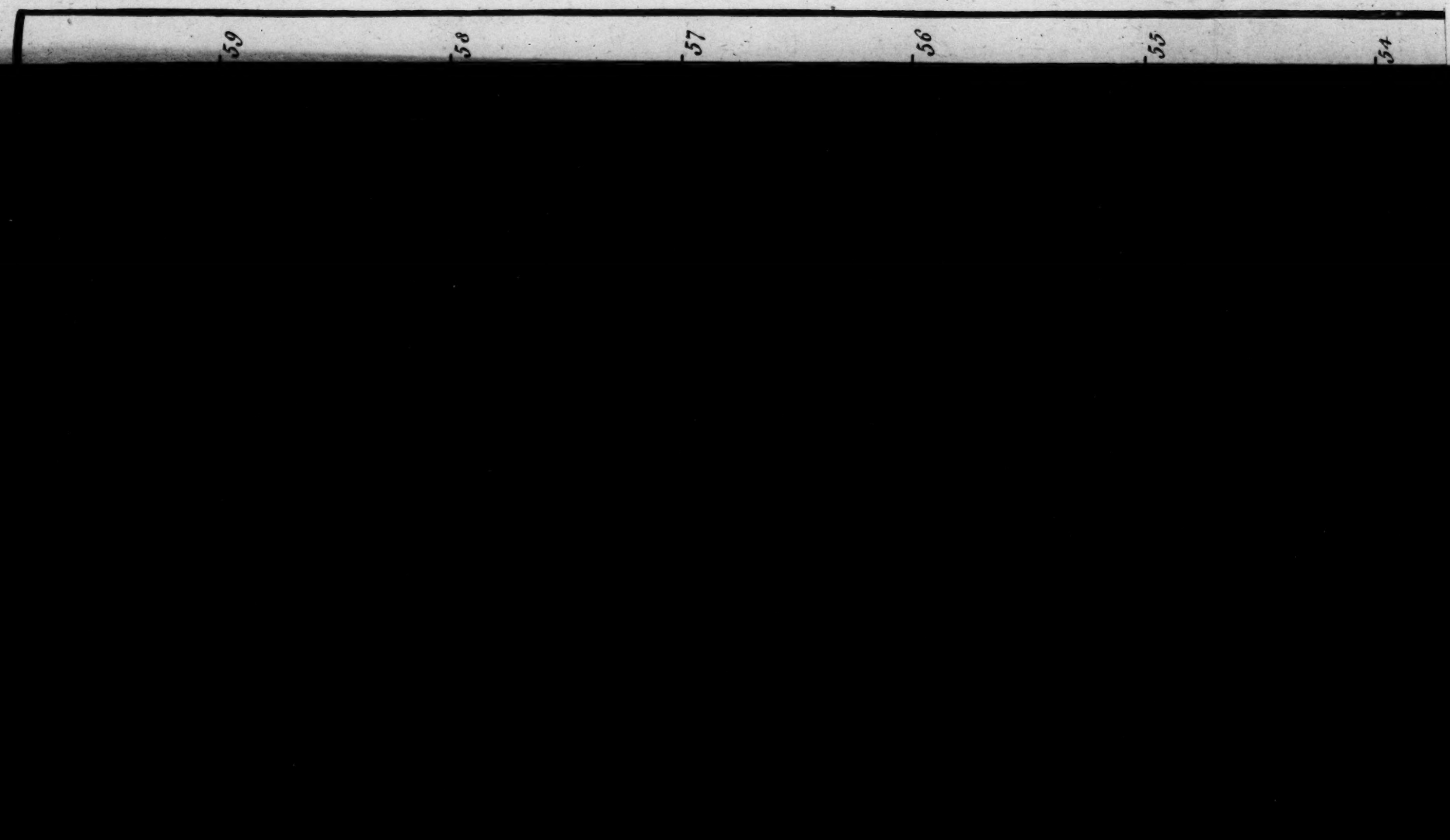
IRISH SEA
BRISTOL CHANNEL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
ST. GEORGES CHANNEL
CARDIGAN BAY
NORTHERN OCEAN
IRELAND
FRANCE
WALES
SCOTLAND
Solway Firth
Mersey R
Dee R
Humber R
Thames R
Severn R
Tees Mouth
The Wash
Holy Head
Anglesey I
Man Isle
Douglas
Dublin
Wicklow
Wexford
Drogheda
Down Patrick
Carlingford
Carnfergus
Coleraine
Rallin I
Cantire P
Mull of Galloway
Port Patrick
Ramsey I
St Brides Bay
Barsey I
Braichy P
Lundy I
Cow & Calf
Land End
C Cornwall
Portland I
Race of Portland
Dunnose
St Catherines Pt
Beachy Hd
Foreland
Goodwin Sands
Sheppey I
Calais
Boulogne
Abbeville
Harwich
Yarmouth
Lowestoft
Orford
Aldborough
Flamborough
Scarborough
Whitby
Hartlepool
Sunderland
Newcastle
Berwick
Carlisle
Penrith
Appelby
Kendal
Lancaster
Preston
Liverpool
Manchester
Chester
Holyhead
Bangor
Carnarvon
Conway
Denbigh
Ruthin
Wrexham
Flint
Harlech
Aberystwith
Cardigan
Tenby
Pembroke
Milford
Haverfordwest
Carmarthen
Swansea
Neath
Llandaff
Cardiff
Chepstow
Monmouth
Ross
Hereford
Leominster
Ludlow
Shrewsbury
Oswestry
Wem
Whitchurch
Nantwich
Newcastle
Stone
Litchfield
Stafford
Wolverhampton
Birmingham
Bridgenorth
Kidderminster
Worcester
Tewkesbury
Gloucester
Cirencester
Evesham
Warwick
Coventry
Rugby
Northampton
Daventry
Banbury
Oxford
Woodstock
Chipping Norton
Buckingham
Aylesbury
Tring
Hertford
Ware
Barnet
Watford
Uxbridge
Windsor
Reading
Newbury
Wallingford
Abingdon
Henley
Marlow
Chippenham
Marlborough
Devizes
Salisbury
Wilton
Shaftesbury
Blandford
Dorchester
Wareham
Poole
Bridport
Lyme
Axminster
Honiton
Exeter
Crediton
Tiverton
Bampton
Barnstaple
Ilfracombe
Taunton
Bridgewater
Wells
Bath
Bristol
Glocester
Andover
Basingstoke
Winchester
Southampton
Ringwood
Lymington
Portsmouth
Chichester
Arundel
Horsham
Lewes
Hastings
Rye
Winchelsea
Tenterden
Romney
Hythe
Dover
Deal
Sandwich
Canterbury
Margate
Ramsgate
Faversham
Maidstone
Rochester
Gravesend
Tilbury
Chelmsford
Maldon
Colchester
Harwich
Ipswich
Woodbridge
Framlingham
Beccles
Yarmouth
Lowestoft
Norwich
Thetford
Ely
Cambridge
Newmarket
Bury
Stowmarket
Sudbury
Halstead
Braintree
Dunmow
Harlow
Epping
Romford
Brentwood
Billericay
Thaxtead
Malden
Finchingfield
Saffron Walden
Royston
Baldock
Hitchin
Stevenage
Hatfield
St Albans
Barnet
Edgware
Harrow
Uxbridge
Staines
Egham
Windsor
Eton
Slough
Maidenhead
Henley
Wallingford
Abingdon
Oxford
Woodstock
Chipping Norton
Banbury
Daventry
Northampton
Towcester
Stony Stratford
Bedford
Olney

Engraved for Mountague's History of England

An Accurate MAP of GREAT BRITAIN from the latest & best OBSERVATIONS

References to the Counties of England

1 Northumberland	19 Leicestershire	37 Oxfordshire
2 Cumberland	20 Rutlandshire	38 Buckinghamshire
3 Durham	21 Norfolk	39 Bedfordshire
4 Westmoreland	22 Cardiganshire	40 Hartfordshire
5 Lancashire	23 Radnorshire	41 Essex
6 Yorkshire	24 Herefordshire	42 Somersetshire
7 Anglesey	25 Worcestershire	43 Wiltshire
8 Carnarvanshire	26 Warwickshire	44 Berkshire
9 Denbighshire	27 Northamptonshire	45 Middlesex
10 Flintshire	28 Huntingtonshire	46 Surrey
11 Cheshire	29 Cambridgeshire	47 Kent
12 Derbyshire	30 Suffolk	48 Cornwall
13 Nottinghamshire	31 Pembrookeshire	49 Devonshire
14 Lincolnshire	32 Carmarthenshire	50 Dorsetshire
15 Merionethshire	33 Brecknockshire	51 Hampshire
16 Montgomeryshire	34 Glamorganshire	52 Sussex
17 Shropshire	35 Monmouthshire	
18 Staffordshire	36 Glocestershire	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number of their men. At length they floated with the riſing of the tide, but in ſo ſhattered a condition, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they teached the coaſt of Suſſex, where they were forced on ſhore a ſecond time, and the Danes endeavoured to make their eſcape, but being all taken, they were carried to Wincheſter, and there condemned as pirates and the common enemies of mankind.

This well-timed ſeverity, together with the excellent poſture of defence every where eſtabliſhed, reſtored tranquillity to England, and provided for the future ſecurity of the government.

Nothing farther happened in the ſubſequent part of this monarch's reign, except the prudent meaſures he took to perpetuate the noble plan he had formed for rendering his kingdom flouriſhing and his people happy.

His country had long been the ſcene of devaſtation and violence; murders and other outrages had been committed with impunity; and many of the inhabitants, who had been accuſtomed to live by plunder, were become incapable of induſtry; while great part of the kingdom was lying deſolate from the ravages of a barbarous enemy, and thrown into diſorder, which ſeemed as if calculated to render its miſery perpetual. Theſe were evils which called for all the abilities, vigilance and activity of Alfred to find an adequate remedy.

To provide for the regular and ſtrict execution of juſtice, he divided England into counties, which were ſubdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings, or dwellings of ten houſholders. Every houſeholder was anſwerable to the king for the good behaviour of his family, his ſervants, and even of his gueſts, provided they continued with him above three days. A tything-man, headborough, or borſholder preſided over each tything; and all the ten houſeholders were mutually pledges for each other. If any perſon in the tything was ſuſpected of an offence, he was impriſoned unleſs the headborough gave ſecurity for him. If he made his eſcape either before or after finding ſureties, the headborough became liable to enquiry, and if the eſcape was made in conſequence of any neglect, expoſed to the penalties of the law. Any perſon who refuſed to enter himſelf into one of theſe tythings, was deemed an outlaw, and put to death. Nor could any one be received into a different tything, without producing a certificate from that to which he before belonged. By this inſtitution every man was obliged by his own intereſt, to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of his neighbours, and was, in ſome meaſure, ſurety for the behaviour of thoſe, who were placed under the diviſion to which he belonged.

His plan for the adminiſtration of juſtice was truly admirable. The headborough ſummoned together his whole tything to aſſiſt him in deciding any leſſer differences, which occured among the members of the ſmall community. In affairs of greater moment, in appeals from the tything, or in controverſies ariſing between members of different tythings, the cauſe was brought before the hundred, which conſiſted of ten tythings or an hundred families of feemen, and which was regularly aſſembled once in four weeks, for the deciding of cauſes. Their method of deciſion deſerves to be remembered, becauſe it was the origin of that great privilege peculiar to Engliſhmen, of being tried by a jury of their own peers. Twelve freeholders were choſen, who being ſworn, together with the hundreder, or preſiding magiſtrate of that diviſion, to adminiſter impartial juſtice, proceeded to the examination of that cauſe, which was ſubmitted to their juriſdiction. And beſides theſe monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting appointed for a more general inſpection of the police of the diſtrict; the enquiry into crimes, the correction of abuſes in magiſtrates, and the obliging every perſon to ſhew the tything in which he was regiſtered.

The court immediately ſuperior to that of the hundred was the county-court, which met twice a year, after Michaelmas and Eaſter, and conſiſted of all the freeholders of the county, who poſſeſſed an equal vote in the deciſion of cauſes. The biſhop preſided in this court, together with the eorlderman. Appeals lay to this court from thoſe of the hundreds and tythings. And here alſo ſuch controverſies as aroſe between men of different hundreds were decided. The eorlderman formerly poſſeſſed both the civil and military authority; but Alfred, ſenſible that this coalition of powers rendered the nobility dangerous and independent, appointed alſo a ſheriff in each county; who enjoyed an equal authority with the former in his judicial capacity. His office alſo empowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county; and to levy the fines impoſed, and other ſervices of a ſimilar nature.

From all theſe courts an appeal lay to the king himſelf in council; and as the people, ſenſible of the equity and great talents of Alfred, placed their chief confidence in him, he was ſoon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of England. He was indefatigable in the diſpatch of theſe cauſes; but finding that his time muſt be entirely engroſſed by this branch of his duty, he reſolved to obviate the inconvenience by correcting the ignorance or corruption of the inferior magiſtrates, from whence it aroſe. Accordingly, he took care to have his nobility inſtructed in the laws: he choſe his earls and ſheriffs from among the perſons moſt celebrated for knowledge and probity: he puniſhed ſeveral for malverſation in office; and removed every perſon from his poſt, as ſoon as ever he diſcovered him deficient either in abilities, or veracity.

Learning and learned men particularly engroſſed his favour, and though at the time when he aſſumed the reins of government, there were few, on this ſide the Humber, capable of tranſlating a piece of latin, or reading the liturgy in the Engliſh tongue; yet he took ſuch wiſe meaſures, that in a ſhort time the muſes were cultivated all over his dominions. No perſon who was not a ſcholar was allowed to hold any place under him; and all freeholders, whoſe eſtates amounted to two hides of land, were obliged to ſend their ſons to ſchool, till they were ſixteen years old. And in order to promote ſo excellent a deſign, he employed all the men of learning he had in his own kingdom, and invited others over from foreign parts. He ſettled ſeveral ſeminaries, founded, or at leaſt repaired, the univerſity of Oxford, and was the patron of Univerſity college in that city.

His plan received no ſmall encouragement from his own example, and the conſtant aſſiduity with which, notwithſtanding the multiplicity of affairs, he employed himſelf in the purſuit of knowledge. He uſually divided his time into three equal portions;

tions; one he allotted to ſleep, and the refreſhment of his body by diet and exerciſe; another was employed in the diſpatch of buſineſs; and a third in ſtudy and devotion; and that he might more exactly meaſure the hours, he made uſe of burning tapers of equal lengths, which were fixed in lanthorns; an expedient ſuited to that rude age, when the principles of dialling, and the mechaniſm of clocks and watches were unknown. And by ſuch a regular diſtribution of his time, though he often laboured under great bodily infirmities, this celebrated hero, who fought in perſon fifty-ſix battles by ſea and land, was able, during a life of no extraordinary extent, to acquire more knowledge, and even to compoſe more books, than moſt ſtudious men, though bleſt with leiſure during a long ſeries of years.

To enable himſelf to ſupport the expences neceſſary for carrying on his great deſigns, he divided his revenue into two parts; one of which he dedicated to ſacred, and the other to ſecular uſes. The former he ſubdivided into four parts; one of which was diſpenſed to the poor in general; another deſtined for religious houſes of his own founding; a third was given to the public ſchools; and the fourth employed in rebuilding and relieving monaſteries, and other public foundations, both at home and abroad. The latter moiety, or that devoted to ſecular uſes, was ſubdivided into three parts; one for the ſupport of his houſhold; another for the payment of his workmen; and the third for the entertainment and relief of ſtrangers who reſorted to his court.

The ſame regularity obſerved in proportioning his expences, appeared in almoſt every branch of his conduct. He had a numerous court, and took pleaſure in ſeeing his nobility; he therefore continued a method, whereby he might have their attendance without injuring their fortunes, or diſtreſſing their families. He framed three houſholds, each under a ſeparate lord chamberlain, who waited alternately, one month every quarter; ſo that each of his domeſtics was, at leaſt, eight months in the year at home, to look after his private concerns.

As he was fond of learning, his court was the reſort of ſuch as were eminent in their ſeveral profeſſions, and his familiar intercourſe was with ſuch as he thought were capable of giving him information in any particular branch of knowledge, with which he was deſirous of enriching his mind. By this method, he acquired no leſs ſkill in the mechanical, than he had done in the liberal arts, and introduced ſeveral of the moſt advantageous into his kingdom.

We have already mentioned his ſkill in ſhipbuilding; and he took effectual care to extend the advantages reſulting from this uſeful art, to the conſtruction of trading veſſels, and the improvement of trade and navigation. We have ſtill authentic proofs of his ſending perſons to ſurvey the whole extent of the Arctic regions, and, if poſſible, diſcover a north-eaſt paſſage to the Indies; as well as of his holding a correſpondence with the Chriſtians of St. Thomas, in the empire of Indoſtan. We are informed by himſelf, in the tranſlation of Oroſius, that one Ohter, a Dane, ſurveyed the coaſts of Norway and Lapland by his direction, and preſented him not only with a clear deſcription of thoſe countries and their inhabitants, but alſo brought with him ſome teeth of the ſea-horſe, eſteemed more valuable than ivory, and gave a good account of the whale-fiſhery. This ſucceſs encouraged Alfred to ſend Wulſtan, an Engliſhman, to make obſervations on the ſame countries; and of which he alſo gave the king a relation, which, if compared with that written ſome centuries after by Olaus Magnus, archbiſhop of Upſal, will appear ſurpriſing, and even aſtoniſh the reader.

But perhaps the wiſdom of Alfred appears greater in no one inſtance than in the diffidence he always ſhewed for his own abilities. He never undertook any important deſign, without aſking the advice, and hearing the ſentiments of others, whoſe reputation for ſkill and judgment was eſtabliſhed. All his reſolutions, with reſpect to public affairs, paſſed thro' three different councils; the firſt of which conſiſted of the biſhops, abbots, clergy, and nobles who attended him, and formed a kind of privy-council; the ſecond conſiſted alſo of biſhops, earls, viſcounts, judges, and ſome of the principal thanes, whom he aſſembled regularly on the three great feſtivals, at the place where he kept his court, for the determination of original cauſes, and the hearing of appeals from the inferior courts of judicature; the third was the general aſſembly of the nation, called in the Saxon language Wittenagemote; the members of which owed their admiſſion to their own quality or offices, independent of the king's pleaſure. This court, during the troubles of his reign, he aſſembled annually at London; but after his affairs were in a more ſettled condition, the members were convoked twice in the year, at leaſt.

Nor was religion neglected; but at the ſame time his zeal was tempered with diſcretion: he never ſacrificed any of the rights of his crown to papal uſurpations, nor ſubmitted to any action unbecoming a monarch of England. The prieſts who broke the laws of their country, were puniſhed in the king's courts, beſides doing penance according to the canon law; a ſufficient proof, that the exemption of the clergy, from all ſecular juriſdiction, though afterwards claimed by the pope, was a doctrine unknown, or, at leaſt, not admitted in the days of Alfred.

In his private character, he was the moſt amiable perſon of the age. He had a fine perſon, a calm, but lively aſpect, a graceful mein, and a genteel addreſs. His temper was ſo even, that after he had aſſumed the crown, he never ſhewed any ſigns, either of melancholy or unbecoming levity. He was of a quiet and chearful temper, agreeable in converſation, and affable to all. He knew how to condeſcend without ſinking below his dignity, and how to endear himſelf to his ſubjects, without leſſening their veneration. He never mentioned his enemies but in terms which expreſſed great tenderneſs; nor his friends, without a proper regard to their merit. He was temperate in his diet, moderate in all his deſires, charitable, benevolent, and generous; at once the father and the king of his people. In a word, if we conſider his regular exerciſes, we ſhall almoſt imagine he had never been out of a cloiſter; if his wars, that he had always lived in a camp; if his learning and writings, that he had paſſed all his time in an univerſity; if his regulations for the good of his people, and the ſecurity of his kingdom, that he made laws the ſtudy of his life, and that the art

of

of government had been the only ſubject of his reflections.

Such was Alfred, ſo juſtly ſurnamed the Great, and who fell a victim to the ſtroke of death in the fifty-ſecond year of his age. foreigners, as well as Engliſh, conſidered him as the greateſt prince, except Charlemagne, that had appeared in Europe for ſeveral ages.

EDWARD the ELDER.

A.D. 901. EDWARD, ſurnamed the Elder, as being the firſt of that name who filled the Engliſh throne, was the ſecond ſon of Alfred; his brother Edmund dying without iſſue before his father. Edward inherited Alfred's military talents, but was inferior to him in knowledge and erudition. He was anointed and crowned king at Kingſton, on the death of his father, by Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury. But he did not aſcend the throne without meeting with a competitor in the perſon of Ethelwald, the ſon of his uncle Ethelbert, elder brother to Alfred.

Ethelwald had found means to draw together an inconſiderable party, who ſeized upon Wimburn, in Dorſetſhire, and Twineham in Hampſhire, where they fortified themſelves, and ſeemed determined to wait the iſſue of their leader's pretenſions to the throne. Edward, not ſuſpecting any commotions of this kind, was employed in ſurveying the ſtate of the different fortreſſes in the kingdom, when advice was brought him of his couſin's rebellion. He well knew, that tho' Ethelwald was not ſupported by any of the principal nobility in the kingdom, yet the Daniſh power, which was then very conſiderable, might render the oppoſition formidable, if not cruſhed in its infancy. He therefore marched immediately at the head of the few forces he could collect, to Badbury in the neighbourhood of Wimburn. The uſurper did not, however, chuſe to wait the event; he made his eſcape at the approach of the royal army, leaving behind him his wife, whom he had taken out of a monaſtery, and who fell into the hands of Edward. Ethelwald fled to Normandy; but ſoon returned into England, and threw himſelf into the arms of the Northumbrian Danes, who readily received him, and had probably inſtigated him to make the attempt.

Senſible, that this retreat of Ethelwald might involve the kingdom in a long and expenſive war, Edward reſolved to march againſt the Northumbrians, before they could be joined by any of their countrymen from the continent, or ſtrengthen themſelves by an union with any other parties in the iſland. Accordingly, he had no ſooner reduced Wimburn, than he marched with ſuch expedition into Northumberland, that the Danes were aſtoniſhed, and finding themſelves in no condition to reſiſt him, agreed to baniſh from their country the prince they had undertaken to protect. But Edward, not ſatisfied with this ſubmiſſion, was reſolved to make them repent of their having eſpouſed the cauſe of his rival; and accordingly reduced ſeveral of their ſtrong holds, which he kept in his own poſſeſſion, as a ſecurity for their future behaviour.

A. D. 904. In the mean time Ethelwald, being obliged to leave the kingdom, prevailed upon the Normans to aſſiſt him with a body of forces, at the head of which he returned to his native country; and the Eaſt-Anglian Danes acknowledged him for their king, and took up arms in his defence. At the ſame time, many who had formerly ſubſiſted by rapine and violence, joined his ſtandard.

A. D. 905. Ethelwald, thus ſupported, made an incurſion into the counties of Oxford and Glouceſter, croſſed the Thames at Cricklade; and after waſting the adjoining parts of Wiltſhire, returned before the king, who had now aſſembled his army, was able to overtake him. Determined, however, that his preparations ſhould not be fruitleſs, Edward conducted his forces into Eaſt Anglia, and retaliated on the inhabitants the injuries they had committed, by ſpreading the ſame devaſtations over great part of their country.

After taking this ample revenge on the Eaſt Anglians, he retreated from their territories, at the head of the greater part of his army; but the Kentiſhmen diſregarded his orders, ſtaid behind him, and took up their quarters at Bury. The Danes, as ſoon as they perceived the king, with the main body of the army, were retired, fell upon the Kentiſhmen, but met with a very ſtout reſiſtance. They indeed gained the victory, but it was purchaſed too dear: their principal leaders, and among them Ethelwald himſelf periſhed in the action.

A. D. 907. The loſs of Ethelwald terminated the hopes of the Danes, who, after maintaining a lingering war for two years, agreed to the terms dictated by Edward, and an accommodation was concluded at Ickford, in Buckinghamſhire. But the Danes, who knew no law but the ſword, nor any intereſt but that of plunder; were never longer bound by treaties than while they wanted the power to break them. Their government was military, and every tranſaction of that kind was carried on by the ſoldiers, who, under a new general, or a freſh king, looked upon themſelves as abſolved from all former engagements. Accordingly the Northumbrians, in conjunction with the Danes of Derby, Nottingham, Leiceſter, Lincoln, and Stamford, broke the treaty ſo lately concluded, and ravaged the adjacent country.

A. D. 911. Incenſed at their perfidy and incurſions, Edward determined to chaſtiſe their inſolence, and totally ſubdue the county of Northumberland. Accordingly he fitted out a large fleet to annoy their coaſts, flattering himſelf, that on the appearance of ſo powerful an armament, they would, at leaſt, find ſufficient employment in providing for their own defence. But the Northumbrians, leſs anxious to ſecure their own property, than greedy to commit depredations on the enemy, entered the Engliſh territories with their whole army, concluding that the chief force of Edward was embarked on board his fleet: they were, however, fatally miſtaken; the king, who was prepared for this event, attacked them in their return at Tetenhall, in the county of Stafford,

Stafford, killed their two kings, ſeveral of their principal officers, with many thouſands of their men, and recovered all the booty they had taken.

A. D. 912. A few months after the above victory, Ethelred, Count Palatine of Mercia died, and Elflida, his counteſs, the daughter of Alfred the Great, aſſumed the government of his territories. Her firſt care was to fortify the moſt important places in her dominions, in order to ſecure the Mercian provinces from the incurſions of the Danes; after which ſhe marched with her forces againſt the Welſh.

A. D. 913. While our heroine was engaged in this expedition, Edward rebuilt the town of Hertford, which had been ruined by the Danes, and afterwards marching into Eſſex, fortified Witham, in order to protect his ſubjects from the incurſions of the enemy. The remainder of this ſhort interval of peace, he employed in erecting Cambridge into an univerſity,.

A. D. 916. Elflida now met with great ſucceſs againſt the Welſh. Her firſt exploit was at Brecknock-caſtle, which ſhe took, with upwards of thirty priſoners, among whom was the wife of the Welſh king. She afterwards marched to Derby, which, after a ſtout reſiſtance, ſhe conquered, but not without the loſs of ſeveral of her beſt officers.

A. D. 917. In the mean time the Danes, whoſe reſtleſs ſpirit would not ſuffer them to continue long quiet, marched into Oxfordſhire, ſurprized and defeated a ſmall body of the king's forces at Hocknorton, and returned to their own ſettlements with a conſiderable booty. Another party, encouraged by the ſucceſs of their countrymen, penetrated as far as Leighton in Bedfordſhire; but the country being prepared to receive them, cut them in pieces, and recovered all their booty.

Theſe incurſions, however troubleſome, were only the prelude to a more formidable invaſion, from the ſouthern coaſt of Britany, under the command of Otar, and Rohault, who, entering the Severn, plundered the Welſh and Engliſh coaſts, taking, among others, Cumeleach, biſhop of Erchenfield, priſoner, and who was afterwards ranſomed by Edward. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, they ventured to march farther into the country, where they were met by the militia of Hereford and Glouceſter, who gave them battle, ſlew Rohault, together with Otar's brother, in the engagement, routed their army, and drove them into an adjacent wood. Here they were ſo cloſely beſieged, that they were obliged to give hoſtages for immediately departing the kingdom. But the Danes, who never regarded their promiſes, as ſoon as the threatened dangers were over, took the firſt opportunity of ſtealing on ſhore during the night, to pillage the country. They divided their forces into two bodies; one of which marched towards Watchet, in Somerſetſhire, and the other to Porlack-bay, in the ſame county, but failing in their attempts on both places, they were totally routed, and only a few eſcaped, by ſwimming to their ſhips.

A. D. 918. Theſe misfortunes did not, however, prevent their countrymen from following their example. New ſwarms of theſe piratical rovers now infeſted the channel, and Edward equipped a fleet of an hundred ſail to attack them. He ſoon came up with, and engaged the enemy, who not being able to ſupport themſelves againſt the fury of the Engliſh, ran the greater part of their fleet on ſhore. Upon this Edward himſelf landed, and, in conjunction with his heroic ſiſter, Elflida, beſieged them in Canterbury, which he took, and put a great number of the Danes to the ſword.

This was the laſt battle in which the brave Elflida was concerned; ſhe died ſoon after at Tamworth, equally remarkable for virtue, prudence, and courage.

By the death of this princeſs, Edward's dominions were conſiderably enlarged; for, he ſeized immediately on the Mercian territories, being informed that her daughter Elſwinna, was carrying on a treaty of marriage with Riginald, king of the Danes.

A. D. 920. But the Danes were not the only enemies Edward had to contend with. Griffith ap Madoc, brother-in-law to the prince of Weſt-Wales, aſſiſted by Leofrid a Dane, landed at the head of an army from Ireland, in order to make a conqueſt of the Welſh dominions. They penetrated as far as Cheſter, without meeting with any oppoſition. But Edward, having aſſembled his forces, engaged them at Sherwood, where he was in great danger of being taken or ſlain, had not his ſon, Ethelſtan, flew to his aſſiſtance, wounded Leofrid, and took him priſoner, and Griffith was killed in the battle.

After gaining ſo compleat a victory, Edward returned and rebuilt Towceſter in Northamptonſhire, and Wigmore in Herefordſhire. This gave ſuch umbrage to the Danes, that they marched immediately to ſurprize Towceſter, but being repulſed with loſs, they plundered the country, carrying off a great many priſoners, and vaſt herds of cattle.

A. D. 921. This was followed by a more general inſurrection of the Danes, who inhabited Eaſt Anglia, and the country round Huntingdon. In imitation of Edward, they built a fort at Thamesford, in Bedfordſhire, at the conflux of the rivers Ival and Ouſe. From thence they made incurſions into the country, and marched in a body to Bedford, which they beſieged, but were repulſed with great loſs.

This miſcarriage did not, however, terminate the inſurrection; another large body, collected from Mercia and Eaſt Anglia, again beſieged Wigmore, and endeavoured to take the place by ſtorm; but the garriſon behaved ſo bravely, that the Danes were obliged to draw off their forces, and they retreated, carrying with them all the cattle they could meet with in the country.

Theſe ravages ſo exaſperated the Engliſh, that taking the advantage of the abſence of the Danes, they beſieged Thamesford, which they carried by ſtorm, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. At the ſame time the Kentiſh-men, aſſiſted by the inhabitants of Surry, and part of Eſſex, undertook the ſiege of Colcheſter, and carried the place after a ſtout reſiſtance; plundered the town, and put all the Danes, except thoſe who made their eſcape over the walls, to the ſword.

The Danes of Eaſt Anglia, rouſed by the ſeverities practiſed on their countrymen, determined to ſeek revenge; and being joined by a great number of Daniſh pirates, they beſieged Maldon, but a body of forces coming to relieve the place, they were obliged to retire. It was not, however, long before they were overtaken by the troops ſent to the relief of Maldon, routed, and ſeveral hundreds of them ſlain. Theſe miſcarriages convinced the Danes, that any further oppoſition would only tend to their own deſtruction, thought it moſt adviſeable to ſubmit themſelves to Edward. Accordingly, thoſe of

Eaſt-

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Athalstan Saves his Fathers Life by taking
LEOFRID *the Dane* PRISONER.

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East-Anglia took the oath of allegiance, and were followed by the Daniſh army in that country. Another body of Danes, then encamped at Cambridge, did the like, but with a more implicit obedience; for they choſe Edward for their king and protector.

A. D. 922. Edward now advanced to Stamford, which immediately ſurrendered, and he built a caſtle on the ſouth bank of the river Weland. Nottingham was next fortified, and after reducing the whole country, Edward marched to the Peake of Derby, where he erected a fort at Bakewell. All the inhabitants of theſe parts readily came to the king, and took the oath of allegiance; after which he moved weſtward, and received the ſubmiſſion of Howel, Cledauc, and Jeothwel, the three princes of North Wales.

A. D. 923. But Edward well knew that it was not enough to conquer: it was alſo neceſſary to render his conqueſts laſting. Accordingly he erected a fortreſs at Thelwal, on the Merſey, and another at Mancheſter, which effectually ſecuring the country he had ſubdued, he marched northward to reduce the reſt of England. But the terror of his arms prevented the farther effuſion of human blood; for Sidric and Reginald, kings of the Northumbrian Danes, together with the princes of the Cumbrian and Strathcluid Britons, and all their chiefs in Galloway, readily ſubmitted to his dominion. The Scots alſo, inhabiting the northern parts, formerly belonging to Northumberland, purchaſed a peace by their ſubmiſſion; their king conſenting to hold his dominions in vaſſallage to the crown of England.

A. D. 925. Edward was now in the height of his glory, and died at Framton, in Berkſhire, after a reign of near five and twenty years. Edward, tho' unequal to his father in genius, cloſely followed his ſteps; and, like him, was reſpected by his neighbours, and beloved by his ſubjects. He was intrepid, vigilant, and circumſpect; and, in one particular, greater than Alfred himſelf: he never loſt a battle. Nor was his reputation confined to ſucceſſes on land, he triumphed alſo at ſea; and by a vigorous exertion of his naval force, ſcoured the channel of pirates, and pointed out to ſucceeding kings the ſureſt method of becoming at once the ſovereigns of the ocean, and the arbiters of Europe. While Alfred lived, his virtue, indeed, awed the Danes into obedience; but a ſhort interval of time was ſufficient to demonſtrate, that they were ſtill very powerful; that they had all the means, and wanted only the reſolution to rebel. Edward ſo effectually humbled them, that, had his ſucceſſors followed his example, England had never more felt the miſeries of pagan tyranny.

His character in private life, deſerves at once both praiſe and imitation. He was particularly careful in the education of his children. His daughters were inſtructed at their leiſure hours, in all thoſe branches of learning which were proper for adorning their minds; and, at other times, employed in the neceſſary parts of female education. His ſons were ſo enured to ſtudy, that, like Plato's diſciples, they were maſters of every uſeful ſcience, and fit to hold the reins of government, with dignity and applauſe. The mildneſs of his government, endeared him to his ſubjects, and the terror of his arms, had ſo powerful an effect on the petty princes in Britain, that they readily owned him for their ſovereign, and implored his protection. He was a prince, adapted by providence, to the critical ſituation of Britain at that period: had he poſſeſſed a greater meaſure of enterpriſing genius, he might, perhaps, have proved leſs ſucceſsful, and his people leſs happy.

ATHELSTAN.

A. D. 925. ATHELSTAN, who ſucceeded Edward on the throne, was the ſon of Edgina, the daughter of a ſhepherd, and from that circumſtance alone, ſuſpected of being only a concubine to Edward. But however that may be, Athelſtan, tho' the eldeſt ſon of Edward, and nominated by him as his ſucceſſor to the throne, ſubmitted his right to a formal election of the nobility. After being thus placed on the throne, he was crowned at Kingſton, by Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, amidſt the acclamations of a vaſt concourſe of people.

Some diſcontents, however, prevailed on his acceſſion, and Alfred, a nobleman of conſiderable power, headed the conſpirators. He was ſoon ſeized, on ſtrong ſuſpicions, but firmly denied the charge; and, in order to juſtify his conduct, offered to purge himſelf by oath before the altar of St. Peter. The king, accepting the conditions, Alfred was conducted to Rome, where he took the oath preſcribed, before Pope John X. who then filled the papal chair; but he had no ſooner pronounced the fatal words, than he fell into convulſions, and three days after expired. This being conſidered as a ſufficient proof of his guilt, the king confiſcated his eſtate, and preſented it to the monaſtery of Malmſbury.

Athelſtan was no ſooner eſtabliſhed on the Engliſh throne, than he applied himſelf to give ſecurity to the government, by providing againſt the inſurrections of the Danes, which had given ſo much diſturbance to his predeceſſors. Accordingly, he marched into Northumberland, and finding that the inhabitants were impatient under the Engliſh government, he enlarged the power of Sithric, and, at the ſame time, to attach him more firmly to his intereſts, gave him his ſiſter Edgitha. By this marriage, Sithric became a powerful prince, and his ſubjects began to cultivate a ſettled manner of life. But this political ſtep of Athelſtan, proved of dangerous conſequence. Sithric died in a few months after; and his two ſons, Anlaf and Godfrid, by a former wife, aſſumed the ſovereignty, without waiting for Athelſtan's conſent.

A. D. 926. Theſe princes were, however, ſoon expelled by the power of Athelſtan; and the former took ſhelter in Ireland, as the latter did in Scotland, where he was, for ſome time, protected by Conſtantine,

ſtantine, who then wore the crown of that kingdom. The Scottiſh prince, however, terrified at the menaces of Athelſtan, promiſed, at laſt, to deliver up his gueſt; but ſecretly deteſting this treachery, gave Godfrid warning to make his eſcape; and that fugitive, after ſubſiſting for ſome years by piracy, freed the king, by his death, from any further anxiety. In the mean time, Athelſtan, exaſperated at Conſtantine's behaviour, entered Scotland at the head of a powerful army, and ravaging the country with great impetuoſity, he reduced the Scots to ſuch diſtreſs, that their king was content to preſerve his crown, by making the moſt humble ſubmiſſions to the enemy.

A. D. 934. Conſtantine, however, conſidered this behaviour of Athelſtan rather as an object of reſentment than of gratitude, and accordingly entered into a confederacy with Anlaf, who had collected a large body of Daniſh pirates, whom he found hovering in the Iriſh ſeas, and with Owen, king of the Cumbrian Britons. After joining their forces, they took their route towards Bernicia, intending to conquer that kingdom for Conſtantine. Athelſtan, having collected his forces, marched againſt them with amazing expedition; and, at the ſame time, fitted out a ſtrong fleet to attack the ſhips of the Daniſh pirates at ſea. The allied army, no ſooner heard that he was marching againſt them, than they altered their route, and met the Engliſh near Brunſbury in Northumberland.

When the two armies came in ſight of each other, they halted; and the allies conſidering, that the action would, in all probability, prove deciſive, choſe to continue upon the defenſive, till ſome favourable opportunity ſhould offer of attacking the Engliſh to advantage.

During this interval of inaction, Anlaf, who ſeems to have formed a deſign of ſurpriſing Athelſtan in his camp, and of putting an end to the war, by killing him in the confuſion, made uſe of the artifice formerly practiſed by Alfred, and entered the enemy's camp, in the diſguiſe of a harper. The ſtratagem ſucceeded for the preſent. He gave ſuch ſatisfaction to the ſoldiers, who flocked about him, that he was introduced to the king's tent; and Anlaf having played before that prince and his nobles, during their repaſt, was diſmiſſed with a handſome reward. His prudence kept him from refuſing the preſent; but his pride determined him, on his departure, to bury it in the ground, as ſoon as he thought himſelf alone and unſeen by all the world. But a ſoldier in Athelſtan's camp, who had formerly ſerved under Anlaf, had been ſtruck with ſome ſuſpicion at the firſt appearance of the harper, and was engaged by curioſity, to obſerve all his motions. This laſt action he conſidered as a full proof of Anlaf's diſguiſe, and immediately carried the intelligence to Athelſtan, who blamed him for not giving him information ſooner, that he might have ſeized his enemy. But the ſoldier told him, that, as he had formerly ſworn fealty to Anlaf, he could never have pardoned himſelf the treachery of betraying and ruining his ancient maſter; and that Athelſtan himſelf, after ſuch an inſtance of his criminal conduct, would have had equal reaſon to doubt his allegiance. Athelſtan, having praiſed the generoſity of the ſoldier's principles, reflected on the incident, which he foreſaw might be attended with important conſequences. He therefore removed his ſtation in the camp; and a biſhop arriving that evening with a reinforcement of troops, he occupied, with his train, the very ſpot which had been left vacant by the king's removal. The precaution of Athelſtan was not taken in vain; for no ſooner were the two armies ſhrouded in darkneſs, than Anlaf broke into the Engliſh camp, and haſtening directly to the place where he had left the king's tent, killed the biſhop, before he had time to prepare for his own defence.

The next morning, Athelſtan marched out in two columns towards the enemy; one intended to attack Anlaf, commanded by himſelf, and the other by Turketul, his chancellor, deſigned to charge the allied army under Conſtantine and Owen. The battle was very long, and maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides, without any viſible advantage. Their arrows being all ſpent, they fought with ſword and buckler for ſome time with equal reſolution, till Turketul, at the head of a ſmall corps of the London militia, accompanied by a ſelect body of Worceſter men, under the command of Singin, pierced through the ranks of the enemy, broke the battalion of Scots highlanders, and unhorſed Conſtantine, who was terribly wounded. The Scots, thus deprived of their king, retreated in great confuſion; and the panic ſeizing the army commanded by Anlaf, they followed their example, fled with great precipitation, leaving their leader to retire in the beſt manner he could. This is ſaid to have been the moſt bloody battle that ever was fought in this iſland, and to have laſted from morning to night, without the leaſt intermiſſion. The allies loſt five princes, ſeven dukes, and twelve generals. Anlaf and Owen eſcaped with great difficulty to their ſhips; and Conſtantine, chagrined at his defeat, reſigned his crown, and retiring among the Culdees, took the habit of the order, and died in obſcurity.

Athelſtan, after obtaining this ſignal victory, marched againſt the Welſh, and having routed them in the field, ordered Ludeval, their king, to meet him at Hereford, with all his petty princes, to do him homage, where they engaged to pay Athelſtan a yearly tribute of twenty pounds of gold, twenty-five thouſand head of black cattle, and as many hawks and hounds as he ſhould think proper to order.

Exeter had, till this time, been inhabited by the weſtern Britons, in common with the Engliſh; but Athelſtan removed them to the other ſide of the Tamar, which he made the boundary of their country.

A. D. 941. After thus reducing all his enemies, he enjoyed ſome little reſpite from the toils of war; and having gained the affections of his ſubjects, as well as the eſteem of foreign princes, he died at Glouceſter, univerſally reſpected, and univerſally admired, in the ſixteenth year of his reign, and was buried in his favourite church at Malmſbury.

His natural parts were, in no reſpect inferior to thoſe of his greateſt predeceſſors, though the toils of war allowed him but very ſhort intervals for ſtudy. Among his nobles, he behaved with great ſeriouſneſs and gravity; among his inferiors, with great condeſcenſion and affability. He was beneficent, charitable, and religious; directed all his thoughts to the good of his ſubjects, and, during the whole courſe of his reign, encouraged their domeſtic trade, and endeavoured to promote their foreign commerce.

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EDMUND I *Stabbed by* **LEOLF** *the Robber.*

With this view, he enacted a law, by which a merchant who had made two long ſea-voyages, on his own account, ſhould be admitted to the rank of a thane, or gentleman. He practiſed every thing he thought worthy of imitation, either in his father Edward, or his illuſtrious grandfather, Alfred the Great. It is therefore no wonder that he was greatly beloved by his ſubjects, and dreaded by his enemies.

EDMUND I.

A.D. 941. EDMUND, who ſucceeded Athelſtan, was the ſixth ſon of Edward, by his wife Edgitha, and only eighteen years of age when he aſcended the throne. He was crowned with great ſolemnity at Kingſton upon Thames, and, during the reign of his brother, had given ſignal proofs of his valour, notwithſtanding his youth. On his acceſſion, he met with diſturbances from the reſtleſs Northumbrians, who lay in wait for every opportunity of breaking out into rebellion.

The youth of Edward ſeemed a favourable conjuncture for throwing off the Engliſh yoke; and Anlaf, who was ſoon informed of their deſign, did not fail to improve this diſpoſition, in order to acquire the crown of Northumberland. But not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to oppoſe the whole power of England, he formed an alliance with Olaus, king of Norway, who furniſhed him with ſhips and men. Thus reinforced he invaded Northumberland, and was admitted into York, by means of a ſecret correſpondence he had for ſome time carried on with the principal inhabitants of that city. The example of the metropolis was ſoon followed by a great many other towns, whoſe garriſons were either expelled or maſſacred by the Daniſh inhabitants. Not contented with taking Northumberland, the firſt object of his arms, Anlaf, whoſe ambition encreaſed with his ſucceſs, advanced into Mercia, where he was very favourably received, and aſſiſted by his countrymen, in reducing ſeveral places, which the arms of Edward had formerly wreſted from them.

Edmund, however young, was far from being intimidated by the enemy's progreſs; he aſſembled his forces with the greateſt expedition, and ſeemed rather to grow courageous, than diſpirited by the danger. The two armies met at Weſt-Cheſter, where a very obſtinate battle was fought with equal fury, and advantage on both ſides, till night put an end to the conflict.

As ſoon as the morning appeared, both armies were ready to renew the combat, when Odo and Wulſtan, archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, brought about an accommodation, and prevented the farther effuſion of human blood.

The Northumbrians, tho' they had invited Anlaf, to accept their throne, had little reaſon to rejoice: for, having contracted large debts with the king of Norway for his aſſiſtance, he laid heavy taxes on his ſubjects for paying them, and by that means totally loſt their affections. The inhabitants of Deïra, wearied with the burden laid on their ſhoulders by their new king, revolted, and ſent for Reginald, his nephew, from Ireland, whom they crowned king at York.

A. D. 944. Edmund ſeeing the kingdom of Northumberland rent into two factions, thought this a favourable opportunity for recovering the countries he had loſt. Accordingly, he made preparations for reducing the inhabitants to obedience, with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that he was ready to attack the two kings before they knew he had the leaſt intention of that kind. Surpriſed, therefore when they thought themſelves abſolutely ſecure, they were obliged to ſubmit to whatever terms he thought proper to impoſe. But Edmund, who was rather generous than ambitious, inſiſted only on Reginald's keeping the crown he had received, and obliged both him and Anlaf to embrace the chriſtian religion.

It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed, that theſe two princes were chriſtians, in any other ſenſe than that of compulſion; they were totally ſtrangers to its precepts, and therefore violaters of its laws. For Edmund had hardly reached Weſſex, before they took up arms to free themſelves from the Engliſh yoke, having found means to engage both the Mercian Danes, and the king of Cumberland in their quarrel. This inſurrection, calling Edmund once more into the field, he wiſely reduced the Mercians before they had an opportunity of joining the Danes of Northumberland; and, in order to ſecure the quiet of the kingdom, obliged them to quit the towns of Derby, Nottingham, Leiceſter, Lincoln, and Stafford. He then turned his arms againſt Northumberland, the inhabitants of which were ſo weakened by the violence of faction, that they were ſoon reduced, and their king having abandoned the country for ſafety, they very readily took the oath of allegiance to the conqueror.

A. D. 945. Having thus provided for the ſafety of theſe parts, he turned his arms againſt the Strathcluid Britons, who had joined the Danes with a body of auxiliaries; and after waſting all Galloway, and reduing Cumberland, he made a preſent of theſe territories to Malcolm king of Scotland, on condition of his doing homage, and defending the northern countries from the future invaſions of the Danes.

A. D. 946. Edmund having thus reduced all his enemies, the nation began to enjoy the fruits of peace, when an accident happened that darkened the proſpect, and put a period to this ſhort ſunſhine of happineſs. One day, as Edmund was ſolemnizing a feſtival in the county of Glouceſter, he remarked that Leolf, a notorious robber, whom he had ſentenced to baniſhment, had yet the boldneſs to enter the hall where he himſelf dined, and to ſit at table with his attendants. Enraged at this inſolence, he ordered him to leave the room; but, on his refuſing to obey, the king, whoſe temper, naturally choleric, was inflamed by this inſult, leaped on him himſelf, and ſeized him by the hair. On this attack, the ruffian, puſhed to extremity, drew his dagger, and gave Edmund a wound, of which he im-

immediately expired. The nobles who were witneſſes of this act of regicide, fell upon the miſcreant, and ſoon diſpatched him. But the death of ſo infamous a wretch was a ſmall atonement for the loſs of a valuable monarch, cut off in the very flower of life.

Thus fell Edmund by an ignoble hand, after giving noble ſpecimens of what his ſubjects might have juſtly expected had his life been continued. The tender age of this prince hardly gives room for drawing a character; but we cannot help obſerving, that he appears to have been endowed with the valour which was hereditary in the blood of Cerdic, and with the princely virtues which were ſo conſpicuous in Alfred the Great.

EDRED.

A.D. 946. EDRED aſcended the throne on the death of his brother Edmund, and, like him, experienced a reign diſturbed by the rebellions and incurſions of the Northumbrian Danes, who, though frequently quelled, were never entirely ſubdued, nor had ever paid a ſincere allegiance to the crown of England. The ſucceſſion of a new king ſeemed to them a favourable opportunity for ſhaking off the yoke; but on Edred's appearing on the frontiers of their country at the head of an army, they made him the common ſubmiſſions; and the king having waſted their territories with fire and ſword, as a puniſhment for their rebellion, ſuffered them to renew their oath of allegiance, and then returned with his forces.

A. D. 949. But the Danes, whoſe obedience vaniſhed with their fears, exaſperated at the devaſtations of Edred, and even reduced by neceſſity to ſubſiſt on plunder, broke out into a new rebellion, and were again ſubdued, though they had recalled Anlaf from Ireland, and placed him on the Northumbrian throne. But the king, now inſtructed by experience, took better precautions againſt their future revolt. He fixed Engliſh garriſons in their moſt conſiderable towns, and placed over them an Engliſh governor, who was directed to watch all their motions, and ſuppreſs their inſurrections on their firſt appearance. He alſo obliged Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for the lands he held in England.

Theſe commotions were ſucceeded by a profound peace, during which Edred ſpent his time in the ſuperſtitious practices of the age, under Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, whom he had advanced to the higheſt offices, and who covered, under the appearance of ſanctity, the moſt violent and moſt inſolent ambition. Taking advantage of the implicit faith repoſed in him by the king, Dunſtan imported into England a new order of monks, who greatly changed the ſtate of eccleſiaſtical affairs, and excited, on their firſt eſtabliſhment, the moſt violent commotions.

From the time of the firſt introduction of chriſtianity among the Saxons, there had been monaſteries in England; and theſe eſtabliſhments had extremely multiplied, by the donations of princes and nobles; whoſe ſuperſtition, derived from their ignorance and precarious life, and increaſed by remorſes for the crimes into which they were ſo frequently betrayed, knew no other expedient for appeaſing the wrath of the deity, than a profuſe liberality towards the eccleſiaſtics. But the monks had hitherto been a ſpecies of ſecular prieſts, who lived in the convents after the manner of the preſent canons or prebendaries, and were both intermingled in ſome degree with the world, and endeavoured to render themſelves uſeful to ſociety. They were employed in the education of youth: they had the diſpoſal of their own time and induſtry: they were not ſubject to the rigid rules of an order: they had no vows of implicit obedience to their ſuperiors: and they ſtill retained the choice, without quitting the convent, either of a married or a ſingle life. But a miſtaken piety had produced in Italy a new ſpecies of monks called Benedictines; who, carrying farther the plauſible principles of mortification, ſecluded themſelves entirely from the world; renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the moſt inviolable chaſtity. Theſe practices and principles, which ſuperſtition at firſt engendered, were greedily embraced, and promoted by the policy of the court of Rome. The Roman pontiff, who was every day making great advances towards an univerſal ſovereignty over the eccleſiaſtics, perceived that nothing but the celibacy of the clergy could break off entirely their connection with the civil power, and depriving them of every other object of ambition, engage them to promote with unceaſing induſtry, the grandeur of their own order. He was ſenſible that while the monks were indulged in marriage, and were allowed families, they could never be ſubjected to a ſtrict rule, or reduced to that ſlavery under their ſuperiors, which was requiſite to procure to the orders iſſued from Rome, a ready and zealous obedience. Celibacy, therefore, began to be extolled, as the indiſpenſible duty of prieſts; and the pope undertook to make all the clergy throughout the weſtern world renounce at once the privilege of marriage: A fortunate policy, but at the ſame time, an undertaking of the moſt difficult nature, ſince he had the ſtrongeſt propenſities of human nature to encounter, and found, that the ſame connections with the female ſex, which generally encourage devotion, were here unfavourable to the ſucceſs of his project. It is no wonder, therefore, that this maſter-ſtroke of art ſhould have met with violent contradiction, and that the intereſts of the hierarchy, and the inclination of the prieſts, being now placed in this ſingular oppoſition, ſhould, notwithſtanding the continual efforts of Rome, have retarded the execution of that bold ſcheme, during the courſe of near three centuries.

As the biſhops and parochial clergy lived apart with their families, and were ſtill more connected with the world, the hopes of ſucceſs, with regard to them, were fainter, and the pretence for making them renounce marriage, was much leſs plauſible. But the pope, having caſt his eyes on the monks,

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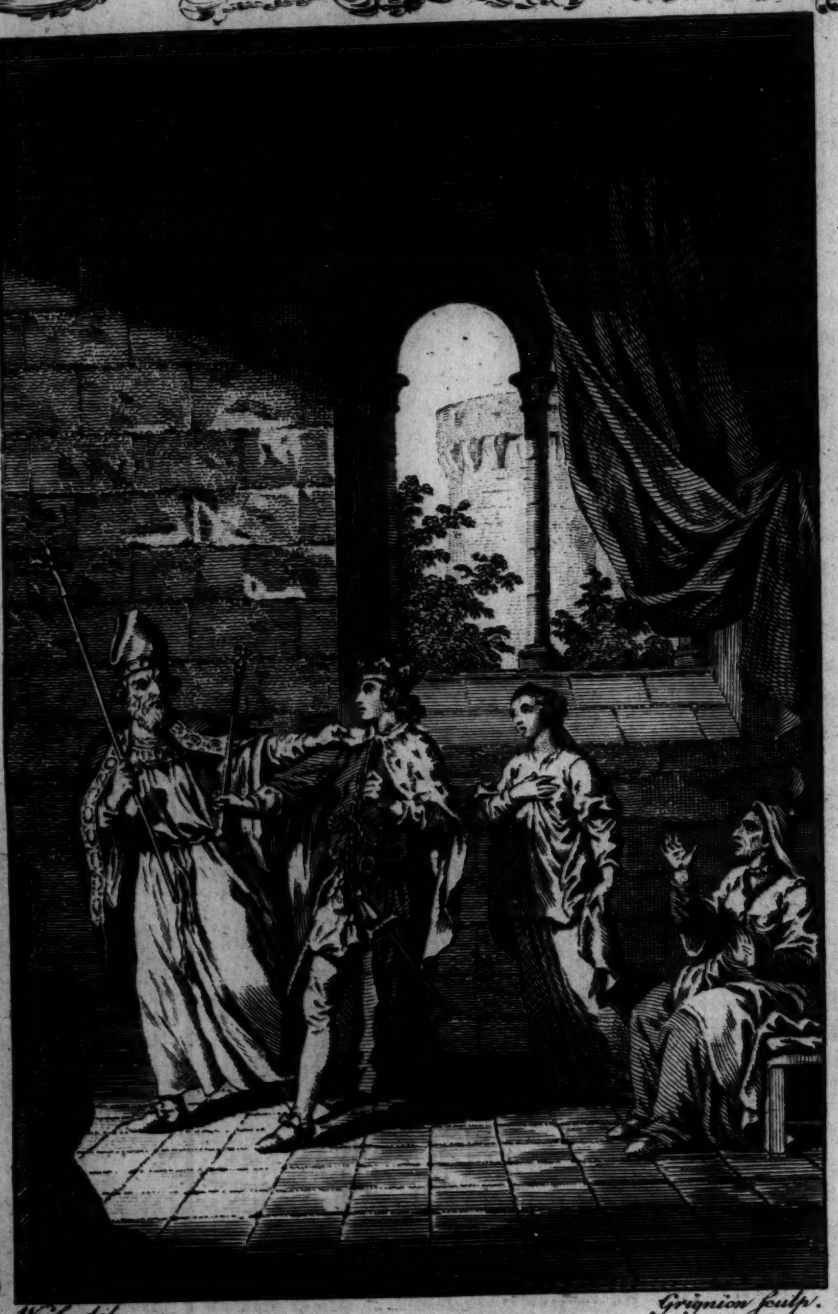

Wale del. *Grignion sculp.*

DUNSTAN *dragging* **KING EDWY** *from his Consort*
QUEEN ETHELGIVA *on his Coronation Day.*

as the baſis of his authority, was determined to reduce them under ſtrict rules of obedience, to procure them the appearance of ſanctity, by a ſhew of the moſt rigid mortification, and to break off all their other connections which might interfere with his ſpiritual policy. Under pretence, therefore, of reforming abuſes, which were, in ſome degree unavoidable, in the ancient eſtabliſhments, he had already ſpread over the ſouthern countries of Europe the ſtrict rules of the monaſtic life, and began to form attempts towards a like innovation in England. The favourable opportunity now offered itſelf, ariſing from the weak ſuperſtition of Edred, and the violent and impetuous character of Dunſtan.

Dunſtan was born in Somerſetſhire, deſcended from a noble family, from whom he inherited a large eſtate, and was educated at Glaſtonbury, under a learned Iriſh monk. During his youth, he travelled into foreign parts, and made great improvements in his ſtudies, but, at the ſame time, contracted a great fondneſs for the monaſtic life, which afterwards rendered him remarkable. On his return, he was introduced to Athelſtan by Adhelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, but ſoon diſcarded, for defaming that prince, as a perſon of licentious manners.

Thus diſgraced, Dunſtan ſecluded himſelf entirely from the world; he framed a cell, of ſo ſmall dimenſions, that he could neither ſtand erect in it, nor ſtretch out his limbs during his repoſe; and here he employed himſelf perpetually, either in devotion or manual labour. By this means, and ſome pretended conqueſt he gained over the attacks of the devil, he acquired the higheſt reputation for piety among the populace.

Edred, on his acceſſion to the throne, invited him from his retreat, and made him his confeſſor, and placed him at the head of the treaſury. Armed with his power at court, and his reputation with the people, he was enabled to attempt the moſt arduous undertakings with ſucceſs. He had before profeſſed himſelf a partizan of the rigid monaſtic rules; and, after introducing the reformation into the convents of Glaſtonbury and Abington, he endeavoured to render it univerſal in the kingdom.

Accordingly he placed himſelf at the head of the monks, and ſoon made conſiderable progreſs in this arduous attempt; but they were retarded in their career, by the death of Edred, who died of a quinſey, and was buried at Wincheſter.

Little can be ſaid by way of character of this prince. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that he did not degenerate from the virtues of his predeceſſor, and that the Engliſh government had ſuffered no diminution at his death.

E D W Y.

A. D. 955. EDWY, who now aſcended the Engliſh throne, was brother to the deceaſed monarch, and only ſixteen years of age, when he was crowned at Kingſton, by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Before his acceſſion to the throne, Edwy had married Elgiva, a lady of birth and fortune; but this match having been contrary to the opinion of the biſhops and nobles, gave riſe to ſuch a ſeries of troubles, as deprived her of her life, and Edwy of part of his kingdom. Dunſtan, finding his influence leſſened by the king's fondneſs for this lady, embraced every opportunity of breaking the connection, which he conſidered as the chief obſtacle to his acquiring the ſame power under Edwy, he had enjoyed under his predeceſſor.

On the day of his coronation, his nobility were aſſembled in a great hall, and indulging themſelves in that riot and diſorder, which, from the example of their German anceſtors, had become habitual in England; when Edwy, attracted by ſofter pleaſures, retired into the queen's apartment. Dunſtan conjectured the reaſon for the king's retreat, and taking with him Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, burſt into the apartment, upbraided Edwy, and his beautiful conſort, with laſciviouſneſs, and tearing him from her arms, puſhed him back in a diſgraceful manner, to the feſtivals of the nobles.

Edwy, tho' young, could not bear this inſult with impunity. He queſtioned Dunſtan concerning the adminiſtration of the treaſury during the reign of his predeceſſor. Dunſtan haughtily refuſed to give any account, affirming, that the money had been applied to charitable uſes, by the late king's expreſs orders. But this anſwer did not ſatisfy Edwy; he accuſed Dunſtan of malverſation in his office, and baniſhed him from the kingdom.

Odo, the frantic archbiſhop of Canterbury, thinking the whole prieſthood in danger, determined to revenge the diſgrace of Dunſtan. In order to this he ſent a party of ſoldiers to the palace, who ſeized the queen, and after burning her face with a red hot iron, in order to deface that fatal beauty, which had ſeduced Edwy, carried her by force into Ireland.

Edwy, tho' unable to prevent this violence, yet he ſoon reſented it upon the whole order of monks, whom he baniſhed from his kingdom, and gave the monaſteries of Glaſtonbury and Abington, to ſecular clergymen.

In the mean time, the unhappy Elgiva, being cured of her wounds, and having even obliterated the ſcars with which Odo had endeavoured to deface her beauty, returned into England, and was flying to the king for protection, when ſhe was intercepted by a party placed by the primate for that purpoſe, conveyed to Glouceſter, and there put to death in the moſt cruel manner, by the unrelenting hand of ſuperſtitious bigotry.

But the death of this amiable princeſs, was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the vengeance of Dunſtan: he fomented a rebellion in England, where Edgar, the younger brother of Edwy was placed upon the throne of Mercia, Northumberland, and Eaſt Anglia, and Edwy driven into Weſſex.

A. D. 956. Dunſtan now returned to England, and was ordained a biſhop, without being appointed to any particular ſee, in order to give him a ſeat

in the council of Bradford. He was ſoon after inſtalled in the ſee of Worceſter, and that of London becoming vacant ſoon after, he held both for two years.

Edwy, thus deprived of his beloved conſort, ſtripped of his kingdom by an unnatural uſurpation, and deſerted by his ſubjects, gave himſelf up to melancholy reflections, which ſoon put a period to his life, and gave Edgar peaceable poſſeſſion of the government.

EDGAR.

A.D. 959. EDGAR, who now filled the throne of England, had, during the life of his brother, ſhewn his abilities for government, and, aware of the rock on which Edwy had miſcarried, took care to keep Dunſtan and his party firm to his intereſt.

The Danes were, at this period, too much weakened by their late loſſes, to attempt any revolution; and their frequent intermarriages with the natives, had, in a great meaſure, reconciled them to the Engliſh government; but Edgar was very ſenſible, that a freſh invaſion would infallibly awake their ſlumbering ambition, and revive all their national animoſities. He therefore determined to guard his coaſts with a formidable fleet, that might render all the attempts of his enemies abortive.

His navy, which conſiſted of near four thouſand ſail, including pinnaces, boats, &c. was divided into three fleets; one of which was continually ſtationed in the eaſtern, and another on the weſtern, and a third on the northern coaſts of this kingdom.

Nor was he contented with equipping this powerful armament, he was determined to know if it anſwered his intentions. Accordingly, he went on board the eaſtern fleet every year, immediately after Eaſter, and ſailing to the weſtward, ſcoured all the Channel, from the mouth of the Thames, to the land's-end in Cornwall. There quitting theſe ſhips, he went on board the weſtern fleet, in which, ſteering up the Iriſh channel, he looked into every creek on the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh coaſts. Then meeting the northern fleet, he ſailed in it to the mouth of the Thames. By this method of ſurrounding the whole iſland every ſummer, he rendered any invaſion impracticable, kept his ſailors in continual exerciſe, and effectually aſſerted his ſovereignty over the ſeas.

At the ſame time, he maintained a large body of diſciplined forces, which he quartered in the north, in order to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in ſubjection, and repel the inroads of the Scots. Theſe wiſe meaſures rendered him ſo very formidable, that the neighbouring princes of Wales, Scotland, the Iſle of Man, the Orkneys, and even of Ireland, were induced to offer him their ſubmiſſions.

About this time Ludwall, prince of North-Wales, refuſing to pay his annual tribute, was ſoon reduced by Edgar's forces. On his ſubmiſſion, his tribute was changed from an annual ſum of money, to five hundred wolves heads, to be brought every year. This regulation had the deſired effect, in extirpating that race of animals; for though Wales, was then peſtered with theſe creatures, yet in three years time, there was not one to be found in the whole country.

But the chief means by which Edgar maintained his authority, and preſerved the internal peace of the nation, was his paying court to Dunſtan and the monks, who had at firſt placed him on the throne, and who, by their pretenſions to ſuperior ſanctity, and purity of manners, had acquired an aſcendent over the minds of the people. Hence it happened, that the ſame paſſion for the fair ſex, which had coſt Edwy his crown, obtained for Edgar the title of Saint.

A. D. 961. The firſt inſtance we hear of his irregular paſſion, is his amour with Walfhed or Welfrida, a nun, by whom he had a daughter, named Editha, who was equally famous for her beauty, chaſtity, and ſprightlineſs of genius.

Edgar had married the fair Elfleda, daughter to one of the greateſt noblemen of his court, and mother to Edward who ſucceeded him on the throne; but the death of this lady, ſoon made room in the heart of Edgar for a new object, the beautiful Elfrida.

This young lady was the daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devonſhire, and though educated in a private manner, was ſo remarkable for the beauty of her perſon, and the vivacity of her wit, that the fame of ſuch uncommon accompliſhments, reached the ears of Edgar. The young prince, deſirous of knowing whether her beauty was in reality equal to the report, ſent Ethelwold, his favourite miniſter, who, under pretence of viſiting her father, obtained the pleaſure of ſeeing Elfrida. This nobleman being then young, and conſequently ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of beauty, was ſo captivated by the charms of the beautiful Elfrida, that he determined to ſacrifice his duty to his paſſion. Accordingly, he paid his addreſſes to the young lady, but her father, whoſe years had added caution to experience, refuſed his conſent, till Edgar's approbation of the marriage could be obtained.

Pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his viſit, and flattering himſelf with being able to obtain the conſent of his maſter; Ethelwold returned to the court of Edgar, and informed the king, that Elfrida was neither an object worthy of his curioſity or affections. Edgar, not ſuſpecting the veracity of the report, laid aſide all thoughts of Elfrida, when Ethelwold took the opportunity of requeſting his conſent to pay his addreſſes to the young lady, adding, that though ſhe was by no means worthy a monarch's attention, yet, as ſhe was the only child of her father, and conſequently heir to his large eſtate, the marriage would prove very advantageous to him. By thus artfully putting his propoſal entirely upon the footing of intereſt, Edgar very readily gave his conſent, and Ethelwold obtained the ſummit of his wiſhes.

But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his treachery; the monarch was ſoon informed that Elfrida's beauty even ſurpaſſed the original report. Verſed in the arts of diſſimulation, and exaſperated at the treachery of Ethelwold, Edgar determined upon a ſecret

ſecret though bloody revenge. But willing to be ſatisfied that he was not a ſecond time impoſed upon by the enemies of his miniſter, he reſolved to have ocular proof of his infidelity, before he puniſhed his preſumption. Accordingly, he informed Ethelwold, that, intending to hunt in the country near his eſtate, he intended to take the opportunity of ſpending a night at his houſe. Ethelwold, who could make no excuſe to avoid the intended viſit, ſet out immediately for his ſeat, under pretence of making preparations for his majeſty's reception. On his arrival, he uſed every argument in his power to prevail on Elfrida to uſe all the methods ſhe could deviſe to conceal her beauty from the eyes of an amorous monarch, leſt he ſhould ſatiate his deſires at the expence of her chaſtity. Theſe arguments, enforced with ſo much earneſtneſs, awakened in the mind of Elfrida ſentiments to which ſhe might otherwiſe have been for ever a ſtranger. She promiſed to follow the advice of her huſband, though nothing was farther from her intentions: for ſhe appeared before the king with all the advantages which the richeſt attire and the moſt engaging airs, could beſtow upon her, and excited at once in his boſom the higheſt love towards herſelf, and the moſt furious deſire of revenge againſt her huſband. But love, the moſt artful maſter of diſſimulation, cleared the brow of Edgar from every cloud of reſentment, and inſtructed him in the language due to hoſpitality and eſteem. This made his revenge the more ſecure; for taking Ethelwold with him into the foreſt of Harwood under pretence of hunting, he ſtabbed him with his own hand, and ſoon after publickly married Elfrida.

We have another inſtance of his amours with a lady at Andover, with whom he formed a connection by a kind of accident. Paſſing through that place, he lodged in the houſe of a nobleman, whoſe daughter being endowed with all the graces of perſon and behaviour, enflamed him at firſt ſight with the higheſt deſire, and made him reſolve by any expedient to gratify it. As he had not leiſure to employ addreſs for attaining his purpoſe, he went directly to her mother, declared the violence of his paſſion, and deſired the young lady might be allowed to paſs that very night with him. The mother was a woman of virtue, and determined not to diſhonour her family and daughter by compliance; but being well acquainted with the impetuoſity of the king's temper, ſhe thought it would be eaſier and ſafer to deceive than refuſe him. In order to this ſhe feigned a ſubmiſſion to his will; but ſecretly prevailed on a waiting maid of no diſagreeable figure, to ſteal into the king's bed after all the company were retired to reſt. She obeyed the directions of her lady, and in the morning before day-break, offered to retire; but Edgar, who had no reſerve in his pleaſures, refuſed his conſent, and employed both force and intreaties to retain her. The girl, truſting to her own charms, and the love with which ſhe hoped ſhe had now inſpired the young monarch, made but a faint reſiſtance; and the return of light diſcovered the deceit to the king. But he had ſpent the night ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that he expreſſed no diſpleaſure with the old lady on account of her fraud; his love was transferred to his miſtreſs, and ſhe retained her aſcendency for ſome time.

All theſe acts of licentiouſneſs, and ſeveral others paſſed almoſt unnoticed except the firſt, which being an infringement on the liberties of the church, he was reprimanded by Dunſtan, and ordered to abſtain from wearing his crown, during ſeven years. But the mildneſs of this puniſhment, if indeed it may be called a puniſhment to abſtain from wearing an uſeleſs ornament, will not ſurpriſe us, when we conſider, that Edgar was a firm friend to the monks. Dunſtan had been intruded into the ſee of Canterbury; Oſvald, his relation, made biſhop of Worceſter, and Ethelwold, a monk of Glaſtonbury, promoted to the epiſcopal chair of Wincheſter.

Under this triumvirate, both the king and kingdom were governed; for their religious characters were ſo great, that to oppoſe them was conſidered as impiety. The firſt great work they undertook was that of placing the new order of monks in all the convents. Edgar, therefore, ſummoned a general council of the prelates, and the heads of the religious orders to meet in council. In this aſſembly he made a long ſpeech filled with invectives againſt the lives of the ſecular clergy, and concluded with conjuring Dunſtan to eject them from the convents, and fill their places with thoſe who obſerved the ſtricteſt monaſtic rules. This ſpeech had the deſired effect; the monks prevailed, and their new rules were eſtabliſhed in moſt of the convents.

A. D. 969. The inhabitants of the Iſle of Thanet having been guilty of ſeizing the goods of ſome merchants from York, in open defiance of the laws of England, the king was ſo exaſperated, that he ordered their whole country to be laid waſte with unexampled cruelty.

A. D. 973. Though Edgar had ſat ſeveral years on the Engliſh throne, his coronation had been deferred for ſome reaſons at preſent unknown. But the ceremony was now performed at Bath by Dunſtan, with great ſolemnity, in a grand aſſembly of the clergy and nobility.

The ceremony was hardly over before an inſurrection happened in Wales. Jago, who had depoſed and impriſoned his brother, was himſelf dethroned and driven out of the kingdom by Jevaf his nephew, who reſtored his father to the crown. The uſurper fled for refuge to Edgar, who marched at the head of an army into North Wales to reſtore him; but was met at Bangor by Howell, who conſented to cede, during the life of Jevaf, that part of the country to Jago, he had before enjoyed; and a peace was accordingly concluded between the two parties.

A. D. 974. Edgar, who had now reached the ſummit of power, being at Cheſter, and propoſing to go by water to the abbey of St. John the Baptiſt, he obliged eight of his tributary kings to row his barge down the river Dee, while he himſelf ſat at the helm. A ſtretch of ſuperiority that might have excited an univerſal combination againſt him, had not his power been ſo firmly eſtabliſhed as to deprive his enemies of all hopes of ſhaking it.

Nor was the reputation of Edgar confined to his own country; it allured a great number of foreigners to viſit his court; and he gave them encouragement to reſide in England. We are told, that they imported all the vices of their reſpective countries, and contributed to corrupt the ſimple manners of the natives: but as this ſimplicity of manners, ſo highly and often ſo injudiciouſly extolled, could not preſerve them from barbarity and treachery, the greateſt of all vices, and the moſt incident to a rude uncul-

uncultivated people, we ought, perhaps, to conſider their acquaintance with foreigners rather an advantage, as it tended to enlarge their minds, and cure them of thoſe illiberal prejudices and ruſtic manners to which iſlanders are often ſubject.

A. D. 975. While Edgar was thus repoſing in the arms of peace and ſecurity, beloved by his ſubjects, and feared by his enemies, death put a period to his exiſtence, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign.

To draw the character of this prince is no eaſy taſk. But we may, with great truth aſſert, that it was a compound of virtues and vices. He aſcended the Mercian throne by a flagrant act of injuſtice; he was lawleſs in his pleaſures, bloody in his revenge, ſuperſtitious in his religion, a tool of Dunſtan and his monks, and, by his blind ſubmiſſion to their ſuggeſtions, an enemy to the dignity of the crown, as well as the innocent cauſe of all the miſeries that ſucceeded his reign. But when we conſider, that he was only ſixteen years of age when he aſcended the throne, we cannot help being aſtoniſhed at the many indications of ſagacity, conduct, and prudence, diſplayed at this early period of life; and wiſhing that his vices had never exiſted, or, at leaſt, that they had been buried in the lake of oblivion. At the ſame time, it gives us pleaſure to remark, that he was at once the conſummate politician, the wiſe legiſlator, and the patriot king. The methods he took for defending his kingdom from invaſions are ſufficient evidences of his perfectly underſtanding the true and natural intereſts of his country: to which we may add, the precautions he took to prevent diſturbances in the north, and the expedient he made uſe of for extirpating wolves, which at that time infeſted the kingdom. The peace enjoyed by England, during his whole reign, was of the greateſt advantage, after the vaſt effuſion of human blood, in almoſt every part of the iſland, during a long ſeries of years. His love for the arts, is ſufficiently evident, from his encouraging foreigners to ſettle in this country; and his love for his people, by the many excellent laws that were made during his reign. The heroes of antiquity acquired their fame by rapine, and the deſtruction of their ſpecies: Edgar's was built on a more noble foundation, that of diſpenſing happineſs to mankind, and of freeing his country from the devaſtations, miſeries, and horrors of war.

EDWARD the MARTYR.

A. D. 975. THE peace of the kingdom, which had continued during the whole reign of Edgar, became precarious by his death. Elfrida, the ſtep-mother of Edward, had a ſon, named Ethelred, then ſeven years of age, whom ſhe attempted to place on the Engliſh throne, under pretence that Edgar's marriage with the mother of Edward, was expoſed to inſuperable objections; and as ſhe had poſſeſſed great credit with her huſband, ſhe found means to acquire partizans, who ſeconded all her pretenſions. At the ſame time Alfere, duke of Mercia, took this opportunity to deprive the monks of all the benefices they held in his country, and filled their places with ſecular prieſts: his example was followed by others in different parts of the kingdom, which might perhaps have undergone a thorough reformation, had not Ethelwin, and other nobles, oppoſed its progreſs, which was ſupported by Elfrida's party. Dunſtan, therefore, ſaw the neceſſity of placing on the throne a prince favourable to the cauſe of the monks, and therefore determined to eſpouſe the cauſe of Edward, over whom he had acquired already a great aſcendency. But Dunſtan was not the only ſupport of Edward. He was appointed ſucceſſor by the will of his father: he was approaching to man's eſtate, and might ſoon be able to take into his own hands the reins of government: at the ſame time, the imperious temper of Elfrida was dreaded by the nobles, who therefore oppoſed the government of her ſon, as that muſt inevitably enlarge her authority, if not put her in poſſeſſion of the regency.

Theſe advantages in favour of Edward, determined Dunſtan to execute the will of Edgar in favour of Edward; and to cut off all pretenſions, and prevent delays, which are often of the moſt dangerous conſequence, he reſolutely anointed, and crowned the young prince at Kingſton. This ſpirited conduct produced the deſired effect: the whole kingdom ſubmitted to his authority, the dreadful conſequences of a civil war were prevented, and Elfrida, with her ſon, retired to Corfe-caſtle, in Dorſetſhire.

The controverſy ſubſiſting between the monks and ſecular clergy, now engaged the public attention; and, in order to ſettle it, ſeveral ſynods were aſſembled, which, according to the practice of thoſe times, conſiſted partly of eccleſiaſtics, and partly of nobility. The party of the monks always prevailed in theſe meetings, though contrary to the wiſhes of the principal men of the nation. They ſeem, indeed, to have had more invention in forging miracles to ſupport their cauſe; or, having been ſo fortunate as to obtain, by their pretended auſterities, the character of piety, their miracles were better believed by the populace.

Dunſtan finding, in one of the ſynods, a majority of votes againſt him, roſe up, and informed the audience, that he had, in that inſtant, received an immediate revelation in behalf of the monks; and the aſſembly were ſo aſtoniſhed at this intelligence, or perhaps overawed by the populace, that they proceeded no farther in their deliberations. In another ſynod, a voice iſſued from the crucifix, informing the members, that the eſtabliſhment of the monks was founded on the will of heaven, and could not be oppoſed without impiety. But the miracle wrought at the third ſynod, held at Calne in Wiltſhire was ſtill more alarming: in the height of the debate, the floor of the room, in which the aſſembly met, fell in at once, and a great number of the members were either bruiſed or killed by the fall; but the beam on which Dunſtan's chair was placed, continued firm, ſo that the prelate remained unhurt. This dreadful ſcene, by involving ſo many of Dunſtan's

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Edward the Martyr Stabb'd

by Order of his Step Mother **ELFRIDA.**

ſtan's enemies in deſtruction, and intimidating thoſe who ſurvived, put a period to all further oppoſition, and left the prelate to finiſh his plan without interruption.

In the mean time Edward, tho' his acceſſion had been oppoſed by his ſtep-mother, loſt all thoughts of reſentment, paid her the greateſt reſpect, and expreſſed the moſt ſincere affection for his brother. While Elfrida, carried away by the torrent of ambition, was forming ſchemes for his deſtruction.

Returning one day from the chaſe in Dorſetſhire, he left his attendants, and rode up to Corſe caſtle, to pay his reſpects to Elfrida. She received him very courteouſly, and deſired him to alight, in order to take ſome refreſhment. But the king refuſed her requeſt, leſt his attendants might be apprehenſive of danger from his ſtay; at the ſame time requeſting that a cup of wine might be brought him to drink while he ſat on horſeback. The wine was brought immediately, but while he was drinking, he was ſtabbed in the back by the order, ſome ſay by the hand of Elfrida. Edward finding himſelf wounded, ſet ſpurs to his horſe, in order to join his company, and prevent a ſecond blow; but fainting with the loſs of blood, he fell from his horſe, and his foot being entangled in the ſtirrup, he was dragged along the road till he expired. The ſervants of Elfrida followed the horſe by the traces of the blood, and to conceal the murder, threw the body into a well; where it was found a few days after, and buried at Wareham, whence it was afterwards removed to Shaftſbury, by Alfere duke of Mercia.

The youth and innocence of this prince, together with his tragical death, excited ſo much compaſſion in the minds of the people, that they believed miracles were wrought at his tomb; and gave him the appellation of martyr, tho' his murder had no reference to any religious principle or opinion. Elfrida, to prevent the ſtorm which threatened to overwhelm her, on account of this act of cruelty, pretended to be ſtruck with great remorſe for her guilt, and to atone for her crime, erected two monaſteries; one at Ambreſbury, in Wiltſhire, and the other at Wherwell, in Hampſhire; and in one of theſe religious retreats, ſhe ſpent the remainder of her days in auſterity.

ETHELRED II.

A.D. 978. DUNSTAN, on the death of Edward, had recourſe to every artifice to prevent Ethelred from mounting the throne. He firſt offered his ſervices to Editha, his ſiſter, imagining, that if ſhe held the reins of government, his intereſt and authority would be ſecure. But the young princeſs, being at this time abbeſs of the convent of Wilton, conſcious of the objection that might be made againſt her pretenſions, and terrified at the cataſtrophe of her brother Edward, refuſed his offer. The biſhop had therefore no other reſource, than to acknowledge the young Ethelred as king, and he accordingly anointed that prince at Kingſton, in the twelfth year of his age.

Dunſtan, however, in the very ceremony, could not forbear dropping ſome expreſſions, which diſcovered his malevolence; and, in the ſermon he preached on this occaſion, he boldly told the king, that his reign would be attended with great calamities, on account of the guilt of his mother. Poſſibly Dunſtan was perſuaded, that the ſtate of the kingdom, and the weakneſs of the prince, were ſufficient indications of the miſeries that ſoon after followed, without pretending to the gift of prophecy. Ethelred was young, inexperienced, and untaught; his education had been neglected by his mother, and on his acceſſion to the throne, he was ſurrounded by a crowd of flatterers, who endeavoured to take advantage of his ignorance. At the ſame time, the nation was rent with two factions, which alternately gained the aſcendant in the favour of the young king, and mutually endeavoured to blacken the characters of each other.

During the reign of Edward, the principal nobility, who had been intruſted with the government of different provinces, had erected themſelves into independent princes, and conſidered their offices as hereditary; they aſſumed the names of dukes, and refuſed to obey the orders of their ſovereign, unleſs they were conformable to their caprice or intereſt. The royal authority was therefore rendered precarious, and the ſafety of the nation, which depended on the union of the nobility, entirely deſtroyed. Another corruption equally pernicious to the ſtate and the royal authority, conſiſted in the neglect of keeping up a regular and well diſciplined militia. Inſtead of an army of natives, the natural and ſureſt guard of their country, a body of mercenaries had for ſometime been employed, who, being wholly idle during the intervals of peace, taught the natives vices to which they would otherwiſe have been ſtrangers. But what was ſtill worſe, the greater part of theſe mercenaries were Danes, who were now by their intermarriages with the beſt families, grown ſo powerful, that it was dangerous to endeavour to correct their diſorders, or reſtrain their licentiouſneſs.

A. D. 981. At the ſame time the Engliſh navy, ſo powerful in the time of Edgar, had been for ſome time entirely neglected, and was now reduced to ſuch a contemptible ſtate, that a fleet of Daniſh pirates, conſiſting only of ſeven ſail, plundered the town of Southampton; after which they laid waſte the Iſle of Thanet, and ſailing round to Cornwall, landed their men, and burnt the church and monaſtery of St. Peter. The ſame year, a ſmall ſquadron conſiſting of three ſhips, made a deſcent upon Portland in Dorſetſhire, and returned loaded with plunder. While another Daniſh ſquadron, under the command of Godfrid, the ſon of Harold, practiſed the ſame in Wales.

A. D. 986. The averſion which Ethelred bore to the monks, being daily increaſed by their behaviour, he made their leader feel the weight of his reſentment, in ſuch a manner, as convinced the nation he was reſolved never to become the dupe of their hypocriſy and diſſimulation. The biſhop of

Rocheſter having given him ſome offence, he beſieged him in the capital of his dioceſe; but not being able to take the place, he laid waſte the lands belonging to the cathedral of St. Andrew's. Dunſtan interpoſed in vain his authority in behalf of the biſhop; the king ſmiled at his threatening him with the anger of St. Andrew, if he did not deſiſt from his enterprize, and proſecuted the ſiege with ſtill greater vigour. Convinced that his threats were fruitleſs, the prelate had recourſe to another expedient which ſeemed to promiſe more ſucceſs; he offered Ethelred a large ſum of money, on condition he would raiſe the ſiege. This was accepted, and the money being paid, the king immediately drew off his forces.

A. D. 987. The calamities under which the nation groaned, were now increaſed by a great mortality among the cattle; and an epidemical flux, which carried off great numbers of people. In the mean time Watchet in Somerſetſhire was deſtroyed by the Danes.

During theſe calamities Dunſtan paid the debt of nature, and left the controverſy between the monks and ſecular canons undecided. He was a man of great learning and abilities; and had he confined himſelf entirely to his own province, might have been conſidered as one of the moſt reſpectable perſons among the clergy of his time; but hurried away by ambition, he launched beyond his depth into the ſea of politics, and, without acquiring the character of an able ſtateſman, loſt that of a learned and devout prelate, with which he would otherwiſe have been honoured.

A. D. 990. While the Engliſh were engaged in filling the vacant ſee of Canterbury, the Welſh were expoſed to all the calamities of civil diſſentions. The town of Radnor was ſacked by Meredith, prince of North Wales; which provoking Edwin, the ſon of Eneon, he raiſed a powerful army, and being joined by a body of the Engliſh, commanded by Adelf, entered South Wales, plundered Cardigan, and reduced the whole country between that town and St. David's. In the mean time Meredith, to create a diverſion, entered Glamorganſhire, and laid all the country waſte with fire and ſword; but leaving his own country without forces ſufficient to defend it from the incurſions of a foreign enemy, the Danes took advantage of this neglect, made a deſcent on the Iſle of Angleſey, and pillaged it without meeting with any reſiſtance.

A. D. 991. Soon after this exploit, the Danes landed with a powerful army under the command of Guthmund and Juſtin, near Ipſwich in Suffolk; but while they were employed in pillaging the adjacent country, Brithnot, duke of the Eaſt Angles, marched at the head of a ſmall body of forces to ſurround them. He was, however, miſtaken, the Danes, informed of their approach, joined their forces, and a bloody battle enſued, in which victory declared for the Danes, and Brithnot fell in the action. The Danes now penetrated farther into the country, where they committed the moſt cruel ravages. But the unactive Ethelred, inſtead of oppoſing the invaders of his country at the head of his army, was contented to purchaſe a peace with paying the ſum of ten thouſand pounds.

A. D. 992. This infamous treaty, however, was ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that the Danes landed the next year, from a very conſiderable fleet, on the coaſt of the Eaſt-Angles. On their appearance, Ethelred ſummoned a council to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken at ſo critical a conjuncture, and it was determined to fit out a ſtrong fleet, in order to block up that of the Danes. This wiſe meaſure would certainly have anſwered the intended purpoſe, had it not been fruſtrated by Alfric, duke of Mercia, who was appointed commander of the ſquadron. That perfidious nobleman betrayed the whole deſign to the Danes, who ſtood off to ſea to avoid the danger, and were afterwards joined by the traitor. This deſertion ſaved the Daniſh fleet from deſtruction; though the Engliſh ſquadron did not follow the example of their leader: they attacked part of the Daniſh ſhips, diſabled ſeveral, and the traitor Alfric was obliged to leave his own veſſel in the hands of the Engliſh, eſcaping himſelf with great difficulty.

A. D. 993. Hitherto the Daniſh expeditions had been carried on only by private adventurers; but their ſucceſs was ſo great, that their princes now began to aſſiſt in the ravages of this unhapppy country. For this purpoſe they equipped a formidable fleet, under the command of Swein, king of Denmark, and Anlaf, or Olave, king of Norway. They firſt landed on the northern coaſt, ſacked Banbury, and ſailing up the Humber, took Lindſey, and ravaged the greater part of Yorkſhire. An army was raiſed to put a ſtop to the incurſions of the Pagans, under the command of Frera, Godwin, and Frithegiſt, three noblemen of Daniſh extraction. A battle enſued, when the Engliſh, being abandoned by their generals, were totally routed.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the Danes ventured to attack the center of the kingdom, and ſailing up the Thames in ninety-four veſſels, laid ſiege to London, and threatened it with total deſtruction. But the citizens, alarmed with the danger, and firmly united among themſelves, made a nobler defence than the cowardice of the nobility and gentry gave the invaders reaſon to expect; and the beſiegers, after ſuffering the greateſt hardſhips, were obliged to relinquiſh their attempt. In order to revenge themſelves for this diſappointment, they ravaged the counties of Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire; and having, by this means, procured themſelves horſes, ſpread thro' the more inland parts of the country, the fury of their depredations.

In this extremity, Ethelred and his nobles had recourſe to the former expedient; and ſending ambaſſadors to the two northern kings, they promiſed them ſubſiſtence and tribute, on condition they would immediately put an end to their ravages, and leave the kingdom in a ſhort time. Swein and Anlaf agreed to the terms, and peaceably took up their quarters at Southampton, where the ſum of ſixteen thouſand pounds was paid them. Anlaf even made a journey to Andover, the place of Ethelred's reſidence, where he received the rite of confirmation from the Engliſh biſhops, and many rich preſents from the king. Anlaf, on his part, promiſed he would never more infeſt the Engliſh territories, and faithfully performed the engagement. Swein, tho' leſs ſcrupulous than Anlaf, was alſo obliged upon the departure of the Norweigan prince, to evacuate the kingdom with all his followers.

A. D. 997. This purchaſed peace, was productive only of a ſhort interval to the miſeries of England. The Daniſh pirates appeared ſoon after in the Severn; and having committed the moſt horrid ravages in Wales, Cornwall, and Devonſhire, they ſailed round to the ſouth coaſt of England, and entering

tering the Tamar, completed the devaſtation of the two adjacent counties. They then returned to the Briſtol channel, and, penetrating into the country by the Avon, ſpread themſelves over all that neighbourhood, and carried fire and ſword even into Dorſetſhire.

A. D. 998. Having thus ruined the country, and waſted whole provinces without oppoſition, the Danes re-imbarked, ſailed up the river Thames, and ravaged the Kentiſh coaſts: they then went up the Medway, as far as Rocheſter, and were met at Canterbury by the king, at the head of an army. A battle enſued, in which the Kentiſh men behaved with great courage, and made, at firſt, a ſtout reſiſtance; but being overpowered by numbers, were forced at laſt to give way, and were entirely routed by the Danes. The oppoſition made on this occaſion, incenſed the fury of the enemy; they ſeized all the horſes they could meet with, and mounting their troops, ravaged all the weſtern coaſt of Kent with the moſt ſavage brutality.

The extremity of theſe miſeries forced the Engliſh into councils, for their common defence, both by ſea and land; but the weakneſs of the king, the diviſions of the nobility, the treachery of ſome, the cowardice of others, and the want of concert in all, fruſtrated every endeavour. Their fleets and armies either came too late to attack the enemy, or were repulſed with diſhonour; thus the people were equally ruined, by reſiſtance or ſubmiſſion. No wonder, therefore, if the Engliſh, deſtitute both of prudence and unanimity in council, and of courage and conduct in the field, had recourſe to the ſame weak expedient, which, by experience, they might have already found ſo ineffectual: they offered to purchaſe a peace with a large ſum of money. The Danes, convinced of the weakneſs of the Engliſh, roſe continually in their demands; and now required the payment of twenty-four thouſand pounds, nor had the Engliſh fortitude enough to refuſe the inſolent demand.

But the Danes had another reaſon for evacuating a kingdom which appeared ſo unable to reſiſt their efforts: they were invited over by their countrymen in Normandy, who were, at this time, hard preſſed by the arms of Robert king of France, and who found it difficult to defend the ſettlement, which, with ſo much advantage to themſelves, and glory to their nation, they had made in that country.

A. D. 1001. The departure of the Danes procured the Engliſh a ſhort interval of repoſe, which they enjoyed, as if they thought it would be perpetual, without making any effectual preparations for giving them a more vigorous reception at their next return. It is, however, probable, that Ethelred, obſerving the cloſe connections maintained among all the Danes, however divided in government or ſituation, was deſirous of procuring an alliance with France, that formidable people. Accordingly he paid his addreſſes to Emma, ſiſter to Richard II. duke of Normandy, and ſoon ſucceeded in his negotiations. The princeſs came this year to England, and was married to Ethelred.

The Danes having effectually aſſiſted their countrymen in Normandy, returned to England, which they found as defenceleſs as before. They once more renewed their ravages on the ſea-coaſts, and penetrated as far as Altan in Hampſhire. Ethelwald, the high ſheriff of that county, collected a body of forces; but being inferior to the enemy in numbers, after an obſtinate battle, was routed and ſlain in the field. After this, they committed ſeveral ravages, and returned loaded with plunder.

But when the Danes quitted the Engliſh coaſts, multitudes of their countrymen choſe to ſettle in the kingdom, on account of the mildneſs of the climate, and the fertility of the country. Their number being conſiderable, they hoped ſtill to enrich themſelves by rapine; and being ſupported by the natives of the ſame extraction, lived upon the labours of the Engliſh, behaved with intolerable inſolence, and gave themſelves up to debauchery and vice. The Engliſh had ſuffered ſo much by the late conteſts with the Danes, that they were grown abject and ſervile, and choſe to ſubmit to any inſult, rather than provoke them to revenge, or renew the horrors of war. But this ſubmiſſion in the Engliſh, only augmented the haughtineſs of the Danes; they plainly perceived the weakneſs and timidity of the natives, and acted towards them like perſons who knew none of their demands could be refuſed, and that the property of thoſe they lived with, was entirely at their diſpoſal.

This inſolence of the invaders, continued increaſing every day, when Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel deſign of maſſacring theſe tyrannical invaders throughout his dominions. Huno, general of his army, and Edric Streon, who had married Edgitha, the king's daughter, were the perſons who inſtigated him to take this inhuman reſolution. They repreſented the exceſs theſe foreigners were guilty of, with the moſt aggravating circumſtances, alarmed him with pretended diſcoveries of a plot formed againſt his life, and by that means greatly inflamed the reſentment of this puſillanimous prince, that he determined to carry the cruel expedient into execution.

A. D. 1002. Secret orders were accordingly diſpatched to commence the bloody tragedy every where, on the ſame day; and the feſtival of St. Brice, which fell on a Sunday, the day on which the Danes uſually bathed themſelves, was choſen for that purpoſe. It is needleſs to repeat the accounts tranſmitted to us by the old hiſtorians, of the barbarity of this maſſacre: the rage of the populace, excited by ſo many injuries, ſanctified by authority, and ſtimulated by example, made no diſtinction between innocence and guilt, ſpared neither ſex nor age, and was not ſatiated without the tortures, as well as deaths, of the unhappy victims. Even Gunilda, ſiſter to the king of Denmark, who had married earl Paling, and embraced chriſtianity, was, by the pernicious advice of Edric, ſeized and condemned to death by Ethelred; after ſeeing her huſband and children butchered before her face. The unhappy princeſs met death with the greateſt fortitude, and foretold, in the agonies of deſpair, that her murder would ſoon be revenged, by the total ruin of the Engliſh nation.

Never was prophecy better fulfilled, and never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to the actors. Swein, who wanted only a pretence for making a new invaſion of the Engliſh territories, was no ſooner informed of this barbarous maſſacre, than all his innate hatred returned, and the blood of his ſiſter, ſo unjuſtly ſhed, rouſed him to ſpeedy vengeance. He ordered all the men at arms in his kingdom, to repair to a general rendezvous of his troops, and even ſent letters over all the continent, inviting the ſoldiers of fortune in every country, to

join

join his ſtandard, promiſing them very great rewards out of the plunder of England, or, if they pleaſed, a ſettlement in the country, as ſoon as conquered. The Danes, who wanted no other ſtimulus to revenge, than the bare repreſentation of the maſſacre of their countrymen, repaired from every quarter of the kingdom, with ſo much ardour, that in a very ſhort time, Swein collected a fleet of above three hundred ſail of well appointed veſſels.

A. D. 1003. This fleet arrived upon the coaſt of Cornwall, which was laid waſte with a degree of fury, ſufficiently demonſtrating, that the intentions of Swein were rather to deſtroy than to conquer. After committing theſe horrid ravages, the Danes inveſted Exeter, a city which had ſo often baffled the attempts of theſe invaders. It was now governed by one Hugh, a Norman, of Daniſh extraction, who came over with queen Emma, and, by her intereſt, had been appointed governor of that city; which either from the negligence or treachery of Hugh, ſoon fell into the hands of the invaders. The Engliſh, ſenſible of what outrages they muſt now expect from their barbarous and offended enemy, aſſembled more early, and in greater numbers, than uſual, and made an appearance of the moſt vigorous reſiſtance. But all theſe preparations were fruſtrated by the treachery of Alfric, who was intruſted with the command, and who, under the pretence of ſickneſs, refuſed to lead the army againſt the Danes, till the ſoldiers were diſpirited, and the forces at laſt diſſipated by his fatal miſconduct. Alfric died ſoon after, and Edric, a greater traitor than him, ſucceeded him in the government of Mercia, and in the command of the Engliſh armies.

Swein, encouraged by the perfidy or cowardice of the Engliſh commanders, deſolated the county of Wilts with incredible fury. Old Sarum, after being plundered, was laid in aſhes; and Swein, having ſatiated his revenge, embarked with his booty, and returned to Denmark.

A. D. 1004. The ſucceeding ſpring, Swein made a ſecond expedition to England, and landing on the coaſt of Eaſt-Anglia, burnt the city of Norwich. Uftikel, then governor of that province, being in no condition to oppoſe the Danes, ſummoned his council, and laid before them the ſituation of his affairs. Upon which it was determined to purchaſe a peace, which they did, upon ſtipulated terms. But the Danes had no ſooner received the money, than they neglected to perform the conditions, and immediately plundered Thetford. Reſenting this breach of faith, Uftikel ſent a party to burn their fleet in the harbour, while he himſelf, at the head of all the forces he could collect, attacked the Daniſh army by land. Unfortunately, the party ſent to deſtroy their ſhips, failed in the attempt. Uftikel, however, engaged the invaders with ſo much fury, that the Danes owed their ſafety to the great ſuperiority of their numbers, and muſt inevitably have been cut off, had the Engliſh engaged them with their whole army. This check, however, made the Danes more circumſpect for the future, and for ſome time put a ſtop to their barbarous ravages.

A. D. 1005. But the miſeries of war were not the only calamity ſuffered by the Engliſh at this fatal period. A dreadful famine raged thro' the whole kingdom, owing principally to the cruel ravages of the Danes. This terrible affliction was, however, attended with one happy circumſtance, it obliged the Danes to return to their own country.

A. D. 1006. But the Engliſh had hardly time to congratulate themſelves on this deliverance, before the Danes returned, and ſeemed determined to complete the ruin of this unhappy country. Their fleet appeared off Sandwich in Kent, where they landed, and laid the country waſte with fire and ſword. Ethelred, on this occaſion, exerted himſelf in an extraordinary manner. He put himſelf at the head of an army, conſiſting of the natives of Weſſex and Mercia: but the Danes, who knew their intereſt too well to hazard a battle, continued their ravages at a diſtance from the royal camp; and when the king marched againſt them, retired on board their fleet, and ſtood off to ſea. In this manner, they eluded the vigilance of the Engliſh, and wearied out Ethelred's forces during the autumn. As ſoon as the winter rendered it impracticable to keep the field any longer, the Engliſh army was dianſbanded, and the Danes retired with their booty to the Iſle of Wight, where they knew they ſhould be ſecure from any ſurprize.

They did not, however, continue long inactive; for, as ſoon as they knew the Engliſh forces were diſperſed, they paſſed over to the coaſt of Hampſhire, and marched as far as Reading in Berkſhire, laying all the country waſte thro' which they paſſed. From Reading they continued their route to Wallingford, which they laid in aſhes, and returned to their ſhips loaded with plunder.

A. D. 1007. Theſe devaſtations alarmed Ethelred, who was keeping his Chriſtmas in Shropſhire. He was ſenſible, that he was betrayed by perſons within his own palace; but wanted ſagacity to diſcover, and courage to puniſh the traitors. He therefore ſummoned his council, who reſolved, that the only expedient remaining to ſave the kingdom from deſtruction, was to purchaſe a peace. But the Danes, grown inſolent by their ſucceſs, roſe higher in their demands, and refuſed to deſiſt from their hoſtilities, unleſs the Engliſh gave them thirty thouſand pounds. And even this enormous ſum the nation ſubmitted to pay, for a precarious peace.

This interval, the Engliſh endeavoured to employ in making preparations againſt the return of the Danes, which they had reaſon, from experience, to expect. A law was accordingly made, ordering the proprietors of eight hydes of land, to provide themſelves with a horſeman, and a complete ſuit of armour; and thoſe of three hundred and ten hydes, to equip a ſhip for the defence of the coaſt. But when this navy was aſſembled, tho' it conſiſted of near eight hundred ſail, all hopes of its ſucceſs were rendered abortive by the factions, animoſities, and diſſentions of the nobility. Edric had engaged his brother Brithric to lodge an accuſation of treaſon againſt Wulfnoth, governor of Suſſex, the father of the famous earl Godwin; and that nobleman, well acquainted with the malevolence as well as the power of his enemy, found no other means of ſafety, than in deſerting with twenty ſhips to the Danes. Brithric purſued him with a fleet of eighty ſail, but his ſhip being ſhattered in a tempeſt, and ſtranded on the coaſt, he was ſuddenly attacked by Wulfnoth, and all his veſſels burnt and deſtroyed. The imbecility of the king was little capable of repairing this miſcarriage; the treachery of Edric fruſtrated

trated every plan of future defence; and the Engliſh navy diſconcerted, diſcouraged and divided, was at laſt ſcattered into its ſeveral harbours.

A. D. 1009. The Engliſh fleet was hardly diſperſed, before a Daniſh ſquadron appeared off Sandwhich, commanded by Turkil; and the next day, another appeared on the coaſt of the Iſle of Thanet, under the direction of Heming and Anlaf. Theſe three generals, having united their forces, marched to Canterbury, which would have fallen into their hands, had not the inhabitants redeemed it with paying three thouſand pounds. Having received this ranſom, and plundered the adjacent country, they retired with their booty on board their fleet, and ſailing round to the Iſle of Wight, which, as well as the counties of Suſſex, Hants, and Berkſhire, they filled with miſery and deſolation. In this preſſing exigency, Ethelred had again recourſe to the great council of the nation, and a reſolution was formed, that every county ſhould defend itſelf with its own militia.

But even this precaution was ineffectual, under a puſillanimous and enervated government: the Danes continued their ravages, and extended their incurſions farther into the country. Their deſire of plunder, however, gave Ethelred, who ſtill kept the field, at the head of a body of forces, many opportunities of cutting off their ſtraggling parties: and, not chuſing to attack them in a body, he found means to get between them and their ſhips, as they were returning loaded with plunder, in a very irregular order; and now, one ſecure and ſeaſonable blow, might have gained unhappy England, at leaſt a truce from miſery, had not the Danes found, in the councils of this infatuated prince, a friend to ſave them from deſtruction. This was the perfidious Edric, who, by his perplexed harangues, ſo confounded the meaſures of Ethelred, that the enemy eſcaped, and England loſt the irretrievable opportunity of retaliating on the invaders, the miſeries ſhe had ſuffered.

The Danes, having thus fortunately eſcaped, paſſed into Kent, where they took up their winter quarters near the Thames, and laid all the neighbouring countries, particularly Eſſex, under contribution for their ſubſiſtence. Sometimes they threatened, and too often put their threats into execution; and being maſters at ſea, ventured to attack the city of London, but the brave inhabitants of the capital, always repelled them with great loſs.

Nor were their ravages confined to the ſea-coaſts, they now penetrated into the counties of Bucks and Oxford. And as barbarians are ever the declared enemies of learning, we need not wonder that the ſeat of the muſes mourned their fury on this occaſion; Oxford was laid in aſhes. Perhaps they would have extended their ravages ſtill further, had they not received advice, that an army was collecting at London to intercept them in their return. This intelligence ſtopped their devaſtations; they immediately changed their route, paſſed the Thames at Staines, and before the Engliſh army could intercept them, reached their ſhips, leaving dreadful marks of their ſavage fury in all the country thro' which they paſſed.

A. D. 1010. They now left the coaſt of Kent, and landed at Ipſwich, where they ſurpriſed Ufkitel, an Engliſh general, who lay there encamped with his army. Ufkitel had the misfortune to have one Thurkytel, as commander immediately under him, and who proved an arrant coward on this occaſion; for no ſooner were the Danes landed, than he improved the conſternation of the Engliſh, and, in his own perſon, ſet the example of a ſhameful flight, which was followed by a dreadful ſlaughter of the Engliſh army. By this victory, the Danes were enabled to convert their infantry into cavalry; and having thus mounted their foot, they finiſhed the conqueſt of Eaſt Anglia, which they laid deſolate. They then marched into the fenny country, where they deſtroyed whatever fell in their way. They afterwards proceeded as far as Thetford and Cambridge, which they laid in aſhes. After theſe exploits, they changed their route to the ſea-ſide, and re-imbarked with their booty. But all the countries bordering on the ſea, being already deſtroyed, they marched to the weſtward, and renewed their ravages in the counties of Bucks and Oxford; extending their cruel devaſtations all along the river Ouze to Bedford, and thence to Thamesford, burning all the towns and villages that lay in their route.

In the mean time, the Engliſh were diſpirited, Ethelred's forces without diſcipline, and commanded by men, who were traitors to their country. At the ſame time, the marches of the army were ſo ſtrangely regulated, that the ſoldiers never came in ſight of the enemy. By this means, the troops who, to revenge the miſeries of their country, would have fought like Engliſhmen, had they been properly commanded, loſt all ſpirit and ſenſe of duty. They found they were betrayed; and before the ſummer was over, there was not a body of them together ſufficient to keep the field. This deſertion gave the Danes all the opportunity they could wiſh, of returning unmoleſted to their ſhips, and ſharing with impunity, among themſelves, the plunder they had taken from the wretched inhabitants.

A. D. 1011. The next ſpring, they renewed their ravages on both ſides of the Thames, penetrating on one ſide as far as Huntingdon; and on the other, into Wiltſhire. Ethelred, inſtead of oppoſing their progreſs, ſhut himſelf up in London, and ſeemed more ſolicitous to ſecure his own perſon, than relieve his people from the miſeries under which they groaned.

In the mean time, the Danes beſieged Canterbury, which was ſoon after taken by the treachery of Elmar, a monk, and Alphage, the archbiſhop, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, were taken priſoners The reſt of the inhabitants were deſtroyed with ſuch exceſs of brutality, as is ſhocking to human nature. Only four monks, and eight hundred laymen were left alive; nine out of ten being delivered over by lot to deſtruction. The archbiſhop was kept priſoner on board their fleet, where the Pagans offered him the alternative, of paying three thouſand pounds, or ſuffering a cruel death Alphage boldly refuſed to pay the ſum demanded, and ſtrictly charged all his friends not to pay it for him. Being thus diſappointed of the booty, the barbarians fell upon him, and murdered him in a moſt inhuman manner.

A. D. 1012. Ethelred now ſummoned a council at London, in order to concert meaſures for putting a ſtop to the ravages of the Danes; but inſtead of providing for the peace and ſafety of the kingdom, the nobles ſquandered away the time in mutually impeaching each other, notwithſtanding the whole kingdom was become one continued ſcene of anarchy and deſolation. At laſt it was agreed to have

recourſe to the only expedient they could diſcover, that of purchaſing a peace, which was done at the expence of forty-eight thouſand pounds.

A. D. 1013. But this meaſure did not even produce the expected interval of repoſe. Swein arrived almoſt immediately after ſigning the treaty, with a powerful fleet, and ſailing up the Trent, landed at Gainſborough. The Northumbrians, with Utred their earl at their head, came immediately, and ſubmitted voluntarily. Their example was followed by all the country north of Watling-ſtreet, who gave him hoſtages, as a pledge of their fidelity. The Engliſh nobility purſued the ſame ſteps, ſwore allegiance to Swein, and gave him hoſtages for their good behaviour. Ethelred, equally afraid of the fury of the enemy, and the treachery of his own ſubjects, fled to Normandy, whither he had before ſent his queen Emma and her two ſons, Alfred and Edward. Richard received his unhappy gueſts with a generoſity that does honour to his memory.

A. D. 1014. In the mean time, Swein laid an inſupportable tax on his ſubjects; but it was happy for the nation, he did not live long enough to ſee it exacted; he died ſuddenly at Gainſborough, about ſix weeks after Ethelred had retired to Normandy. The Engliſh prelates and nobility, taking advantage of this event, ſent over a deputation to Ethelred, inviting him to return to his kingdom, expreſſing their deſire of being governed again by their native prince; and intimating their hopes, that being now better taught by experience, he would avoid all thoſe errors, which had been attended with ſuch misfortunes to himſelf, and his people. But the miſconduct of Ethelred was incurable; and, accordingly, on his reſuming the government, he diſcovered the ſame incapacity, indolence, timidity and credulity, which had ſo often expoſed him to the inſults of his enemies. His ſon-in law, Edric, notwithſtanding his repeated treaſons, retained ſuch influence at court, as to inſtil into the king, jealouſies of Sigefert and Morcar, two of the chief nobles of Mercia: theſe he allured to his houſe, where he murdered them, while Ethelred participated in the infamy of the action, by confiſcating their eſtates, and thruſting the widow of Sigefert into a convent.

In the mean time Canute, who ſucceeded Swein his father, finding it imprudent to continue in England, and exaſperated at the treachery of the nobles, retreated to his fleet, and having ſlit the noſes, and cut off the hands of the hoſtages, ſet them on ſhore at Sandwich, and ſailed immediately for Denmark, to take poſſeſſion of that throne, now vacant by the death of his father.

During this ſhort interval of peace, the death of Sigefert and Morcar, raiſed ſuch a ferment in the nation, that the people were ripe for an inſurrection, when Canute appeared with his fleet on the Kentiſh coaſt; and continuing his courſe to the weſtward, landed his troops in Weſſex, committing the moſt dreadful ravages in the counties of Somerſet, Wilts, and Dorſet. Edric was employed in raiſing an army in Mercia, and Edmund another in the north, to ſtop the progreſs of the Danes. But when the two princes were in ſight of Canute's forces, and were preparing every thing for an immediate engagement, Edmund was informed, that Edric intended to betray him to the enemy, and had even formed a plot for taking away his life. Edmund, therefore, immediately retreated with his diviſion to a place of ſafety, and left the enemy in poſſeſſion of the field. The treachery of Edric was now too evident to be palliated by his eloquence, or concealed by his diſſimulation; he therefore pulled off the maſk, and immediately joined the enemy, carrying with him forty veſſels.

A. D. 1015. Edmund, notwithſtanding this misfortune, was not diſconcerted; he aſſembled all the forces in the kingdom with the utmoſt expedition, and was ſoon able to give the enemy battle. The king had ſo often experienced the perfidy of his ſubjects, that he placed no confidence in them; and continued at London, fearing they intended to purchaſe their peace, by delivering him into the hands of the Danes. The army called aloud for their ſovereign, to lead them againſt the enemy; and on his refuſal to take the field, they were ſo diſcouraged, that all theſe vaſt preparations for the defence of the kingdom, were rendered abortive. In the mean time Edmund, deprived of all regular reſources to maintain his ſoldiers, was obliged, by neceſſity, to commit the ſame ravages with thoſe practiſed by the Danes, and, after making ſome fruitleſs expeditions into the north, which had ſubmitted entirely to Canute's power, he retired to London, determined there to maintain, to the laſt extremity, the ſmall remains of Engliſh liberty.

A. D. 1016. At his arrival, he found the city in the utmoſt confuſion, occaſioned by the death of his father Ethelred, who expired a few days before he reached London, after an unhappy and inglorious reign of thirty-five years, and was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul.

Ethelred was at once ſuſpicious and jealous, credulous and eaſy, according to the bias of his affections for particular perſons, who often abuſed his confidence. His love of indolence was a crime, at the period he held the reins of government; and his turn for pleaſure, produced the ſame unhappy conſequences, as would have reſulted from the moſt impolitic conduct. But it ſhould be remembered, that no prince ever lived at a more difficult juncture, occaſioned by the intermixture of the Danes with the Engliſh, the diſſentions of a degenerate nobility, and the ſelfiſhneſs of a proud, ignorant, and conceited clergy. The maſſacre of the Danes has, indeed, thrown an indelible ſtain upon his memory; but the ſpecious reaſons, urged by thoſe who abuſed his confidence, and which might have impoſed upon a prince of more prudence and virtue, plead for ſome mitigation, though they can never excuſe the bloody tragedy.

Ethelred left two ſons by his firſt marriage, Edmund, who ſucceeded him, and Edwy, whom Canute afterwards murdered. With regard to his two ſons, Alfred and Edward, they were immediately, on the death of Ethelred, conveyed into Normandy by queen Emma, their mother.

EDMUND

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

A.D. 1016 THIS prince, ſurnamed Ironſide from his valour, had given ſo many proofs of his abilities and courage, during the life of his father, that the eyes and wiſhes of all, whoſe loyalty to the blood of Cerdic was ſtronger than their apprehenſions of the Daniſh power, were fixed upon him; and, accordingly, in an aſſembly of all the nobility and chief citizens who remained at London, he was choſen king with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and ſoon after crowned by Livignus, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

In the mean time, many of the clergy and nobility repaired to Southampton, where they not only choſe Canute for their king, but alſo ſolemnly renounced the race of Ethelred; the Dane having previouſly taken an oath, to govern them faithfully in all affairs, whether ſecular or religious.

Canute having thus eſtabliſhed a title to the Engliſh throne, determined to begin his reign with an action that ſhould at once confirm his power, and exalt his reputation. In order to this he brought his navy up to Greenwich, where, landing his troops, he beſieged the city of London; but finding it impracticable to take the place, unleſs his ſhips could paſs up the river above the bridge, he cut a large channel on the Surry ſide, through which he turned the ſtream of the river, and drew his ſhips to the ſtation he deſired, and by that means cut off all proviſions coming to the city from the eaſt, weſt, or ſouth. The defence made by the Londoners was equally vigorous. Edmund had before this time ſet out for Weſſex, the patrimonial kingdom of his family, where his ſubjects, whoſe affections, though cooled by the degeneracy of his father, revived at the ſight of Edmund, and they received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of affection and loyalty. Edmund immediately raiſed an army for the relief of London, while Canute preſſed the ſiege with redoubled vigour, but always with loſs to himſelf, through the courage of the inhabitants. At laſt, deſpairing of taking the city, and fearing he might be ſhut up between it and Edmund's army, he raiſed the ſiege, and marched to meet the latter, before his army was too much increaſed by the ſuccours which were daily pouring in from all parts of England. Both armies met at Gillinham in Somerſhire, where a battle enſued, in which Edmund gained the victory.

Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, Edmund prepared himſelf to decide the fate of his crown by one general engagement. Accordingly, he offered Canute battle at Severſtan, in the county of Glouceſter. The battle began with great fury on both ſides: the gallant Edmund ſeemed to be preſent in a thouſand places, and to venture a thouſand lives; the van, the center, and the rear were equal witneſſes of his courage, and equally trembled for his danger. He himſelf was always the firſt to execute what he commanded; while, by the ſtrength of his arm, the quickneſs of his eye, or the coolneſs of his head, he thinned the ranks, diſappointed the advantages, and rendered the ſchemes of the enemy abortive. Such amazing valour and conduct, muſt have ſoon decided the fate of the battle, had Edmund been oppoſed by any other than Canute; but the Dane's experience, and the advantage of his numbers, balanced the effects of Edmund's valour; ſo that the battle continued undecided till night put an end to the bloody conteſt.

The next morning the battle was renewed with double fury; and fortune was on the point of deciding in favour of Edmund, when the traitor Edric, having cut off the head of one Oſmer, whoſe countenance reſembled that of Edmund, he fixed it on a ſpear, carried it through the ranks in triumph, and called aloud to the Engliſh, that it was time for them to fly; for behold, ſaid he, the head of your ſovereign. The brave among the Engliſh, rather aſtoniſhed than terrified, were preparing to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible; while the more irreſolute making a pauſe gave the Danes an opportnnity of reſtoring the battle. Edmund was no ſooner informed of this ſtratagem, than he pulled off his helmet, though engaged in the hotteſt part of the battle, and ſhewed his troops that they had no reaſon to fear for him; but the utmoſt he could gain by his activity and valour, was to leave the victory undecided.

Canute convinced of the ſtrength of the enemy, and that he owed his ſafety entirely to Edric's ſtratagem, thought proper to decline a third engagement. Accordingly, he took the advantage of the night to march ſilently from his camp, and join the reſt of his forces, who had now formed the blockade of London: while Edmund, too weak to attack the united forces of the Danes, retired into Weſſex to recruit his army.

Edric, diſappointed in his ſtratagem, now took a ſurer method to ruin Edmund; he pretended to deſert from the Dane; and Edmund being well acquainted with his power, and probably knowing no other of the chief nobility in whom he could repoſe more confidence, was obliged, notwithſtanding his repeated perfidy, to give him a conſiderable command under him.

His army being now conſiderably reinforced, Edmund bravely marched to the relief of London, and obliged the Danes to raiſe the ſiege. Part of the enemy retired to their ſhips for ſafety, while another part advanced up the banks of the river to Brentford, where Edmund croſſed the river, and attacked them with ſo much vigour that he put them to flight. This engagement, however, rendered it neceſſary for Edmund to recruit his army, and accordingly marched into Weſſex for that purpoſe. In the mean time Canute, who never loſt ſight of his purpoſe, renewed the ſiege of London; but the citizens ſtill defending themſelves with their uſual bravery, the Dane was defeated in all his attacks, and once more obliged to abandon the enterprize.

Baffled in every attempt on the city of London, Canute embarked his forces and ſailed to the river Orwell, which divides Eſſex from Suffolk, where the

the Danes renewed their uſual devaſtations. Having laid this part of the iſland under contribution, Canute ſailed to the Medway, where he landed his cavalry to ſcour the country. In the mean time Edmund, hearing of their depredations, croſſed the Thames ſuddenly at Brentford, came up with the Daniſh horſe at Ottenford, and drove them from thence with great ſlaughter into the Iſle of Sheppey. That day would, in all probability, have ruined the power of the Pagans, had not Edmund, deceived by the ſpecious pretences of Edric, been perſuaded to have given over the purſuit at Eagleſford, when he might have gained a compleat victory.

The Danes thus diſappointed in their ravages, ſailed to Eſſex to recruit their forces, and then marched into Mercia, where they put every perſon they met with to the ſword. Rouſed by theſe cruelties, Edmund collected all the forces poſſible, and purſued the ravagers with a reſolution to bring them to a deciſive engagement. He overtook the enemy's rear at Aſhdown in Eſſex, where a general battle enſued; and the bravery of Edmund was ſo remarkable that he ſoon gained a very conſiderable advantage over the enemy. But the traitor Edric flying in the height of the action, with the wing under his command, ſtruck the reſt of the army with ſuch a panic, that it was impoſſible for Edmund, though he made the greateſt efforts, to rally them. The Danes, perceiving the flight of Edric, attacked the remaining part of Edmund's army with all their forces, and routed it with great ſlaughter, in which many of the nobility periſhed.

The indefatigable Edmund, however, had ſtill reſources: he retired to Glouceſter, in order to recruit his troops, and was ſo popular on account of his valour, that his army was again ſoon in a condition to take the field. Canute followed him; but not time enough to prevent his being able once more to diſpute the crown with him at the head of his troops.

As the fate of the kingdom depended on the deciſion of this battle, both princes acted with leſs vigour, and more caution than they had done in any former engagement; when the Daniſh and Engliſh nobility, equally haraſſed with theſe convulſions, obliged their kings to open a conference for a treaty of peace. Accordingly, the two princes met in the Iſle of Alney, formed by the Severn, where Edmund propoſed to decide the diſpute between them by ſingle combat. This offer, according to many hiſtorians, was accepted; but before the ſword had decided the fatal conteſt, the two princes, reflecting on the miſeries that might attend ſo dangerous a ſtep, embraced each other, and agreed to divide the kingdom between them. The northern diviſion of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, which had been entirely ſubdued by the Danes, was allotted to Canute, and the ſouthern parts left to Edmund.

Peace being thus reſtored, the Danes marched towards their fleet, while the forces of Edmund returned to their reſpective habitations. But that prince did not ſurvive the treaty above a month, being murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, who thereby gave Canute the Dane an opportunity of aſcending the throne of England. Thus this country loſt, by treachery, one of the greateſt princes of the age, before it was poſſible to profit by his virtues. He married Algith, the widow of Sigefert, who had been murdered by Edric during the reign of Ethelred. By this lady he had two ſons, Edward and Edmund, who were both ſent into Sweden by Canute the Dane.

CANUTE the GREAT.

A.D. 1017. THE death of Edmund terminated all oppoſition on the ſide of the Engliſh, who were ſcarce able to maintain their independency under their late active, brave and intrepid prince. Canute, however, ſeemed unwilling to make uſe of force in obtaining the crown of England; and, therefore, had recourſe to plauſible pretences to cover his injuſtice. Accordingly, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the ſtates of England, in order to fix the ſucceſſion of the kingdom. Here he ſuborned ſome nobles to depoſe, that in the treaty with Edmund, it was agreed, that in caſe of his death, Canute ſhould ſucceed to his dominions, or, as ſome hiſtorians ſay, be guardian to his children. This evidence ſupported by the great power of Canute, determined the ſtates immediately to put the Daniſh monarch in poſſeſſion of the government.

Jealous of the two young princes, but, at the ſame time, ſenſible that he ſhould render himſelf extremely odious if they were diſpatched in England, Canute ſent them abroad to his ally the king of Sweden, whom he deſired, on their arrival at his court, to put them to death, and by that means free him from all further apprehenſions. The Swediſh monarch was, however, too generous to comply with his inhuman requeſt; but fearful of drawing on him the reſentment of Canute, by protecting the Engliſh princes, he ſent them to Solomon, king of Hungary, to be educated in his court. Edmund, the elder, was afterwards married to Solomon's ſiſter; but dying without iſſue, that prince gave his ſiſter-in-law Agatha, daughter to the emperor Henry II. in marriage to Edward, the younger brother; and ſhe bore him Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Chriſtina, who retired into a convent.

But the removal of theſe princes was far from freeing the mind of Canute from ſuſpicion. Edwy the brother of Edmund was ſtill alive, and rendered him very uneaſy. He therefore conſulted with the traitor Edric, the beſt method of putting him to death. Edric recommended one Ethelwal, as a proper inſtrument to complete the inhuman deſign; but inſtead of entering into their meaſures, Ethelwal found means to defer the horrid buſineſs they had tempted him to undertake; till Canute was obliged at laſt to content himſelf with baniſhing Edwy from the kingdom. But after that unfortunate prince had been ſome time at ſea, he returned

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to England and retiring to Taviſtock, died in obſcurity.

Canute had now no farther anxiety, except with regard to Alfred and Edward, who were protected and ſupported by their uncle Richard, duke of Normandy. Richard even fitted out a powerful fleet in order to reſtore the Engliſh princes to the throne of their anceſtors; and though the ſhips were diſperſed by a ſtorm, Canute ſaw the danger to which he was expoſed, from the animoſity of ſo warlike a people as the Normans. In order, therefore, to acquire the friendſhip of the duke, he paid his addreſſes to queen Emma, the ſiſter of that prince; promiſing to leave the children he ſhould have by that marriage, in poſſeſſion of the crown of England. Richard accepted the offer, and ſent over Emma to England, where ſhe was ſoon after married to Canute. The Engliſh, though they diſapproved of her eſpouſing the mortal enemy of her former huſband and his family, were pleaſed to find at court a ſovereign to whom they were accuſtomed, and who had already formed connections with them. Thus Canute, by this political artifice, procured at once the alliance of Normandy, and the confidence of his own people.

But Canute, though he had reached the ſummit of his ambition, in obtaining poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, and preventing any attempts to deprive him of it, by claims from the lawful heirs, found himſelf obliged to ſatisfy the chief of the nobility by beſtowing on them the moſt extenſive governments and juriſdictions. Accordingly he created Thurkill duke of Eaſt-Anglia, Yric duke of Northumberland, and Edric duke of Mercia, reſerving only to himſelf the adminiſtration of Weſſex. But at the ſame time he was well convinced, that thoſe who had been falſe to their natural and lawful ſovereign, would, in all probability, prove equally ſo to a foreigner, who had aſcended the throne by force; and therefore, like a wiſe builder, he intended to deſtroy the ſcaffolding, as ſoon as the edifice was finiſhed. Edric ſeems to have been the firſt victim he had determined to ſacrifice to his ſecurity, and the traitor himſelf ſoon furniſhed him with an opportunity of putting his deſign in execution. Edric, thinking his ſervices were not repaid in a manner ſuitable to their importance, had the raſhneſs to upbraid him publicly with want of gratitude, telling him, "that "he had betrayed Ethelred, and put a period to "the life of Edmund for his ſake; while the re"turns he had made him for ſuch important ſer"vices, were mean and inconſiderable." Enraged at this reproach, Canute, turning to the traitor, replied, "Villain! thou ſhalt be judged by thine own "confeſſion; and ſince thou haſt the impudence to "confeſs thyſelf a traitor to both thy former kings, "thou ſhalt ſuffer as a traitor." Without giving him time to anſwer, the king ordered him to be beheaded, and his body to be thrown into the Thames.

Having thus deſtroyed the traitor Edric, he expelled Thurkill and Yric from their governments, and baniſhed them the kingdom. Nor did he ſtop here: he put to death many of the Engliſh nobility, on whoſe fidelity he could not rely, and whom he hated on account of their infidelity to their native prince; giving their eſtates to his Daniſh commanders, who were his creatures, and firmly attached to his intereſt.

But Canute found other difficulties to ſtruggle with at the beginning of his reign. It was neceſſary for him to reward his Daniſh followers; and he had no other method of doing this, than by laying a tax on his new ſubjects, already exhauſted by the ravages of the enemy. He exacted from them at one time, no leſs than ſeventy-two thouſand pounds; beſides eleven thouſand pounds, which he levied from the city of London. He was probably willing, from political motives, to mulct ſeverely that city, on account of its affectionate adherence to Edmund, and its reſiſting, during the late reign, the Daniſh power in two obſtinate ſieges. Theſe rigours were, however, imputed to neceſſity; and Canute, like a wiſe prince, was determined, that the Engliſh people, now deprived of their dangerous leaders, ſhould be reconciled to the Daniſh yoke, by the juſtice and equality of his adminiſtration. Accordingly, he ſent back to Denmark as many of his followers as he could ſafely ſpare: he reſtored the Saxon cuſtoms in a general aſſembly of the ſtates of the kingdom: he made no diſtinction between Danes and Engliſh in the diſtribution of juſtice: and he took care, by a ſtrict execution of the laws, to protect the lives and properties of all his people. The Danes were gradually incorporated with his new ſubjects; and both were glad to breathe a little from thoſe multiplied calamities, from which the one no leſs than the other, had, during their fierce conteſt for power, experienced ſuch fatal conſequences.

A. D. 1019. Canute being now ſecure from any inſurrections at home, and invaſions from abroad, ventured to viſit his own country in order to put an end to the war that had for ſome time ſince broke out between the Danes and Vandals. In this expedition he took with him a body of Engliſh forces, commanded by earl Godwin, and ſuch of the nobility as he thought might cauſe diſturbances in the kingdom, during his abſence. Canute's preſence, indeed was become abſolutely neceſſary in Denmark, the Vandals having penetrated very far into the country. He marched immediately on his landing againſt the enemy, in order to give them battle; but it being dark before he reached the intended ſpot, he encamped his forces, deſigning to attack them at break of day. During the night earl Godwin, at the head of the Engliſh troops, ſtole out of the camp; and having ſurprized the enemy, charged them with ſuch fury, that they were put to flight. In the morning, Canute, ſeeing the Engliſh camp entirely abandoned, imagined that theſe diſaffected troops had deſerted to the enemy; and was agreeably ſurprized to find that they were that moment engaged in purſuing the defeated Vandals. Pleaſed at once with the ſucceſs and the manner of obtaining it, Canute beſtowed his daughter in marriage upon Godwin, and ever after treated him with the utmoſt confidence and regard.

A. D. 1020. Canute ſtayed no longer in Denmark than was neceſſary to finiſh the war, and on his return to England, ſummoned a general council of the kingdom at Cirenceſter, in which aſſembly Ethelwald, an Engliſh duke, was outlawed, and Eric, duke of Northumberland, baniſhed the kingdom. Theſe politic meaſures rendered Canute very popular, and greatly recommended him to the eſteem of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1021. The following year he held another general council at Wincheſter, when ſeveral abuſes were reformed, and ſome good laws for the ſafety of the people enacted. By actions of this kind he gained the favour of his people, who had now loſt all remembrance of his former cruelties.

A. D. 1025. But while he was thus employed in rendering himſelf popular, he was called abroad to defend his dominions againſt the Swedes, who had attacked them both by land and ſea. Alarmed at this attempt, he ſailed for Denmark, and engaged Ulf and Eglaff, the two Swediſh generals; but being defeated in a pitched battle, he was obliged to return the ſame year to England.

A. D. 1028. He was, however, more ſucceſsful in a ſecond voyage, when he attacked Norway, and expelled the juſt but unwarlike Olaus from his kingdom, of which he retained poſſeſſion till the death of that prince.

Having now reached the ſummit of his ambition, and being at leiſure to reflect on the precarious ſtate of human life and grandeur, he began to caſt his eyes towards that future exiſtence, which the mind, when ſatiated by proſperity, or diſguſted with adverſity, ſo naturally makes the object of its attention. But unfortunately, the ſpirit which prevailed in that age, gave a wrong turn to his devotion; for inſtead of making ſome atonement to thoſe whom he had injured by his former acts of violence, he employed himſelf entirely in ſuch exerciſes of piety as were by the monks repreſented as the moſt meritorious. He built churches, he endowed monaſteries, he enriched the eccleſiaſtics, and he beſtowed revenues for the ſupport of chauntries at Aſhdown, and other places, where he appointed prayers to be ſaid for the ſouls of thoſe who had there fallen in battle againſt him. He alſo granted a charter to the monaſtery of St. Edmundſbury, confirming all its revenues and privileges. He even undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, an action ſufficient of itſelf to eſtabliſh an opinion of his piety beyond the poſſibility of a doubt.

Canute was not, however, ſo wholly abſorbed in acts of piety while he continued at Rome, as to neglect the intereſts of his ſubjects. He obtained from the pope ſeveral privileges for the Engliſh ſchool erected in that city; and procured from Rodolph, king of France and other princes through whoſe dominions he paſſed, an exemption from all tolls and duties, in favour of the Engliſh merchants and pilgrims.

It is no wonder that a prince poſſeſſed of ſuch power and riches, as Canute, ſhould meet with adulation from his courtiers; a tribute liberally paid even to the meaneſt and weakeſt of princes. Some of theſe flatterers, as they were one day ſurrounding his throne, broke out in admiration of his grandeur, and even declared that they thought nothing was impoſſible to him. Canute, who was then at Southampton, inſtead of anſwering them, ordered his chair of ſtate to be placed on the ſea ſhore while the ſea was riſing, and as the waters approached, he addreſſed the ſea in the following manner. "Over "thee, O ſea, I have command; and the ſtrand on "which I ſit is mine. Diſobedience to me never "goes unpuniſhed; therefore, upon thy peril, ad"vance no further, nor preſume to wet the feet of "thy ſovereign lord." But the waves, deaf to the royal voice, rolled on towards him, and began to waſh him with their billows; when turning to his courtiers, he remarked to them, that every creature in the univerſe was feeble and impotent, and that power reſided in one Being alone, in whoſe hands were all the elements of nature, who could ſay to the ocean, "Thus far ſhalt thou go and no farther;" and who could level with his nod the moſt towering piles of human pride and ambition. Then riſing from his ſeat he returned to his palace, and from that moment would never wear his crown, but ordered it to be placed on the head of the crucifix in the cathedral church of Wincheſter.

A. D. 1031. England had hitherto enjoyed a profound peace; but Canute now thought himſelf obliged, in vindication of his own honour, to undertake an expedition againſt Malcolm, king of Scotland. During the reign of Ethelred, there had been impoſed a tax of a ſhilling on every hyde of land in England, commonly called Danegelt; becauſe the revenue had been employed either in purchaſing a peace with the Danes, or in making preparations againſt the inroads of that hoſtile nation. Ethelred had required that the ſame tax ſhould be paid by the lands of Cumberland, which were held by the Scots; but Malcolm, a warlike prince, told him, that as he was always able to repulſe the Danes by his own power, he would neither ſubmit to purchaſe a peace with his enemies, nor pay others for reſiſting them. Ethelred, offended at this reply, which contained a ſecret reproach of his own conduct, undertook an expedition againſt Cumberland; and though he committed ravages upon the borders, he could never prevail upon Malcolm to pay the tax. Canute, after his acceſſion, ſummoned the Scottiſh king to acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal for Cumberland to the crown of England; but Malcolm refuſed compliance, on pretence that he owed theſe ſubmiſſions only to thoſe princes, who, by the right of blood, inherited that kingdom. The Dane was not of a temper to bear this inſult; and the king of Scotland ſoon found, that the ſceptre was in very different hands from thoſe of the feeble and irreſolute Ethelred. Accordingly, on Canute's appearing on his frontiers at the head of a formidable army, Malcolm agreed that his grandſon and heir, Duncan, whom he put in poſſeſſion of Cumberland, ſhould make the ſubmiſſion required, and that the heirs of Scotland ſhould always acknowledge themſelves vaſſals of England for that province.

After his return from this expedition, Canute again applied himſelf to ſuch acts of piety as were conducive to the advantage of his ſubjects, and the eſtabliſhment of his character.

A. D. 1035. In this manner he ſpent the remainder of his life amidſt the greateſt tranquillity. He paid the debt of nature at Shaftſbury, and was buried in the cathedral of Wincheſter.

With Canute died the glory of the Danes in England; with his death the fatal torch that had lighted up ſo many woes to his country, began to burn with leſs baleful luſtre. Canute was nurſed in blood, trained to injuſtice, and grew up with barbarity; yet he went to the grave with the character of the mildeſt virtue. To attribute this to any ſuperior quality of his nature, which refined as it run, and worked itſelf clear of its foul ſtains, is perhaps going too far. Intereſt ſeems to have been his governing principle, and his good ſenſe ſoon made him perceive, that though by his military and political accom-

accompliſhments, he had ſeized the throne of England, yet to retain it, required the exerciſe of the moſt amiable virtues. There was no other method of keeping quiet the Engliſh ſpirit. A little experience convinced him, that this method was ſucceſsful; and therefore he obtained, every day, ſome new acquiſition in the hearts of his ſubjects, by a freſh diſplay of his juſtice, his moderation, and his intention to govern by the laws of this country.

Canute left two ſons by his firſt wife Alfwen, daughter of Elf helm, earl of Northampton, who were named Swein and Harold; and by Emma, who ſurvived him, a ſon named Hardicanute, and a daughter called Gunhilda. Swein was placed by his father on the throne of Norway. Harold was afterwards king of England. Hardicanute aſcended the throne of Denmark; and Gunhilda was married to the emperor Henry III. She was a lady of remarkable beauty, and conſequently admired by the whole imperial court. The emperor, who was of a jealous diſpoſition, accuſed her of adultery, and a duel, the uſual method of trial in theſe times enſued. The accuſer, being a perſon of gigantic figure, and extraordinary ſtrength, no perſon was bold enough to undertake the vindication of Gunhilda's innocence, till her page, who was but a ſtrippling in compariſon of his antagoniſt, appeared in the liſts, and offered to engage her accuſer. During the combat, the youth having the good fortune, at one blow, to cut the ſinnews of both the legs of his antagoniſt, followed his advantage with ſo much vigour, that he fell to the ground; on which the ſtrippling cut off his head, and preſented it to his lady. Gunhilda's honour being thus vindicated, by the valour of her Engliſh page, ſhe thought it a proper time to ſhew her reſentment for the affront received from the credulity of her huſband. Accordingly ſhe renounced his bed, and notwithſtanding all his ſolicitations to the contrary, took the veil at Bruges, in Flanders.

HAROLD I. SURNAMED HAREFOOT.

A. D. 1036. EMMA, the wife of Canute, had, during her late abode in England, ſufficiently obſerved the temper and diſpoſition of the people, to perceive, that the tranquillity of Canute's reign, was owing to his perſonal virtues; and that it would be difficult, if not impracticable, for any prince except thoſe of the Cerdic race, to hold the Engliſh ſceptre for any time, with any degree of ſafety, unleſs he was poſſeſſed of ſimilar qualities. This conviction ſeems to have been the true reaſon, why Emma conſented to the alteration of the marriage ſettlement; and the placing her ſon Hardicanute upon the throne of Denmark, from a perſuaſion, that the worthleſs qualities of Harold would render him ſo odious to the Engliſh, that ſhe ſhould always find a ſufficient ſupport to make her influence of a deciſive weight.

On the death of Canute, the Engliſh prelates and nobility met at Oxford, for the election of a ſovereign, when there appeared no leſs than three parties in the council; one for Hardicanute, a ſecond for Harold, as being the elder brother, and a third for the ſons of Ethelred at that time in Normandy.

The Danes, ſettled in London, together with the Mercians, and Northumbrians, declared for Harold; but Algenoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury, earl Godwin, and the reſt of the Engliſh, ſtrenuouſly eſpouſed the intereſt of Hardicanute, as being the ſon of Emma, and, conſequently, entitled to the crown, by the marriage articles made with that princeſs. The conteſt was carried on with ſo much animoſity by the two parties, that the nation was on the verge of being plunged into a civil war, when the diſpute was at laſt ſettled, in an amicable manner, by dividing the kingdom. The country north of the Thames, was allotted to Harold, and the reſt of England to Hardicanute, then in Denmark. It was alſo agreed, that Emma ſhould govern her ſon's part of the kingdom, under the direction of earl Godwin, and ſhould have Wincheſter aſſigned her as the place of her reſidence.

In the mean time, Robert duke of Normandy died, in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and being ſucceeded by a ſon, yet a minor, the two Engliſh princes, Alfred and Edward, who found no longer any countenance in that country, gladly embraced the opportunity of paying a viſit, with a numerous retinue, to their mother Emma, who ſeemed to be placed in a ſtate of ſo much power and ſplendor at Wincheſter. But before their arrival, the face of affairs was changed. Harold had found means to ſeize his fathers treaſures at Wincheſter, tho' they properly belonged to Emma. With this advantage, he ſoon gained Godwin over to his intereſt, by promiſing to marry his daughter, and to declare her children heirs to the crown.

A. D. 1037. Before this ſecret treaty was known, the two princes arrived, and Alfred accepted a very preſſing invitation to London, ſent by Harold, with many profeſſions of friendſhip,. But on his arrival at Guilford, he was attacked by the vaſſals of Godwin, who murdered the greater part of his train. The prince himſelf was taken priſoner and after his eyes were put out, he was conducted to the monaſtery of Ely, where he ſoon after died in the greateſt miſery. Edward and Emma, to avoid the ſame fate, fled beyond the ſeas; the former into Normandy, and the latter into Flanders, where ſhe was entertained with great hoſpitality by earl Baldwin, who aſſigned her Bruges for her reſidence. While Harold, triumphing in his bloody policy, took poſſeſſion, without reſiſtance, of all the dominions aſſigned to his brother.

A. D. 1038. Harold having thus acquired the government of the kingdom, laid a tax on the people for maintaining a naval force, to ſecure the coaſts from invaſions. The Engliſh conſidered this tribute as a very heavy burden, becauſe it was deſigned to guard them from the attempts of Edward, whoſe intereſt they favoured.

A. D. 1039 This was the laſt tranſaction worthy recording, that happened during the reign of Harold, who now paid the debt of nature, on the fourteenth of April, after a reigh of three years, without doing

any

any thing virtuous, popular, or humane. He obtained the appellation of Harefoot, from his great agility in running and walking; but we have no account of any bodily accompliſhments.

HARDICANUTE.

A. D. 1039. THIS prince was at Bruges, on a viſit to his mother, when Harold died, on which he ſailed immediately to London, where he was received in triumph, and placed, without oppoſition, on the Engliſh throne.

But however ſanguine the Engliſh were, in their expectations of Hardicanute's adminiſtration; the firſt act of his government convinced them, that all their hopes were founded on a miſtake. He was ſo enraged at Harold, for depriving him of his ſhare of the kingdom, and for murdering his brother Alfred, that, from an impotent deſire of revenge againſt the dead, he ordered his body to be dug up, and thrown into the Thames. This ſavage command was accordingly performed, but the body being ſoon after taken up by ſome fiſhermen, it was conveyed to London, and privately interred in St. Clement's church-yard, at that time a place appropriated to the burial of the Danes. Godwin, equally ſervile and inſolent, ſubmitted to be his inſtrument in this unnatural and brutal action.

Perhaps that nobleman, who was univerſally conſidered as an accomplice in Alfred's death, thought, by diſplaying his rage againſt Harold's memory, he ſhould be able to juſtify himſelf from having any ſhare in his councils. But prince Edward being invited into England by the king, his half brother, entered immediately an accuſation againſt Godwin, for the murder of Alfred, and demanded juſtice upon him for that act of barbarity. Godwin, to appeaſe the anger of Hardicanute, had recourſe to the arts of corruption. He made him a magnificent preſent of a galley, having a gilded ſtern, and furniſhed with all the conveniencies, both for war and pleaſure. This galley was manned with eight choice ſoldiers, every one wearing on each arm, a golden bracelet of ſixteen ounces in weight. Their helmets, croſlets, and hilts of their ſwords, were all gilt. On their left ſhoulders hung Daniſh battle-axes, adorned with ſilver and gold; in their left hand they held a ſhield, and in their right a Saxon-lance. This preſent had ſo powerful an effect on the avarice of Hardicanute, that he forgot his reſentment, and on Godwin's ſwearing, that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge, allowed him to be acquitted.

A. D. 1040. Notwithſtanding Hardicanute had been called to the throne by the unanimous voice of the Engliſh, yet he ſhewed a ſcandalous partiality to the Danes ſettled in this kingdom. We are told by the hiſtorian of thoſe times, that the Daniſh inſolence was ſo great, that if at any time a Dane and an Engliſhman met on a bridge, the latter was obliged to ſtop, and make a low bow, as the other paſſed by him. This inſolence was aggravated by additional impoſts, which Hardicanute was ever craving to ſupply his luxuries, and his degenerated nobility were ready to grant, in order to ſcreen their own offences.

Accordingly, he raiſed no leſs than forty thouſand ſeventy-ſeven pounds in one year, part of which was to pay the fleet that brought him over from Denmark. This awakened the Engliſh: a general murmur ran thro' the whole country, and Hardicanute was obliged to ſend out his houſhold troops to collect the revenue. The city and country of Worceſter took up arms in defence of their liberties, and killed two of the collectors. Enraged at this oppoſition, Hardicanute ordered Godwin, duke of Weſſex, Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, to plunder and burn the city, lay waſte their country, and put all the men to death. The inhabitants of Worceſter, being informed of this cruel reſolution, and, at the ſame time, unable to defend their city againſt the royal forces, retired to an iſland in the Severn, where they fortified themſelves, and determined to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. In the mean time, the three generals punctually obeyed their orders; they ravaged the country, and laid the city of Worceſter in aſhes. But when they attacked the intrenchments of the Worceſter men, they met with ſo warm a reception, that after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to diſloge them, the generals were obliged to grant an honourable capitulation to the beſieged, who returned ſoon after to their city, which they rebuilt, and reſtored to double luſtre.

A. D. 1041. Hardicanute did not long ſurvive this tranſaction; he died ſuddenly at the wedding of a Daniſh nobleman, which he had honoured with his preſence, and was buried at Wincheſter. His uſual habits of intemperance were ſo well known, that notwithſtanding his robuſt conſtitution, his ſudden death gave as little ſurpriſe, as it did ſorrow, to his ſubjects, who beheld his fate with frigid indifference, and ſuffered his aſhes to be depoſited with thoſe of his father, without paying them the common tribute of a tear.

EDWARD

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

Queen Emma's Chastity

TRIED by ORDEAL FIRE.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

A. D. 1041. THE ſituation of Edward, at the time of Hardicanute's death, was particularly delicate. Godwin, who was notoriouſly known to have been the betrayer of his family, and the murderer of his brother, was at the head of the Engliſh party: and the Danes being then held in univerſal deteſtation, the crown became entirely at his diſpoſal. Godwin was perſuaded, that the offence he had given Edward, with regard to the murder of his brother, could never be pardoned, and therefore was unwilling to place that prince on the throne. But their common friends interpoſed, and repreſenting the neceſſity of their good correſpondence, prevailed on them both to lay aſide all jealouſy and rancour, and concur in reſtoring liberty to their native country. Godwin promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure the crown for Edward, provided he would promiſe to marry his daughter, the beautiful Editha. This was readily agreed to, and Godwin, fortified with this alliance, ſummoned a general council of the nation, and prepared every meaſure neceſſary for ſecuring the ſucceſſion to Edward.

Godwin's great addreſs lay in the management of popular aſſemblies: he poſſeſſed eloquence, which rendered him maſter of every man's paſſions that heard him; and happy had it been for England, had he alſo been maſter of his own. As ſoon as the ſtates of the kingdom were aſſembled, Godwin, ſenſible that diverſity of claims and intereſts, might prove fatal to his ambition, determined to act with vigour, and conduct his plan in ſuch a manner, as he knew, from the ſtate of the nation, could not fail of ſucceſs. Accordingly he introduced prince Edward privately into the aſſembly, with his hood drawn over his face; and while the whole council waited with the greateſt expectation, who ſhould begin this important debate, Godwin took prince Edward by the hand, raiſed him from his ſeat, and uncovering his face, "Behold," ſaid he, "your king! This "is prince Edward, the ſon of King Ethelred and "queen Emma, and to him I pay my allegiance." This ceremony, which participated both of election and recognition, ſtruck the aſſembly; but all diſcontent and debate was ſoon ſtifled by the example of Godwin and his friends, and Edward was crowned king by Eadſige, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the higheſt demonſtrations of duty and affection, from innumerable crouds of people.

The triumph of the Engliſh on this ſignal and deciſive advantage was at firſt attended with ſome inſult and violence againſt the Danes; but the new king, by the mildneſs of his character, ſoon reconciled the latter to his adminiſtration, and the diſtinction between the two nations gradually diſappeared. They were interſperſed with the Engliſh in moſt of the provinces; they ſpoke nearly by the ſame language; they differed little in their manners and laws; the prevalence of public diſſentions in Denmark, prevented for a long time, any powerful invaſion from thence, which might awaken their animoſities; and as the Norman conqueſt, which enſued ſoon after, reduced both nations to equal ſubjection, there is no farther mention in our hiſtories, of any difference between them. The joy, however, of their preſent deliverance, made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the Engliſh, that they inſtituted an annual feſtival for celebrating that great event; and it was long after obſerved in ſeveral counties.

A. D. 1042. The firſt public act of Edward after his coronation, was his ſending ſurveyors to take an account of all the lands held by his mother from the crown. Theſe he ſeized into his own hands; together with all her money, jewels and plate. But even this treatment of Emma was tender, when compared to what ſhe afterwards ſuffered; for having reduced her revenue to a penſion barely ſufficient to procure the neceſſaries of life, a charge of incontinency with Alwin, biſhop of Wincheſter, was exhibited againſt her. Robert, the Norman, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, was the chief manager of this charge, to which two other infamous articles were affixed; that of conſenting to the death of Alfred, the king's brother; and that of obſtructing the acceſſion of Edward to the throne. But both the latter charges were afterwards dropped, and the proſecution reduced to the ſingle article of incontinency with the biſhop.

As this crime was cognizable only by the clergy, a ſynod was ſummoned, the biſhop in the mean time being committed to priſon, and Emma ſent to the abbey of Warewell. When the ſynod met, the members ſoon perceived, that the whole was a piece of artful malice formed between the king and the Norman; but unwilling to expoſe either, they laboured to make up the affair between both parties. The pragmatical churchman, however, ſtifly oppoſed every attempt of this kind; but being unable to prove his charge, took the advantage at that time given by the law, and demanded that the queen ſhould undergo the trial of the ordeal. The queen readily accepted of this purgation: preparations were made, and the day of trial being arrived, ſhe was brought forth in the preſence of the king, the prelates, and the whole court; and to the amazement of many, ſhe paſſed unhurt over nine ploughſhares of red hot iron, walking blindfold and barefooted, dreſſed like an ordinary perſon.

Edward upon ſeeing this wonderful deliverance of his mother, ran up and embraced her, with tears of repenting affection, aſked pardon for his credulity; but was obliged to purchaſe it at the expence of doing penance.

A. D. 1043. While Edward was thus employed in revenging pretended injuries, he was alarmed with an account that Magnus, king of Norway, was making great preparations for invading his dominions. The alacrity and care of Godwin, however, ſoon removed his fears; for the kingdom was immediately put into a poſture of defence, and the king went in perſon on board a fleet of five and thirty ſail at Sandwich, intending to give the Nor-

wegian monarch battle, and prevent his landing. But Swein, king of Denmark, attacking Norway about the ſame time, Magnus was obliged to lay aſide his deſign.

This alarming enterprize being rendered abortive, Edward ſolemnized his marriage with Editha, Godwin's daughter, which had, for ſome reaſons now unknown, been deferred; but this alliance became the ſource of enmity. Edward's hatred of the father, was transferred to that princeſs; and Editha, though poſſeſſed of many amiable accompliſhments, could never acquire the confidence and affection of her huſband. It is even pretended, that during the whole courſe of her life, he abſtained from all matrimonial commerce with her; and ſuch was the abſurd admiration paid to an inviolable chaſtity, during thoſe ages, that his conduct in this particular is highly celebrated by the monkiſh hiſtorians, and greatly contributed to his acquiring the title of ſaint and confeſſor.

A. D. 1045. Godwin, who managed all the affairs of the nation, had now acquired ſuch remarkable intereſt, that the king himſelf began to be alarmed at his power. Beſides being duke or earl of Weſſex, he had annexed to his government the counties of Kent and Suſſex. His eldeſt ſon Swein, poſſeſſed the ſame authority in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Glouceſter, and Hereford; and Harold, his ſecond ſon, was duke of Eaſt-Anglia, augmented by the government of Eſſex. At the ſame time the exorbitant authority of his family was ſupported by immenſe poſſeſſions and powerful alliances; and the abilities as well as the ambition of Godwin himſelf contributed to render it ſtill more dangerous. Swein, perhaps, from a perſuaſion that he might attempt any thing with impunity, deflowered the abbeſs of Leominſter in Herefordſhire. This crime was ſo great in the eyes of Edward and his clergy, that though Swein offered to expiate his offence by marriage, all his father's intereſt could not procure him a pardon, and he was obliged to retire to Bruges in Flanders. After waiting there for ſome time, expecting the affair would be amicably concluded, he found that nothing of that kind was to be expected. He therefore retired to Denmark, where he fitted out a ſmall ſquadron of eight ſhips, with which he infeſted the coaſts of England.

A. D. 1046. In the mean time two Daniſh ſoldiers of fortune, Lothen and Yrling, fitted out a fleet of twenty-five ſail, with which they invaded England. They landed firſt at Sandwich, where they amaſſed a conſiderable booty, and conveyed it to their ſhips. Hence they ſailed round Thanet; but on attempting to land a ſecond time in Kent, they were vigorouſly repulſed by the inhabitants. After this check they directed their courſe towards Eſſex, where they met with better ſucceſs; and carried off a large booty, which they diſpoſed of in Flanders.

During theſe tranſactions, Magnus, king of Norway, invaded Denmark, and drove Swein from his throne. The Dane applied for aſſiſtance to Edward, who, by the advice of Godwin, intended to have aſſiſted him with a fleet of fifty ſail; but this meaſure being oppoſed by Leofric, and Siward, the deſign was rendered abortive, tho' Swein, thus left to himſelf, ſoon after recovered his kingdom by the death of Magnus.

A. D. 1047. The Daniſh pirates, aſſiſted by the ſquadron of Swein, the ſon of Godwin, proved extremely troubleſome to England, and gave Godwin an opportunity of preſſing the king, in conjunction with Aldred, biſhop of Worceſter, to grant his ſon a free pardon. The circumſtances of the kingdom, now deſtitute of a ſufficient marine to curb the incurſions of the united piratical fleet, induced the king to comply, and Swein was accordingly permitted to return to England, where he was reſtored to all his poſts and poſſeſſions. While the Daniſh free-booters, deprived of Swein's aſſiſtance, found it impracticable to continue their depredations.

The Engliſh now flattered themſelves, that they were wholly delivered from the dominion of foreigners; but they ſoon found, that the evil was not yet entirely removed. The king had been educated in Normandy, and had contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for their manners, and the favours beſtowed upon theſe foreigners, ſoon filled the Engliſh court with Normans. The ſtudy of the French language became general among the people, and their cuſtoms and laws faſhionable in the kingdom. The courtiers affected to imitate that nation in their dreſs, equipage and entertainments: even the lawyers made uſe of a foreign language in their deeds and papers; but above all, the church felt the influence and dominion of theſe ſtrangers: Ulf and William, who had formerly been the king's chaplains, were created biſhops of Dorcheſter and London. Robert was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, and always enjoyed the favour of his maſter.

But a ſcene of civil commotions now opened, which ſhook the throne of Edward, and proved the occaſion of many calamities to England. Euſtace, count of Bologne, who had married Goda, the king's ſiſter, having paid a viſit to Edward, paſſed by Dover in his return; and one of his retinue being refuſed acceſs to a lodging which had been aſſigned him, attempted to make his way by force, and wounded the maſter of the houſe in the conteſt. This inſult exaſperated the townſmen ſo highly, that they put the ſtranger to death. A tumult now enſued, in which near twenty perſons on each ſide were killed, and Euſtace himſelf, being overpowered with numbers, was obliged to have recourſe to flight, in order to ſave himſelf from the fury of the populace. The count haſtened to court, where he repreſented the affront he had received in the moſt partial manner, aggravating the inſolence of the townſmen, but concealing the inſolent behaviour of his own attendants. The king highly incenſed by the partial repreſentation of Euſtace, ordered Godwin, in whoſe government the inſult had been committed, to march with a body of troops againſt the offenders, and to lay their country waſte with fire and ſword. But Godwin, who deſired rather to encourage than repreſs the popular diſcontent againſt foreigners, refuſed obedience, and endeavoured to throw the whole blame upon the count and his retinue. He remonſtrated, that ſuch a method of proceeding would be at once highly injurous both to the king and his people. At the ſame time he obſerved, that it would be agreeable to juſtice, to cite the governors of the caſtle, who were repreſented as leading men in the riot, to make their appearance before the king's council, that they might have an opportunity of clearing themſelves, if wrongfully accuſed, or,

if

if convicted, be obliged to make ſatisfaction with their lives and eſtates. He concluded with obſerving, that as it would be unjuſt, either to condemn them unheard, or puniſh them if innocent, ſo it would be derogatory to the honour of the nation, to let the guilty eſcape.

Edward, who was a ſtranger to language like this, was touched in the moſt ſenſible point. He ſaw the neceſſity of exerting his royal authority, and threatened Godwin, if he perſiſted in his diſobedience, to make him feel the utmoſt effects of his reſentment.

But Godwin, who was equally brave in his actions and ſpeeches, refuſed to obey the royal command, chuſing rather to ſubject himſelf to danger, than deprive the innocent of their lives, or ſacrifice the liberty of his countrymen, to the pert inſolence of foreigners. He indeed ſoon perceived, that a rupture was unavoidable, and, pleaſed to embark in a cauſe, where he was likely to be ſupported by the Engliſh, prepared for his own defence; or, rather, for an attack upon Edward. Accordingly, under pretence of repreſſing ſome diſorders on the frontiers of Wales, he ſecretly aſſembled a very powerful army, and was approaching the king, who reſided at Glouceſter, without any military force. The preparations of Godwin now alarmed Edward, who applied to Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, for protection. Theſe noblemen, already jealous of Godwin's authority, prepared immediately to defend the king in this extremity. They haſtened to him with ſuch followers as they could aſſemble at ſo ſhort a notice; and, finding the danger ſtill greater than they apprehended, iſſued orders for muſtering all the forces within their governments, and for marching them with all the expedition poſſible, to the defence of the king's perſon and authority.

Theſe orders were exactly obeyed, and while the king protracted the negotiation of Godwin, forces poured in from all quarters, to defend him from the preſent danger. The ſword of civil diſcord was now ready to ſheath itſelf in the bowels of England; but was prevented by the interpoſition of Siward and Leofric, who prevailed upon Edward to decline coming to extremities, and to refer the deciſion of the affair to a general council of the nation.

Edward, who was no friend to martial enterprizes, readily liſtened to an expedient, which coincided with his natural diſpoſition; accordingly he marched with his army to London, and immediately ſummoned a council of the kingdom, to judge of the rebellion of Godwin and his ſons. In this aſſembly, Swein was declared an outlaw, as having been guilty of many overt-acts of rebellion, and Godwin and Harold cited to appear, and give an account of their conduct. The two accuſed noblemen declared they were ready to appear, provided they might receive hoſtages for their ſafety. This requeſt was refuſed in a peremptory manner, and they were ordered to quit the kingdom within five days. This order for Godwin's exile, was no ſooner diffuſed among his party, than his army deſerted, and he found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of complying with his ſentence. Accordingly he ſhipped his treaſure on board a ſmall ſquadron at Boſham, in Suſſex, and ſailed in company with his ſon Swein, to Flanders, where he was kindly received by Baldwin, whoſe daughter was married to Toſti, one of Godwin's ſon's; while Harold and Leofwin retired to Ireland, and there found protection.

Thus far Edward's reſentment was proper and conſtitutional; but his behaviour to his wife, when her father and brothers had left the kingdom, ſufficiently proves, that a regard to juſtice was not the ſole motive of his conduct. Deſtitute of friends, and abandoned to grief, for the diſtreſſes of her family; it is natural to think, the amiable Editha, would have found all her loſſes compenſated in the endearments of her huſband. But Edward, tho' canonized for a ſaint, was a ſtranger to the tender feelings of humanity; for, inſtead of ſoothing her pains, and mitigating her ſorrows, ſtripped her of every thing valuable, and confined her, together with Emma, his mother, in the monaſtery of Warewell. At the ſame time, that he might deprive Godwin and his family of all hopes of returning to their native country, and to attach a ſtrong party to himſelf, Edward enriched Odda with the ſpoils of Swein's govenments, and conferred thoſe of Harold on Alfnar, the ſon of Leofric.

A. D. 1050. But the authority of Godwin was fixed on too firm a baſis, to be eaſily deſtroyed; and he was too ſtrongly ſupported by alliances, both abroad and at home, not to occaſion further diſturbances, and make new efforts for his re eſtabliſhment. Accordingly, Godwin employed himſelf in purchaſing ſhips, and manning them with his own followers, and the free-booters of all nations, in order to be able to aſſert the rights and privileges of an Engliſhman.

In the mean time Edward laboured to attain the confidence of his ſubjects, in order to fruſtrate every attempt that might be made in favour of the Godwin family. His firſt act was very acceptable to the nation, and procured him great popularity. The Engliſh had long groaned under a tax, known by the name of Danegelt, which, however neceſſary at firſt, was continued by ſucceeding adminiſtrations, even after the greater part of the Danes were expelled from the iſland, and the reſt incorporated with the people. This tax, Edward well knew, occaſioned great murmurings, and therefore he now aboliſhed it. Nor was he content with this act of royal kindneſs: he went ſtill further, and diſtributed all the ſurplus remaining in his treaſury, among the original proprietors.

A. D. 1051. While Edward was thus employed in gaining the affections of his people, he received a viſit from William duke of Normandy, who came into England for that purpoſe, attended with a grand retinue. The civilities which Edward had received during his exile in the duke's dominions, were now returned with the greateſt marks of gratitude, and the duke, having received ſeveral noble preſents, returned highly ſatisfied to Normandy.

This prince was a natural ſon of Robert, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, a tanner's daughter in Farlaiſe, and was early eſtabliſhed in that grandeur, from which his birth ſeemed to ſet him at ſo great a diſtance. We have already obſerved, that Robert died in a pilgrimage to the Holy-land; but before he ſet out on that religious expedition, he ſettled the ſucceſſion on William, then a child, whoſe minority was attended with all thoſe inconveniences, which were unavoidable in his ſituation. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of ſovereign authority, broke out into perſonal animoſities againſt each

each other, and made the whole country a ſcene of war and devaſtation. At the ſame time, Henry the firſt, king of France, thought this a favourable opportunity of reducing the power of a vaſſal, who had at firſt acquired his ſettlement by violence, and had long appeared formidable to his ſovereign. The regency eſtabliſhed by Robert, found great difficulties in ſupporting the government againſt theſe complicated dangers, and the young prince, when he came of age, found himſelf reduced to a very low condition. But the great qualities, which he ſoon diſplayed, both in the field and cabinet, gave encouragement to his friends, and ſtruck terror into his enemies. He oppoſed himſelf on all ſides againſt his rebellious ſubjects and foreign invaders; and, by his valour and conduct, prevailed in every action. He obliged the French king to grant him peace on reaſonable terms, and reduced his turbulent barons to pay ſubmiſſion to his authority, and to ſuſpend their mutual animoſities. Tranquillity being thus eſtabliſhed in his dominions, he came over to England on the viſit already mentioned; a viſit which afterwards proved fatal to the kingdom, as William aſſerted, that Edward then appointed him heir to his crown; and on which he founded his claim, that overthrew the Engliſh conſtitution.

A. D. 1052. Not long after William's return to Normandy, Emma, the king's mother, died of grief, occaſioned by the rigour with which Edward had treated her and his wife Editha. The character of this princeſs has been differently repreſented by different writers; but there is no poſitive fact, which can be fixed on her memory, to prove that ſhe was either an unworthy queen, or a bad woman. Her affection for the Norman intereſt was natural; and if ſhe had a greater eſteem for the memory of Canute, than for that of Ethelred, her partiality will be readily excuſed, when the merits of the two princes are impartially weighed in the balance of reaſon.

During theſe tranſactions, Godwin and his ſons were not idle. They had now equipped a formidable fleet, and were determined to wipe off the ſtain of their diſgrace by ſome blow, which muſt oblige the king to reſtore them to their honours and eſtates. Edward, apprized of their intentions, and dreading the conſequences of their landing in England, ordered a fleet to aſſemble at Sandwich, under the command of Offe and Odda, in order to prevent them from making any deſcent on the coaſt. Godwin, ignorant of theſe diſpoſitions, ſailed with his ſquadron from Flanders, and came to an anchor, off Romney, in Kent; upon which the two admirals put to ſea to attack him. But Godwin, who received timely notice of their motions by his cruizers, retired to Pevenſey, in Suſſex, where his fleet lay in ſafety, while that of the king ſuffered greatly by a ſtorm. Godwin now found an opportunity of returning ſafe to Flanders, while his agents in England repreſented his miſeries and diſtreſſes in ſuch moving terms, as diſpoſed the inhabitants to an inſurrection in his favour. In the mean time, the eſcape of Godwin occaſioned a change of commanders in the fleet; but the Engliſh court, allured by the preſent ſecurity, and directed by feeble councils, allowed the ſeamen to leave their poſts, and the ſhips to be laid up in ſeveral harbours.

Godwin, who expected this event, kept his men in readineſs for action. He put to ſea immediately, and ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, where he was joined by Harold, with a ſquadron collected by that nobleman in Ireland. By this reinforcement, Godwin became maſter of the ſea, and after laying the Iſle of Wight under contribution, ſailed to the eaſtward along the coaſt, and ſeized all the ſhips riding in the harbours, and ſummoned all his followers in Kent and Suſſex, which had been ſo long under his government, to aſſiſt him in procuring juſtice to himſelf, his family, and his country, againſt the tyranny and uſurpations of foreigners.

Thus reinforced, he entered the Thames, and appearing before London, threw every thing into confuſion. Edward alone, ſtimulated by the Norman faction, ſeemed determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity; but the interpoſition of the Engliſh nobility, many of whom favoured Godwin's pretenſions, made the king liſten to terms of accommodation. At the ſame time, Godwin diſclaimed all intentions of offering violence to his ſovereign, and requeſted nothing more than to juſtify himſelf by a fair and open trial. This offer being conſidered in a meeting of the ſtates, a treaty was accordingly concluded, by which, provided Godwin proved himſelf innocent on his trial, he, his wife, and ſons, were to be reſtored to their reſpective ranks, power, and poſſeſſions; the queen-conſort re-inſtated in her former dignity, and all Edward's counſellors ordered to depart the kingdom. Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, knowing he had nothing to expect from Godwin's clemency, withdrew himſelf from England, in company with Ulf, and the reſt of the Norman party. But, in their way, they were guilty of ſeveral outrages, which greatly contributed to vindicate Godwin's clamours againſt their countrymen, and to wipe off all the aſperſions they had thrown on his character.

Soon after their departure, a general council of the nation was ſummoned, where Godwin and his ſons, after a full hearing, were acquitted of every crime laid to their charge, re-inſtated in all their honours and preferments, and reſtored to the king's favour. The queen was ſent for to court, and every thing which had been taken from her reſtored, Robert the archbiſhop, and the Normans who had fled with him, were declared outlaws, as being the chief incendaries of the late troubles, and Strigand promoted to the ſee of Canterbury.

Soon after the tranquillity of England was thus reſtored, Swein, one of Godwin's ſons, undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy-Land, as an atonement for his crimes; but he died on the road before he reached the city of Jeruſalem.

In the mean time, Godwin's power and popularity, received new acceſſions every day; and being a firm friend to the Engliſh, he made it his chief ſtudy to prevent a foreign intereſt from gaining the aſcendant to their prejudice. He well knew the king's partiality to the Normans, and therefore found means to expel every perſon of that country from Edward's court and preſence.

A. D. 1053. But Godwin did not long enjoy the fruits of his labours. He was ſtruck with an apoplexy as he ſat at table with the king, and died three days after. Thus fell the greateſt ſubject England ever ſaw, and the greateſt man the nation ever produced, had his virtues been equal to his abilities. But hurried away with the torrent of ambition, he became at once the ſcourge and protector of his country.

Godwin was ſucceeded in the government of Weſſex, Kent, and Eſſex, and in the office of ſteward of

of the houſhold, by his ſon Harold, who was obliged to reſign his own government of Eaſt-Anglia to Alfgar, the ſon of Leofric, duke of Mercia. Harold had the advantage of his father in the mildneſs of his temper, and the inſinuating ſweetneſs of his addreſs. Godwin was rough, ſimple, and imperious: Harold reſpectible and ſubmiſſive: the father forced the king into his meaſures; the ſon allured him: the roughneſs of the one bordered on tyranny; the politeneſs of the other concealed ambition under the cloak of obſequiouſneſs: the imperious temper of Godwin excited the king to reſiſtance; but the artful complaiſance of Harold rendered all ſuſpicion groundleſs, and all reſiſtance vain. In a word, Godwin, tho' he endeavoured to command the king, was obliged to obey him; but Harold, tho' he ſeemed to obey the king with the greateſt ſervility, in reality commanded him. At the ſame time, it muſt be obſerved, that the circumſtances of the times more effectually promoted the intereſt of Harold, than it would have been prudent for him to attempt with far greater abilities.

We have already obſerved, that Alfgar was inveſted with the government of Eaſt-Anglia, formerly poſſeſſed by Harold: but this policy of balancing oppoſite parties, required a more ſteady hand to manage, than that of Edward, and naturally produced faction and civil broils among the nobles, of ſuch great and independent authority, as we ſhall have reaſon to remark in the ſequel.

A. D. 1054. While England was enjoying the fruits of peace under ſo able a miniſter, Scotland was involved in all the calamities of a civil war. Duncan, king of the Scots, a prince more eminent for civil than for military virtues, may be compared to Veſpaſian, for the noble contempt he ſhewed to all informations of conſpiracies againſt his own perſon. He made anniverſary circuits round his kingdom, and reſtored to his people that order which the late wars with the barbarous Danes had, in a great meaſure, ſubverted. Such a character might have made his people happy together with their ſovereign; but Duncan had a baſe and undaunted traitor in his dominions, called Macbeth, who, watching his opportunity, when the king was upon a progreſs, privately murdered him. His great intereſt with the army, his reputation in military affairs, and the riches he had laviſhed in corrupt practices, ſoon procured him the means of ſeizing the government, which he held for ſeveral years. In the mean time Malcolm, the eldeſt, and Duncan, the ſecond ſon of the late king, left Scotland; the one retiring to his government in Cumberland, and thence to Edward's court, and the other into Ireland.

Duncan's want of caution, and his fatal cataſtrophe, made his ſon Malcolm run into the other extreme. Nor was his conduct, in this particular, deſtitute of reaſon. The uſurper had found means to gain the court of Rome over to his intereſts, and conſequently to fill that of Edward with ſpies; all of them watching to betray the exiled prince. Malcolm, however, who wanted neither ſenſe nor ſpirit, found means to guard againſt the tyrant's arts; and at the ſame time to form, even in Scotland, a ſtrong party in his favour. Macbeth now found himſelf obliged to lay aſide the gentle deportment he had affected ever ſince the commencement of his uſurpation: he ſaw the royal party ſtrong, numerous and ſecret, conſequently not to be attacked by legal evidence. He, therefore, with deteſtable policy, applied himſelf to the baſe arts of aſſaſſination: the dagger, or poiſon, took off thoſe who could not be brought to the ſcaffold or the gibbet; and the confiſcation of their eſtates, by ſwelling the tyrants treaſure, added to his ſecurity. Macduff, the Thane of Fife, greatly diſtinguiſhed by his profeſſions of loyalty, but ſtill more for his virtues, was now the principal object of the tyrant's fears: but the Thane eluded his jealouſy, by eſcaping into England. His flight, however, was ſo precipitate, that he was obliged to leave his lady and young family expoſed to the fury of Macbeth, who, with unmanly reſentment, put them all to the ſword, and proclaimed Macduff a traitor.

Malcolm was, however, on his guard, notwithſtanding the great merit and ſufferings of Macduff; nor did he treat him as his friend, till he found him, by various trials, worthy of his confidence. But this being proved, Malcolm opened to him his ſchemes, and they mutually agreed to apply themſelves inſtantly to the deliverance of their country. A foreign force was abſolutely neceſſary for this purpoſe; and none ſo near and natural as that of Siward, governor of Northumberland, and grandfather to Malcolm. Edward's conſent and countenance being obtained, a fleet was immediately fitted out, and the old earl ſet out upon his expedition, at the head of ten thouſand Engliſh forces, while Macduff, repairing into Scotland, raiſed in that kingdom all the royal party, who immediately joined the ſtandard of Malcolm.

In the mean time, the tyrant was not wanting to himſelf, tho' thus powerfully attacked by ſea and land, he made head againſt his enemies on both elements. Beſides the Scots, who were devoted to his intereſt, he was aſſiſted by the Normans, who, upon their expulſion from England, had found a generous protection in Scotland. With thoſe he oppoſed the van-guard of the Engliſh army, commanded by Siward's ſon, a youth of the greateſt hopes; but the conteſt proved fatal to him: for he fell, according to ſome hiſtorians, by the hands of Macbeth. The news of his death reaching his father, the old general diſcovered no other emotion, than by aſking whether the wounds, by which his ſon fell, were before or behind. He was anſwered that they were before. "I am glad of it, ſaid he, for "now I can give him a ſoldier's burial." His paternal affection, however, prompted him to redouble his efforts againſt Macbeth, who finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the combined forces of Malcolm and Siward, abandoned all the ſouthern parts of his country, and betaking himſelf to almoſt inacceſſible faſtneſſes in the Highlands, held out for ſome time; but his forces daily diminiſhing, through deſertion or diſeaſe, he was ſurpriſed by Malcolm, who, after a ſhort reſiſtance, put him and his troops to the ſword.

A. D. 1055. Soon after this expedition, Siward died, and his government was beſtowed by Edward on Toſti, earl Godwin's fourth ſon. This was certainly a great acquiſition of power to Harold, and made his intereſt formidable to the reſt of the kingdom. Not long after, Alfgar, who had ſucceeded Harold in the government of Eaſt-Anglia, was, in a general council of the nation, tried upon an indictment of treaſon, and being found guilty, was de-

clared an outlaw, and baniſhed the kingdom. The particular charge brought againſt him was, that he held a correſpondence with the Welſh, who were then the king's enemies.

Alfgar, on receiving his ſentence, retired to Ireland, where he found means to raiſe a body of forces, and having engaged a fleet of eighteen Norwegian pirates to aſſiſt him, ſailed for North Wales, where he joined Griffith, prince of that country. With this force they ravaged Herefordſhire, burnt the city of Hereford, and, after maſſacring great numbers of the citizens, retired with a conſiderable booty.

Edward receiving intelligence of theſe outrages, aſſembled a ſtrong body of troops at Glouceſter, and gave the command to Harold, who, in conſequence of his majeſty's orders, marched againſt Griffith, and encamped at Snowdon, in Carnarvonſhire. The enemy knowing too well the abilities of Harold, avoided an engagement, and retired into South Wales for ſafety. But Harold was no ſooner informed of their motions, than he left one part of his army, with orders to engage the enemy, in caſe they ſhould attack them, and marched at the head of the other diviſion, to repair the fortifications of Hereford. While the Engliſh general was thus engaged, Griffith and Alfgar, not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to attack him with any probability of ſucceſs, ſent meſſengers to deſire a conference. Their requeſt being granted, after great importunities, a peace was concluded, and Alfgar having paid the arrears of his fleet, went in perſon to the king, who pardoned him, and not only reverſed the ſentence of his baniſhment, but alſo reſtored him to his eſtates and government.

A. D. 1057. Sometime before theſe tranſactions, Edward, convinced that there was no probability of his having any heirs to fill the Engliſh throne, had ſent Aldred, biſhop of Worceſter, on an embaſſy to the emperor, requeſting him to uſe his intereſt with the king of Hungary, to procure the return of Edward, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide to England. The prelate, after great difficulties, ſucceeded in his negotiation, and now returned with Edward, and his ſon Edgar Atheling, to England. But the joy conceived by the Engliſh, at the return of this prince, was of ſhort continuance; he died ſoon after his arrival. And the grief in which the nation was involved, by ſo great a loſs, was augmented by the deceaſe of Leofric, who died the ſame year, and was ſucceded in his govenment by his ſon Alfgar.

A. D. 1058. But whether Alfgar, intoxicated with this acceſſion of power, had taken any meaſures inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the king, or the peace of the nation; or whether his preferment had rendered him inſolent, and his authority had impelled him to any acts of contumacy, or any exceſſes of violence, is uncertain; but however that be, he was a ſecond time baniſhed the kingdom, a few months after his father's deceaſe. In this diſtreſs he applied to Griffith, whom he had formerly joined on a ſimilar occaſion, and by means of a conſiderable body of forces lent him by Griffith, together with the aſſiſtance of a fleet of Norwegian pirates, he forced the king to revoke his attainder, and to reſtore him to his eſtate and government.

A. D. 1061. Tho' the Welſh had been often obliged to acknowledge the ſuperiority of the Engliſh forces, and many times defeated by Harold's conduct and experience, yet they were not eaſily conquered; for, whenever the enemy diſappeared, they began their incurſions, and, after they had taken a ſufficient booty, retired with it to their own country. And in this manner they carried on a kind of pillaging war for ſeveral years.

A. D. 1064. At laſt Griffin ap Llewellin, having exaſperated Edward, by his frequent inroads, ſent Harold, at the head of a ſtrong party of horſe, with orders if poſſible, to ſurpriſe him; but Griffin receiving intelligence of the earl's deſign, fortunately made his eſcape. Harold, however, ſeized the greater part of his fleet, which he immediately burnt, and then returned to England.

In all theſe incurſions, it was obſerved that the enemy, in their retreat, always betook themſelves to their mountains, which were almoſt inacceſſible to men loaded with heavy armour; the Engliſh general, therefore, was reſolved to drive them from thoſe places of ſafety, by the following expedient. He armed his men with targets of leather for their defence, and taught them the uſe of javelins, and other light weapons, to annoy the enemy. Having made this alteration in the weapons and armour of his forces, he ſailed in a fleet from Briſtol, round the greater part of Wales; and being joined by his brother Toſti, at the head of a conſiderable body of cavalry, commenced hoſtilities againſt the enemy. His foot, diſencumbered by heavy armour, drove the Welſh from their faſtneſſes, while his cavalry over-run all the low country, and his ſhips haraſſed the maritime parts. Their corn, cattle, and magazines, became an eaſy prey to the Engliſh, and all the efforts made by Griffin, to reſtore his country, were rendered abortive. The Welſh finding themſelves unable to make any ſtand againſt Harold, and perceiving themſelves in danger of being ſtarved by famine, or exterminated by the ſword, ſurrendered themſelves to the Engliſh general, abjured Griffin, and gave hoſtages for the due performance of the conditions impoſed on them by Harold.

Soon after making this ſubmiſſion, they roſe againſt Griffin, put him to death, and having cut off his head, ſent it, together with part of the ſtern of his ſhip to Harold, who tranſmitted both to the king, as marks of the entire reduction of Wales. Upon which Edward granted the kingdom to the princes Blethyn and Rithwallen, who ruled in conjunction, and ſwore fealty both to Edward and Harold.

Though Toſti had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this expedition, and, by his bravery, was become very popular, yet his conduct in his government was ſo indiſcreet, that he loſt all his credit in Northumberland, where the people found it neceſſary to take up arms againſt him to prevent their own deſtruction. Toſti made loud complaints to the king, who appointed Harold his brother to enquire into the affair, and furniſhed him with an army to reduce the inſurgents to reaſon.

In the mean time the Northumbrians had made themſelves maſters of York, where they ſeized Toſti's treaſure, and then proceeded to elect Morcar their governor; after which they were joined by the inhabitants of the counties of Nottingham, Derby and Lincoln. Thus reinforced they marched to the ſouthward, and met Harold at Northampton; where, endeavouring to make a reconcilation between

tween them, he met with an obſtinate refuſal from the Northumbrians, who told him, they were a free people, and reſolved not to ſuffer the tyranny and inhumanity of any governor; adding, that they had learned from their anceſtors, either to defend their liberties or periſh in the attempt; but at the ſame time were very deſirous of ſhewing their fidelity to a governor whoſe actions were founded on the precepts of juſtice. Harold finding, on a ſtrict enquiry, that their reſentments againſt his brother were juſt, gave them a noble inſtance of his moderation by his immediately drawing off his forces, conſenting to their election of Morcar in the room of Toſti, and by accompanying their deputies to the king in order to have their election confirmed.

Toſti, thus abandoned by his brother and outlawed for his crimes, left the kingdom and retired to Baldwin earl of Flanders, whoſe daughter he had married. But this diſgrace of Toſti was ſo far from weakening, that it greatly increaſed Harold's intereſt; as it gave the people a very ſtriking inſtance of his integrity, and rendered Morcar his conſtant friend. At the ſame time, in order to ſtrengthen his connections with Alfgar, Harold married his ſiſter Algitha, and by that means rendered him ſtill firmer to his intereſt.

Such were the means Harold took for increaſing his popularity, eſtabliſhing his power, and preparing the way for his advancement to the throne whenever a vacancy ſhould happen; an event which, from the age and infirmities of the king, appeared not very diſtant. But there was ſtill an obſtacle, which it was requiſite to remove. Earl Godwin, when reſtored to his power and fortune, had given hoſtages for his good behaviour; and among them one ſon and one grandſon, whom Edward, for greater ſecurity, had ſent over to be kept in Normandy. Harold, though he was not aware of the duke's being his competitor for the crown, was uneaſy that ſuch near relations ſhould be detained priſoners in a foreign country; and was fearful that William would detain theſe pledges in favour of Edgar Atheling, as a check to the ambition of any other pretender. He therefore repreſented to the king his unfeigned ſubmiſſion to royal authority, his ſteady duty to his prince, and the little neceſſity there was, after ſuch an uniform trial of his obedience, to detain any longer thoſe hoſtages, who had been required on the firſt compoſing of civil diſcords.

Theſe reaſons, enforced by his great power, prevailed upon the king to releaſe them; and to effect this purpoſe, he immediately ſet ſail for Normandy with a numerous retinue. But a tempeſt drove him on the territory of Guy, count of Ponthieu, who being informed of his quality, detained him priſoner, and demanded an exorbitant ſum for his ranſom. Harold, however, found means to convey intelligence of his condition to the duke of Normandy; and repreſented, that while he was proceeding to his court, in order to execute a commiſſion from the king of England, he had met with this harſh treatment from the mercenary diſpoſition of the count of Ponthieu.

Senſible of the importance of this incident, William determined to demand him. He foreſaw that if he could once gain Harold over to his intereſt, either by favour or menaces, his way to the throne of England would be open, and Edward would meet with no farther obſtruction in executing the favourable intentions he had expreſſed towards him. Accordingly he ſent an ambaſſador to Guy, demanding the liberty of his priſoner; and that nobleman not daring to refuſe ſo powerful a prince, put Harold into the hands of the Norman ambaſſador, who conducted him to Rouen. William received him with the greateſt marks of reſpect and friendſhip; and after ſhewing himſelf diſpoſed to comply with his requeſt in delivering up the hoſtages, took an opportunity of diſcloſing to him the great ſecret of his pretenſions to the crown of England, and of the will which Edward intended to make in his favour. He deſired the aſſiſtance of Harold in perfecting that deſign: he made profeſſions of the utmoſt gratitude in return for ſo great an obligation; he promiſed that the preſent grandeur of Harold's family, which ſupported itſelf with difficulty, under the jealouſy and hatred of Edward, ſhould receive new increaſe from a ſucceſſor, who would be ſo highly beholden to him for his advancement. Harold was ſufficiently ſurprized at this declaration of the duke; but was ſenſible that he could never recover his own liberty, much leſs that of his brother and nephew, if he refuſed the demand. He therefore feigned a compliance with the requeſt of William, renounced all hopes of the crown for himſelf, and profeſſed his ſincere intention of ſupporting the will of Edward, and of ſeconding the pretenſions of the duke of Normandy. William, to bind him ſtill firmer to his intereſt, beſides offering his daughter in marriage, required him to take an oath that he would faithfully fulfil his promiſes; and in order to render that oath more ſacred, he employed an artifice, well ſuited to the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the age. He ſecretly conveyed under the altar, on which Harold agreed to ſwear, the reliques of ſome of the moſt reſpected martyrs; and when Harold had taken the oath, he ſhewed him the reliques, and admoniſhed him to obſerve religiouſly an engagement which had been ratified by ſo tremenduous a ſanction. The Engliſh nobleman was aſtoniſhed; but diſſembled his concern, he renewed the ſame profeſſions, and was dimiſſed with all the marks of mutual confidence by the duke of Normandy.

Harold no ſooner found himſelf at liberty, than his ambition ſuggeſted caſuiſtry ſufficient to juſtify to himſelf the violation of an oath, which had been extorted from him by fear, and which, if fulfilled, might be attended with the ſubjection of his native country to a foreign power. He therefore continued ſtill to practiſe every art of popularity; to increaſe the number of his partizans; to reconcile the minds of the Engliſh to the idea of his ſucceſſion; to revive the hatred of the Normans; and, by an oſtentatious diſplay of his power and intereſt, to deter the timorous Edward from executing his intended will in favour of William.

A. D. 1066. In the mean time Edward, worn out with years, and unable to perform the vow he had formerly made of going a pilgrimage to Rome, received a diſpenſation, on condition of his building the abbey of Weſtminſter; and the ſtructure being now finiſhed, he ſummoned a council of the nation to confirm the charter of endowment. At this council queen Editha, with all the lords both temporal and ſpiritual were preſent, in which the charter prepared by Edward, from exempting it from all epiſcopal juriſdiction, and granting it the privileges of a ſanctuary, was confirmed.

This was the laſt act of Edward's life; for after appearing

appearing in the aſſembly dreſſed in all the pomp of majeſty, he found himſelf ſeized with a ſlow fever; but concealed his illneſs for two or three days, and appeared in public at his meals as uſual. In the mean time the fever increaſed, and at laſt confined him to his bed, where he remained delirious for three days. But at the expiration of this term his reaſon returned, and, in this livid interval he recommended his queen to the care of Harold her brother, and the reſt of the nobility then preſent, particularly requeſting that her jointure might be ſecured to her without the leaſt damage or violation: he next deſired that ſome proviſion might be made for ſuch of his domeſtics as had followed him out of Normandy, and that they might be left at their liberty either to return to their own country unmoleſted, or continue in this kingdom. After this he ordered that his remains ſhould be depoſited in the abbey church at Weſtminſter, and having received the euchariſt, and recommended his ſoul to heaven, he expired almoſt without a groan.

Edward was of a fair and ruddy complexion, well ſhaped and handſome in his perſon, rather tall in ſtature, and, in the latter part of his life, venerable for his long white beard. The royal ornaments ſat eaſy upon him, when he appeared in ſtate; but were worn by him without the leaſt affectation of parade. He was an utter enemy to all luxury, and remarkably ſparing in his diet: his favourite exerciſes were hawking and hunting, which he generally practiſed in the morning as ſoon as divine ſervice was over. He was ſo much averſe to war, that he frequently declared, during his exile in Normandy, that he had rather continue during life in that condition, than obtain the crown of England at the expence of blood and ſlaughter. His ſimplicity, ſcrupulous virtue, and inoffenſive manner of life, qualified him rather for a convent than a throne, and by conquering all his own ambition, rendered it neceſſary for him to be guided by that of others. The tranquillity of his reign was certainly remarkable, if we conſider the factions that then ſubſiſted among the nobility; but it ſhould alſo be remembered, that he owed his ſucceſſes to the Godwin family, who were at once the bulwarks of his, and the nation's ſafety. Some have repreſented him as void of all paſſions, but they ſhould rather have repreſented him as void of all the ſocial affections. His treatment of his wife and mother are inſtances ſufficient to juſtify ſuch a charge; and by his chaſtity, ſo highly applauded by monkiſh writers, he forged new chains for his country.

The moſt commendable circumſtance of Edward's government, was his attention to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and his compiling for that purpoſe, a body of laws, which he collected from thoſe of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. This compilation, tho' now loſt, were long the object of affection to the Engliſh nation.

Edward the confeſſor was the firſt who touched for the king's-evil: the opinion of his ſanctity procured belief to this cure among the people; and his ſucceſſors regarded it as part of their power and grandeur to ſupport the ſame opinion. It has been continued down to our time; and the practice was firſt dropped by the preſent royal family, who obſerved, that the pretended miracle had loſt its credit, even among the populace, and had been long the object of ridicule among perſons of education.

HAROLD II.

A. D. 1066. THE methods taken by Harold, before the death of the late king, for ſecuring the Engliſh crown, were ſo ſucceſsful, that his acceſſion to the throne, was attended with as little oppoſition and diſturbance, as if he had ſucceded by the moſt undoubted hereditary title. The only competitors he had were Edgar Atheling, and William duke of Normandy. The former was thought too young, to be intruſted with the ſceptre at ſo critical a juncture, and the latter was not only a foreigner, but the native of a country to which the Engliſh had ſhewn an implacable averſion.

Harold loſt no time in preparation. He aſſembled the council, and received the crown from their hands, without waiting for any regular meeting of the ſtates, or ſubmitting the queſtion to their free choice or determination. Indeed, the reſolution of the council was unanimous in his favour, and he was accordingly crowned and anointed king the very day after Edward's death, by Aldred archbiſhop of York.

The firſt enemy that oppoſed him was Toſti, his exiled brother, who, enraged at the ſucceſsful ambition of Harold, to which he imputed his own misfortunes, he filled the court of Baldwin with complaints of the evils he had ſuffered; engaged the intereſt of that family againſt his brother; endeavoured to form intrigues with the malecontents among the Engliſh nobility; and ſent his emiſſaries to Norway, in order to rouze to arms the free-booters of that kingdom, and awaken their hopes of reaping advantage from the unſettled ſtate of affairs on the uſurpation of a new king.

But Toſti did not meet with the ſucceſs he expected. He, however, found means to collect a fleet conſiſting of about ſixty ſail, with which he made a deſcent upon the Iſle of Wight, where he raiſed conſiderable contributions. After this ſucceſs he committed depredations all along the coaſt till he came to Sandwich; but receiving advice that Harold had fitted out a conſiderable fleet, which was ready to ſail, Toſti ſtood to the northward, and landed in Lincolnſhire, where he burnt ſeveral villages, and put a conſiderable number of the inhabitants to the ſword. He did not, however, commit theſe exceſſes with impunity. Edwin, earl or duke of Mercia, and Morcar duke of Northumberland, attacked and routed his army, burnt the greater part of his fleet, and obliged him to take refuge in Scotland.

But William, duke of Normandy, was a more formidable enemy. Exaſperated at Harold's breach of his oath, and his acceſſion to the throne, he made

made preparations for invading the kingdom. He was, however, desirous of giving some colour to his pretensions, and therefore sent over an embassay to England, upbraiding the prince with his breach of faith, and summoning him to resign immediately his possession of the kingdom. Harold, not the least intimidated by this message from the Norman, answered the ambassadors, that the oath, with the breach of which he was reproached, had been extorted by the well-grounded fear of violence, and could never, for that reason, be regarded as obligatory: that he had received no commission, either from the king or the states of England, who alone could dispose of the crown, to make any tender of the succession to the duke of Normandy; and if he, a private person, had assumed so much authority, and had even voluntary sworn to support the duke's pretensions, the oath was unlawful, and it was his duty to seize the first opportunity of breaking it: that he had obtained the crown by the unanimous suffrages of the people, and should shew himself totally unworthy of their favour, if he failed in strenuously maintaining those national liberties with which they had intrusted him; and that the duke, if he made any attempt by force of arms, should experience the power of an united nation, conducted by a prince, who, sensible of the obligations imposed on him by his royal dignity, was determined that the same moment should put a period to his life, and to his government.

William was not in the least surprised at this answer, and had already fixed his resolution of making an attempt upon England. Consulting only his courage, his resentment, and his ambition, he overlooked all the difficulties that must of necessity attend the attack of a powerful kingdom, by such inferior force, and saw only the circumstances which would facilitate his enterprize. He considered that England, ever since the accession of Canute, had enjoyed a profound tranquillity, during a period of near fifty years; and it would require time for the soldiers, enervated by a long peace, to learn discipline, and its generals experience. He knew that the kingdom was almost entirely destitute of fortified towns, by which it could alone prolong the war; but must venture its whole fortune in one decisive action against a veteran army, who being once master of the field, would be in a condition to overrun the kingdom. He saw that Harold, tho' he had given convincing proofs of his vigour and bravery, had newly mounted a throne, which he had acquired by faction, from which he had excluded a very ancient and royal family, and which was likely to totter under him by its own instability, much more if shaken by violent external impulse. And he hoped, that the very circumstance of his crossing the seas, quitting his own country, and leaving himself no hopes of a retreat, would at once astonish the enemy by the boldness of the enterprize, and rouze the spirits of his soldiers, to support the reputation of the arms of their country, which had now attained the highest pitch of military glory and renown.

The Normans, besides acquiring by arms so noble a territory in France, besides defending it against the continual attempts of the Gallic monarch, and the neighbouring powers, besides exerting many actions of vigour under their present sovereign; they had, about this very time, revived their ancient fame, by the most hazardous exploits, and the most wonderful successes in the other extremity of Europe. A few Norman adventurers in Italy, had acquired such an ascendant, not only over the Italians and Greeks, but the Germans and Saracens, that they expelled these foreigners, procured to themselves ample establishments, and laid the foundation of the opulent kingdom of Naples and Sicily. These enterprizes, performed by men, who were all of them vassals in Normandy, many of them banished for faction and rebellion, excited the ambition of William, who, after such examples of fortune and valour, disdained the thought of being deterred from making an attack on a neighbouring country, where the whole force of his principality could be brought to support his cause.

William was also inspired with hopes, from the situation of Europe. He flattered himself with being able to employ against England, the flower of the military force, dispersed in all the other states. France, Germany, and the Low-countries, by the progress of the feudal institutions, were divided, and subdivided into many small principalities and baronies; and the possessors enjoying the civil jurisdiction within themselves, as well as the right of arms, acted, in many respects, as independant sovereigns, and maintained their properties and privileges, less by the authority of laws, than by their own force and valour. A military spirit had universally diffused itself throughout Europe; and the several leaders, whose minds were elevated by their princely situation, greedily embraced the most adventurous enterprizes, and being accustomed, from their infancy, to hear recitals of the success attending wars and battles, they were prompted, by a natural ambition, to imitate these adventures, which they had heard so much celebrated, and which were so much exaggerated by the credulity of the age. United, however loosly, by their duty to one superior lord, and by their connections with the great body of the community, to which they belonged; they each desired to spread his own fame beyond the boundaries of his narrow territories; and in all assemblies, whether instituted for civil deliberations, for military expeditions, or merely for show and entertainment, they endeavoured to excel each other in their reputation for strength and prowess. Hence their genius for chivalry; hence their impatience of peace and tranquillity; and hence their readiness to embark in any hazardous enterprize, however interested they might be in its failure or success.

The interest of William was also greatly increased among the chiefs of these military tribes, by his power, his courage, and his abilities; so that every one who was desirous of distinguishing himself by his address in military exercises, or his valour in action, was ambitious to acquire a reputation in the Norman army. Entertained with that hospitality and courtesy which distinguished the age, they had formed attachments with the prince, and greedily attended to the prospects of glory and advantage, which he promised them in return for their assistance, in an expedition against England. The more danger there appeared in the attempt, the more it suited their romantic spirit. The fame of the intended invasion, was soon extended to all the different provinces; and such multitudes crouded to tender their service, that William found less difficulty in completing his levies, than in chusing

the moſt veteran and experienced forces, and in rejecting the offers of thoſe who were impatient to acquire fame under ſo renowned a leader.

Having thus laid the plan of an enterpriſe, that was to place him on a throne, or put a period to his greatneſs, he aſſembled the ſtates of Normandy, in order to raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for the expedition, and laid before them the nature of his claim, the uſage he had met with, his proſpect of ſucceſs, and the advantages that muſt reſult from it to his hereditary dominions. William, however, found the aſſembly were of a very differerent opinion, and refuſed to furniſh the ſums demanded. They remonſtrated, that the people were already exhauſted by their long wars with France; and that it was impoſſible to foreſee, whether the ambition of that crown might not lead it to make another attempt upon Normandy, if their forces were employed in foreign expeditions. Thus diſappointed of a public ſupply, he determined to have recourſe to particular perſons, in order to raiſe the ſums neceſſary for carrying on his intended invaſion of England. He well knew, that where no public corruption prevails, men, aſſembled in a legiſlative capacity, have a pride and ſtiffneſs to which, when ſeparated, they are ſtrangers. Accordingly, he made application to the principal men in his dominions, and ſucceeded beyond his expectations. The nobility and merchants ſeemed to vie with each other in their reſpective contributions, ſo that a ſum, ſufficient to defray the expences of the expedition, was ſoon ſubſcribed.

Tho' William had thus removed every difficulty, he did not think his own ſtrength ſufficient for ſucceeding in this arduous attempt. He therefore had recourſe to Halfgar, king of Norway, who had alſo a claim to the crown of England, and to Toſti, Harold's brother, for aſſiſtance. Accordingly it was agreed, that Halfgar ſhould join Toſti, and attack the northern parts of the kingdom, while William landed on the coaſt of Suſſex.

Having ſucceeded in the negociation, William applied to the neighbouring princes, who readily eſpouſed his cauſe. Howel, duke of Brittany, ſent his eldeſt ſon Alian Fergant to ſerve under him, with a force of five thouſand Britons. The counts of Anjou and Flanders encouraged their ſubjects to engage in the expedition; and even the court of France, tho' it had reaſon to fear the aggrandizement of ſo dangerous a vaſſal, did not ſupport its own intereſt on this occaſion with ſufficient vigour and reſolution. Philip I. who at that time ſwayed the ſceptre of France, was a minor; and William, having communicated his project to the council, deſired aſſiſtance, and offered, in caſe of ſucceſs, to do homage for the crown of England, was indeed ordered to lay aſide all thoughts of the enterprize; but the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, being at the head of the regency, ſecretly favoured his levies, and encouraged the enterprizing nobility to inliſt under the Norman's ſtandard.

The emperor Henry IV. promiſed to protect Normandy, during the abſence of William, and, at the ſame time, encouraged his vaſſals to engage in an expedition, which now engaged the attention of all Europe. But what was ſtill of more conſequence to the ſucceſs of William's enterprize, was the pope's declaration in its favour. The holy father's juriſdiction was not then eſtabliſhed in England; and pope Alexander II. thinking this a favourable opportunity, promoted the intereſt of the Norman prince, with a view of extending his own. Accordingly, he declared immediately in favour of William's claims; pronounced Harold a perjured uſurper; denounced excommunication againſt him and his adherents; and to encourage ſtill more the duke of Normandy, ſent him a ring, incloſing one of St. Peter's hairs, together with a conſecrated banner.

William had now aſſembled a fleet of three thouſand veſſels, great and ſmall, and had ſelected an army of ſixty thouſand men from among thoſe numerous ſupplies which, from every quarter, ſollicited to be received into his ſervice. The rendezvous was appointed for St. Pierre ſur Dive, where the army accordingly embarked, and proceeded to St. Valery, at the mouth of the Some, where it was detained by contrary winds.

In the mean time, Halfgar and Toſti ſailed up the Humber, with a fleet of three hundred ſail, and landing in Yorkſhire, began to plunder the inhabitants. Morcar and Edwin, dukes of Northumberland and Mercia, having haſtily collected a body of troops, marched againſt the invaders, and gave them battle; but the action ended with the total defeat of the Engliſh, and the invaders made themſelves maſters of York.

Informed of this misfortune, Harold haſtened with an army to the relief of his people; expreſſing the utmoſt ardour to ſhew himſelf worthy to wear the crown they had conferred upon him. He had indeed already given ſo many proofs of an equitable and prudent adminiſtration, that the Engliſh found no reaſon to repent of the choice they had made of a ſovereign. They flocked from all quarters to join his ſtandard; ſo that, on his reaching the enemy at Sandford, he found himſelf in a condition of giving them battle.

Halfgar and Toſti, had taken care to fortify the front of their camp to great advantage, while their rear was ſecured by the ſea; their left by a bay of the Humber, where their fleet lay at anchor; and their right by the river Derwent, over which lay a bridge in their poſſeſſion. Harold, tho' extremely ſenſible of the difficulty of attacking them in this advantageous ſituation, was perſuaded that nothing was inſurmountable to true courage. Many of the Engliſh ſtill remembered the Daniſh ravages, and thoſe who had never ſeen their cruel devaſtations, well knew them from tradition, which is always apt to magnify. Harold perceiving the diſpoſition of his army, reſolved to attack the enemy in their fortified camp; but found it neceſſary firſt to make himſelf maſter of the bridge over the Derwent. It was guarded by a party of Norwegians, who were all of them, one only excepted, cut to pieces. This man, like a ſecond Cocles, ſtood the ſhock of the whole army, and armed with his battle-ax, made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that he killed forty of the Engliſh, and then fell himſelf dead on the ſpot. Harold now opened the way to the enemy's camp, where the diſpute was long, obſtinate, and bloody. The Norwegians, having amaſſed large quantities of plunder, fought to ſecure what they had acquired, with ſo much difficulty and danger, while Toſti, at once deſpairing of, and diſdaining pardon, acted with courage bordering on madneſs. But Harold's perſonal valour, bore down all reſiſtance; fighting at once againſt a king and a brother; he fought for honour in the ranks commanded by Halfgar and Toſti, and fortune guiding his arm,

the

the former fell by the ſword of the Engliſh monarch; while the latter met his fate from a leſs noble hand. The death of their leaders diſcouraged the Norwegians; a general route enſued, and the greater part of them were cut to pieces. Even the Daniſh fleet fell into the hands of Harold, who had the generoſity to give Olave, the ſon of Halfgar, his liberty, and allow him to depart with twenty veſſels. The treaſure acquired by this victory was immenſe: the gold itſelf was as much as ſeven ſtrong men could carry, and the reſt of the booty of proportional value.

Proſperity is a better teſt of true fortitude, than adverſity; to guide the veſſel of life in full career, her ſails ſwelled by the breath of fortune, and her motion increaſed by the rapid tide of ſucceſs, requires more ſkill in the pilot, than to weather the ſtorm, or to ride out the tempeſt. Harold, elated by his late ſucceſs againſt the Norwegians, thought himſelf invincible. He had indeed gained a great victory, but it proved, in the main, prejudicial to his intereſts, and may be regarded as the immediate cauſe of his ruin. He loſt many of his braveſt officers and ſoldiers in the action; and he diſguſted the reſt, by refuſing to diſtribute the Daniſh ſpoils among them; a conduct not at all agreeable to his uſual generoſity of temper; but, which, his deſire of ſparing his people from oppreſſion during the impending war with the duke of Normandy, had probably occaſioned.

In the mean time, the Norman armament ſailed from the mouth of the Some, and met with no oppoſition in their paſſage to England: a powerful fleet, which Harold had aſſembled, and which had cruized during the greater part of the ſummer off the Iſle of Wight, had been laid up on his receiving falſe intelligence, that William, diſcouraged by the contrary winds, and other accidents, had laid aſide his preparations. The Norman armament, proceeding in great order, arrived without any material loſs, at Pevenſey, in Suſſex, and the army quickly diſembarked, The duke himſelf, as he leaped on ſhore, happened to ſtumble and fall; but had the preſence of mind to turn the omen to his own advantage, by calling aloud, that he had taken poſſeſſion of the country. And a ſoldier, running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked ſome thatch, which, as if giving him ſeiſin of the kingdom, he preſented to his general. The joy and alacrity of William and his Normans, was ſo great, that they were not at all diſcouraged at hearing of the great victory Harold had gained over the Danes; they ſeemed rather to wait with impatience the arrival of the enemy.

Harold, on receiving advice that William was landed on the coaſt of Suſſex, haſtened, by forced marches, to meet this new invader of his country; but tho' he was reinforced at London, and other places in his route, with freſh troops, he found himſelf alſo weakened by the deſertion of his old ſoldiers, who, from fatigue and diſcontent, withdrew from the army. This deſertion filled his brother Gyrth, a man of bravery and conduct, with apprehenſions of the event; and he remonſtrated with Harold, that it would be more prudent to prolong the war, or, at leaſt, not to expoſe his own perſon in the action. He urged to him, that the deſperate ſituation of the duke of Normandy, rendered it neceſſary for that prince to bring matters to a ſpeedy deciſion, and place his whole fortune on the iſſue of a battle; but that the king of England, in his own country, beloved by his ſubjects, and provided with every ſupply, had more infallible, and leſs dangerous methods of enſuring to himſelf the victory: that the Norman troops, elevated on the one hand with the higheſt hopes, and ſeeing on the other, no reſource in caſe of a defeat, muſt fight to the laſt extremity; and being the flower of all the warriors of the continent, muſt be regarded as formidable to the Engliſh: that if their firſt fire and ſpirit, which is always moſt dangerous, were allowed to languiſh for want of action; if they were harraſſed with ſmall ſkirmiſhes, ſtraitened in their proviſions, and fatigued with the bad weather and deep roads, during the winter ſeaſon, then approaching, they muſt fall an eaſy and bloodleſs prey to their enemy: that if a general action was delayed, the Engliſh, ſenſible of the imminent danger to which their properties, as well as liberties, were expoſed from theſe rapacious invaders, would haſten from all quarters to his aſſiſtance, and would render his army invincible: that, at leaſt, if he thought it neceſſary to hazard a battle, he ought not to expoſe his own perſon, but reſerve, in caſe of unfortunate accidents, ſome reſource to the liberty and independency of the kingdom.

But Harold was deaf to all theſe remonſtrances, and being elated with his late ſucceſs, as well as ſtimulated by his native courage, he reſolved to give the Normans battle in perſon, and either drive them from his kingdom, or die in the attempt. Accordingly, he marched into Suſſex, entertaining a contemptible idea of William's ſtrength, on account of his having fortified his camp, and remained ſo long inactive after his landing.

On his coming within ſeven miles of the enemy, he took every precaution to prevent a ſurprize: with this view, he encamped on a hill, which he incloſed with a large trench, leaving only three avenues open, and ordered his men to lie all night on their arms. The next morning he mounted his horſe, in order to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, attended by his brother Gyrth. On aſcending an eminence near the Norman army, he obſerved the exactneſs of their diſcipline, the glittering of their armour, and the great number of their cavalry.

Convinced from this view of the enemy, that he had deceived himſelf with regard to their ſtrength, Harold, on returning to his camp, propoſed a retreat towards London, in order to augment his forces; but was told, with ſome warmth, by Gyrth, that he ought to have hearkened to his advice, and not have marched up to the Norman camp, before his army had been ſufficiently numerous to attack the enemy: that it was now too late to repent of his raſhneſs; for, as he had advanced ſo far, his honour was engaged, and he muſt either conquer or periſh: that to retire one ſtep, without fighting, would be conſtrued into cowardice, conſidered as a flight, and be attended with the loſs of his reputation. He added, that to attempt a retreat in the ſight of the Normans, would animate them, while it diſcouraged his own troops, occaſion a general revolt, and endanger the loſs of his whole army.

Convinced by theſe reaſons, Harold continued firm to his firſt reſolution, of attacking the Normans, or at leaſt of continuing in his camp; but being deſirous of knowing the exact number and diſpoſition of the enemy, he ſent two ſpies into the Norman camp to gain intelligence. The ſpies were ſoon diſcovered

covered, and carried to William's tent, who, inſtead of putting them to death, ordered them to be carried round his camp, that they might make what diſcoveries they pleaſed; and after entertaining them very magnificently, ſent them back to Harold, deſiring them to make a faithful report to their maſter of every thing they had ſeen.

On their return, they highly commended the duke's generoſity; but ſeemed to deſpiſe his ſoldiers, whom they repreſented as a multitude of prieſts, becauſe the Normans ſhaved their upper lips, whereas the Engliſh, their prieſts only accepted, preſerved their whiſkers. Harold could not help ſmiling at the ſimplicity of his ſpies, aſſuring them, that the Norman ſoldiers were remarkable for their valour, and that the peculiarity they obſerved, was nothing more than the cuſtom of their country.

Harold's ſpies being returned, William, in order to prevent the effuſion of human blood, ſent Hugh Margot, a monk of Feſcamp, with an offer of the following alternatives: to reſign the crown quietly; to hold it in vaſſalage from him; to decide their pretenſions by ſingle combat; or, to refer the determination to the pope. Harold rejected all theſe offers, and returned for anſwer, that the God of battles, would ſoon be the arbiter of all their differences.

This anſwer being reported in the hearing of the Norman army, the barons became impatient to begin the action, and begged the duke to lead them to the charge, before Harold's army received any farther reinforcements. But notwithſtanding their ardour, William was reſolved to try another expedient, in order to give a greater ſanction to his cauſe, and cover his ambition with the varniſh of reluctance and neceſſity. Accordingly he mounted his horſe, and attended with twenty men, advanced in perſon, to offer Harold all the provinces in England north of the Humber, and to ſecure the whole patrimony of Godwin to Gyrth, provided the reſt of the kingdom was ceded to him; but in caſe of a refuſal, to pronounce Harold a perjured uſurper, denounce the pope's excommunication againſt him and all his adherents, and to challenge the Engliſh to a general engagement. Harold perceiving the duke advancing towards him, with an intention to hold a conference, ſent his brother Gyrth to receive his propoſals.

Gyrth readily obeyed, and at his return, the duke's offers were laid before a grand council of the Engliſh nobles, who, extremely terrified at the menace of excommunication, adviſed Harold to enter into a treaty with the Norman invader. Gyrth, alarmed at the panic which ſeized the whole council, thought it high time to ſtop its progreſs, and accordingly, with an eloquence peculiar to himſelf, diſplayed the conſequences that muſt attend an accommodation, in the moſt glaring colours. He obſerved, that William had already granted their eſtates to his followers, and which their own puſillanimity would inevitably confirm. This had the deſired effect, and the duke's propoſals were rejected with the greateſt unanimity, and the enſuing day appointed for a general engagement.

The fatal reſolution being thus taken, both armies prepared for the approaching battle; but the night was ſpent very differently in the two camps. Harold, animated with his late ſucceſs, and the diſpoſitions William had ſhewn for a peace, imagined that it would be conſidered as the reſult of cowardice, to doubt of a victory. He therefore gave a looſe to mirth, and ſeemed rather to prepare for an entertainment than a battle. His officers following the example of their prince, and the ſoldiers that of their officers, nothing was heard in the Engliſh camp but impious exultations, ſongs, and ſhoutings, diſſipating in wine, and revelling thoſe ſpirits which they ſhould have preſerved to ſupport them in the dreadful conteſt; while the Normans obſerved a ſober ſilence, behaving like men, determined to conquer or periſh. They omitted no methods of ſafety; they forgot no preparations for eternity. Watchful, but not ſleepleſs; each repaired the waſtes of nature, and obtained an increaſe of ſpirits from the exerciſe of well-timed devotion, and the ſupport of ſteady reſolution.

As ſoon as the morning appeared, the duke called together the moſt conſiderable of his generals, and made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. He repreſented to them, that the event which both they and he had wiſhed for was approaching; and the whole fortune of the war now depended on their ſword, and would be decided in a ſingle action: that never army had greater motives for exerting a vigorous courage, whether they conſidered the prize which would attend their victory, or the inevitable deſtruction that muſt be the conſequence of their defeat: that if their martial and veteran bands could once break thoſe raw ſoldiers, who had raſhly dared to approach them, they conquered a kingdom at one blow, and were juſtly entitled to all its poſſeſſions, as the reward of their proſperous valour: that, on the contrary, if they remitted in the leaſt their wonted proweſs, an enraged enemy hung upon their rear, the ſea met them in their retreat, and an ignominious death was the certain puniſhment of their imprudent cowardice: that by collecting ſo numerous and brave an army, he had inſured every human means of conqueſt, while the commander of the enemy, by his criminal conduct, had given him juſt reaſon to hope for the favour of heaven, in whoſe hands alone lay the event of wars and battles: and that a perjured uſurper, anathematized by the ſovereign pontiff, and, conſcious of his own breach of faith, would be ſtruck with terror on their appearance, and prognoſticate to himſelf the fate which his multiplied crimes had ſo juſtly merited.

Having thus endeavoured to inſpire his generals with confidence, he divided his army into three lines: the firſt, headed by Montgomery, conſiſted of archers and light armed infantry; the ſecond commanded by Martel, was compoſed of his braveſt battalions, heavy armed, and ranged in cloſe order; his cavalry, which he headed in perſon, formed the third line, and were ſo diſpoſed, that they extended beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. While flying bodies of archers were interſperſed between the three diviſions to act as opportunity ſhould offer.

Harold, whoſe army was far inferior to that of the enemy in numbers, had ſeized the advantage of a riſing ground, and thrown up ſome trenches to ſecure his flanks, reſolving to ſtand upon the defenſive, and avoid all action with the Norman cavalry. The Kentiſhmen were placed in the van, a poſt they had always claimed as their due: the Londoners guarded the ſtandard; and the king himſelf, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gyrth and

and Leofwin, diſmounting from his horſe, placed himſelf at the head of the infantry, and expreſſed his reſolution to conquer, or fall in the action.

The ſignal of battle being given, the Normans, ſinging the hymn or ſong of Roland, the famous peer of Charlemagne, advanced in order with alacrity towards the enemy, while the air was darkened with a flight of arrows from the bows of the Norman archers. The attack was deſperate, but received with equal valour by the Engliſh; and after a furious combat, which remained long undecided, the former, overcome by the difficulty of the ground, and hard preſſed by the enemy, began firſt to relax in their vigour, and then to give way; Harold, ever animating his men by his words, and ſtill more by his arm, within reach of which no enemy approached, and eſcaped with life. The Norman, who had before always fought for glory, now fought for ſafety. He found, by fatal experience, that the ranks of the Engliſh were impenetrable, tho' the battle had now continued from morning till noon. He perceived his Normans acting in detached bodies againſt ſo firm a phalanx, muſt at laſt be ſpent by repeated attacks. He rode into the thickeſt ranks, he encouraged the bold, he gave ſpirits to the deſponding, and baniſhed terror from the breaſt of the fearful. He acted as if life, without victory, would have been ſhameful; and victory welcome, tho' purchaſed by death. Thrice he led his army to the charge, and each time the horſe, on which he rode, was killed under him. He was thrice remounted, flew from rank to rank, from ſquadron to ſquadron, from the intrepid to the fainting, from the ſound to the wounded; ſometimes on horſeback, ſometimes on foot, ſometimes borne on the tide of battle, and ſometimes ſtopping the ſtream of flight. Harold oppoſed him with equal courage and ſuperior ſucceſs. Placed in the center of his faithful Engliſh, he appeared as the center on which the fortune of the battle turned: the whole body moved by his nod, and fought by his example, like men who thought life and death contemptible, where diſhonour and glory were in queſtion. He ſeemed to court danger, that he might teach his troops to deſpiſe it. He directed, encouraged, aſſiſted, and relieved; while he commanded, he ſhewed how to execute; and while he fought, he reconciled his ſoldiers to all the vigour of their duty; and now victory ſeemed on the point of declaring for the Engliſh. The Normans, unable to withſtand the force of the enemy, were preparing to reſign the fortune of the day, when the genius of William found means to fix her on the ſide of his own army. He ordered his troops to make a haſty retreat, and to allure the enemy from their advantageous ſituation, by the appearance of flight. The artifice ſucceeded. The Engliſh victorious over danger, were ruined by victory: thinking nothing now remained, but to dye their laurels they had ſo painfully acquired in the blood of their enemies, they grew eager, impetuous, and diſordered; they abandoned the victorious diſpoſition they had hitherto maintained; they divided into parties, as the hopes of revenge, or the proſpect of plunder invited; and they who were invincible when united, became feeble when diſſipated. Another ſignal rallied the Normans: they formed, they cloſed, they ſurrounded their enemies, then in detached bodies, where they had all the advantages ariſing from ſuperiority of numbers, and variety of weapons. The Engliſh perceived, when too late, that they were caught in the ſnare; but, like lions, they often turned upon the enemy, and kept them at a diſtance. Perhaps the efforts of their native courage, might have broken through the Norman toils, had not an arrow, winged with the deſtruction of England, pierced the head of Harold, with whoſe breath fled the fortune of the day, to perch upon the Norman's creſt.

The Engliſh had, before this fatal accident, regained the hill, and bravely repulſed the attack of the enemy. His two brothers, Gyrth and Leofwin, who ſaw the king fall, animated the drooping courage of the Engliſh, and guarded the royal ſtandard, till they fell by the attacks of twenty Normans, who had entered into an engagement to take it, or periſh in the attempt. Though moſt of them fell in this deſperate enterprize, yet the remainder carried their point; they pulled down Harold's ſtandard, and erected that of Normandy in its place.

In the mean time the Engliſh, hearing of the death of their ſovereign, quitted the hill, fled in great confuſion, and were purſued by the enemy, even after the curtain of the night was drawn over the field of ſlaughter. The darkneſs, however, which favoured their retreat, was fatal to the Normans, who, unacquainted with the nature of the ground, fell into ditches during the eagerneſs of purſuit, where many, both horſe and foot, periſhed. This incident, reanimating the courage of the vanquiſhed, they rallied, attacked their purſuers, and made a terrible ſlaughter. Engenouf, baron de l'Aigle, loſt his life in the action, which was ſo ſharp, that Euſtace, count of Bologne, propoſed to ſound a retreat; when William arrived with ſuccours, imagining the Engliſh had been joined by ſome reinforcement. Euſtace, terrified with the bravery and impetuoſity of the Engliſh, was endeavouring to diſſuade the duke from expoſing himſelf to the danger of a night engagement, when he received a blow between his ſhoulders, given with ſo much force, that the blood guſhed from his noſe and mouth. This circumſtance counteracted all the earl's arguments, and determined William to purſue his victory, till he had entirely diſperſed the enemy.

Never was a battle fought with more reſolution, nor more unremitted ardour. It began at ſeven in the morning, and continued till night. The duke loſt no leſs than fifteen thouſand of his beſt troops; and the carnage was much greater on the ſide of the vanquiſhed, beſides the death of the king and his two brothers. The dead body of Harold was found, after a long ſearch, and brought to William, who generouſly reſtored it, without ranſom, to his mother. The corps was then put into a coffin, and ſolemnly attended by the Norman barons, to Battle-bridge, where it was met by the Engliſh nobility, who conveyed it to Waltham, where it was buried with great funeral pomp, in a monaſtery which Harold himſelf had founded.

With reſpect to William, he did not leave the field of battle, without returning thanks to heaven in the moſt ſolemn manner, for the victory he had obtained. And after refreſhing his forces, prepared to puſh to the utmoſt his advantage againſt the divided, diſmayed, and diſcomfitted Engliſh.

Here we fix the period of the Anglo-Saxon government, precipitated on the Engliſh by defection and diſunion among themſelves. All the virtues of Harold could not unite them to oppoſe the ambition

of a foreign enemy. The few Engliſh who defended his fortune, did it either thro' fear of loſing their own properties, or from an affection to his perſon: narrow principles, when compared to that univerſal expanſion of public ſpirit, which ought to make all conſiderations ſecondary to the preſervation of our country againſt a foreign invaſion.

Harold was of a comely perſon, and in his mein diſcovered a kind of haughtineſs that demanded reſpect. His preſence was ſo majeſtic, that it inſpired the ſpectator with veneration. His diſpoſition was humane, his behaviour affable, his conduct wiſe, his generoſity unlimited, and his courage invincible. He exerted all his abilities to promote the true intereſt of his country, and ſacrificed his life in defending the liberties of England from the uſurpation of foreigners.

BOOK VI.

From the Norman *Conqueſt, to the death of King* Stephen.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE defeat at Haſtings ſpread terror and confuſion over the whole kingdom. The Engliſh ſaw themſelves deprived of their king, the flower of their nobility, and of every proſpect and expedient for repairing their loſs. At the ſame time, William plainly ſaw, that the defeat of Harold only opened his proſpect of ſucceſs, and that the point on which he had fixed his eye, the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, was concealed in ſtorms and tempeſts. The Norman had the addreſs, to make thoſe ſpend their fury upon one another, while his intereſt diſpelled the clouds, and ſwallowed up every thing that oppoſed it in its own luſtre.

The people of England were, at this time, divided by three different intereſts, the Anglo-Saxon, the Daniſh, and the Norman. The firſt was ſupported by all the Engliſh, who were perſuaded, that the public calamities could never be cloſed, nor the conſtitution fixed on its ancient and natural baſis, without reſtoring the race of Cerdic, to the throne of England. The Daniſh intereſt was compoſed of all the heads of the old Daniſh families, who had been long ſettled, and obtained large poſſeſſions in England. The third intereſt, or that of Normandy, was not very powerful, but of conſiderable weight, when backed by a victorious army. The Normans ſettled in England during the reigns of Ethelred and Edward, were rather reſpectable for their reputation with the people, the high employments they had held under a prince, whoſe memory was ſtill dear to the nation, and their own ſuperior addreſs and knowledge in all the arts of ſocial and civil life, than for their numbers.

William was ſenſible, that while three ſuch powful factions ſubſiſted, he had nothing to apprehend from an unanimity in public councils, nor, conſequently, from any ſudden reſolution of the Engliſh for ſettling the ſucceſſion. This ſeems to have been the true reaſon, why he appeared quite unconcerned when a meeting of the ſtates was ſummoned at London. In this aſſembly, a propoſition was made to place Edgar Atheling on the throne, and oppoſe the ambitious ſchemes of William. This propoſition was the more reaſonable, as the power of the kingdom was yet unbroken, the navy in good order, the force of the enemy greatly diminiſhed by his late victory, and the hearts of the Engliſh in general, ſo warmly inclined to Edgar, that he had acquired the epithet of England's darling. Add to this, that the propoſition was ſupported by Edwin and Morcar, then the moſt powerful ſubjects in England: but, unfortunately for Edgar, theſe two noblemen were obnoxious to the clergy. William, with that policy, which deep-laid ambition always uſes during the dependence of its ſchemes, had conſtantly affected the moſt profound veneration for the eccleſiaſtical order. This inſpired them with the pleaſing hopes of ſeeing their golden days reſtored, and the rather, as they ſaw ſeveral biſhops in high reputation, both in William's councils and army; not reflecting that thoſe biſhops, tho' of the ſame profeſſion, were of very different characters from themſelves. Superſtition was alſo joined with avarice and the thirſt of power. The pope's thunder was on the Norman ſide, and they conſidered the ſucceſs of William, as an indication of the favour of heaven ſeconding the anathemas of their pontiff. Theſe conſiderations induced the clergy to declare for the Norman intereſt. In the mean time, all reſpect to authority was loſt; every ſalutary ſcheme was oppoſed, and the whole kingdom became a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion.

During theſe tranſactions at London, William was taking meaſures for his own ſecurity againſt any unforeſeen accident. He well knew, that the loſs of a battle, tho' it might at firſt aſtoniſh, was not ſufficient to conquer the Engliſh. He was no ſtranger to their character, and therefore feared, that as ſoon as they had recovered from their panic, they would grow deſperate from the proſpect of their calamity, reſume at once their courage and ardour of revenge, from the very idea of their having been defeated, and conſequently their misfortune prove the cauſe of their victory. As they had ſtill reſources of men and arms, as their nobles were naturally ambitious, and averſe to the leaſt ſhadow of ſervitude, he feared they might once more try their fortune in the field; and, ſhould they gain the victory, the conſequence muſt be inevitable ruin. He therefore determined to make himſelf maſter of ſome maritime fortreſs, where he might wait in ſafety for rein-

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reinforcements from Normandy, and prevent the danger which threatened his army from a re-union of the Engliſh.

Having taken this reſolution, and ſtaid a few days at Haſtings to refreſh his troops, and ſtrengthen the fortifications, he left a conſiderable garriſon in the place, and marched to Romney, which he ſacked out of revenge, for the treatment that the crew of one of his ſhips had ſuffered at this place. He then advanced againſt Dover, a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, both by art and nature, that it was conſidered as impregnable, and, on that account, filled with ſoldiers, who had fled thither immediately after the battle of Haſtings. But tho' it was thus capable of making a noble defence, and ſtoping for a time the arms of the Norman, yet the conſternation of the beſieged was ſo great, that after a faint reſiſtance, they opened the gates to the conqueror. Thus William became maſter of the moſt important fortreſs in the kingdom, for receiving reinforcements, or retiring from the kingdom; and, at the ſame time, was in poſſeſſion of all the other ſea-ports oppoſite to France. Theſe acquiſitions were of the utmoſt importance to his deſigns, as a communication was thereby opened between England and his friends on the continent, who were too much intereſted in his expedition, and too much elated with his ſucceſs, not to ſupport him to the utmoſt of their power.

William now made preparations for marching to London, but was obliged to remain eight days at Dover, on account of a dyſentery which raged in his army, and carried off great numbers of his ſoldiers. This interval was not, however, ſpent inactively; he added ſeveral works to the fortifications, in order to render the place more capable of reſiſting the attacks of an enemy.

As ſoon as his army was recovered, William divided his forces into three columns, which advanced by different routes, and had orders to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword, where they met with the leaſt reſiſtance. In his march, William was met in a wood by a large body of Kentiſh-men, who, having obtained their demands, made no farther reſiſtance.

The diviſion, headed by the conqueror himſelf, was the firſt that arrived in the neighbourhood of London; and, in order to intimidate the citizens, ſet fire to ſeveral houſes on the Surry ſide of the river, which ſo terrified the Engliſh, that a general defection of the leſſer nobility enſued. The clergy, who knew that William's invaſion had the ſanction of the Roman pontiff, were unwilling to expoſe themſelves to the pope's cenſures, by oppoſing the duke: they even went farther, and thinking to make a merit of betraying their country, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Londoners to ſubmit, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Theſe repreſentations operated ſo ſtrongly on the minds of many of the citizens, that they were for opening their gates immediately; but others, who were friends to liberty, oppoſed this ſtep, till they had tried every other means in their power. Inſpired with this noble reſolution, and reſolving to deſerve ſucceſs, tho' it was not in their power to inſure it, they determined to attack the duke at the head of his diviſion, before he could be joined by the reſt of his army. Accordingly they marched out againſt him, ſuppoſing the fatigue his men had ſuffered, during their march, would give them great advantages. But William, who was too vigilant to be ſurprized, and too wiſe to harraſs his ſoldiers by forced marches, diſappointed their hopes. The vigilant Norman, at the head of five hundred horſe, gave the Londoners ſo warm a reception, that they were ſoon entirely routed, and obliged to retire with the greateſt precipitation. This check ſtruck ſuch a panic into Edgar's friends, and furniſhed the clergy with ſuch an opportunity of enforcing their perſuaſions, that the whole city was thrown into confuſion.

In the midſt of this diſorder, the Londoners received advice, that William had paſſed the Thames at Wallingford, and poſted his army at Berkhamſtead. A ſcene of calamity was now ready to be renewed, as ſhocking as thoſe of the Daniſh devaſtations; and the chief of the Engliſh, unable to procure unanimity in the public councils, reſolved to prevent it by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion. Accordingly, while William continued at Berkhamſtead, Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Aldred, archbiſhop of York, Wulſtan, biſhop of Wincheſter, accompanied by the chief nobility, among whom was Edgar Athelin himſelf, and the moſt eminent perſons in London, repaired to the Norman camp, and declared their intention of ſubmitting to his authority. They requeſted him to accept of their crown, which they now conſidered as vacant; and declared to him, that as they had always been ruled by regal power, they reſolved to follow, in this particular, the example of their anceſtors, and knew of no one more worthy than himſelf to hold the reins of government.

Tho' this was the great object to which the duke's enterprize tended, he ſeemed to deliberate on the offer; and being deſirous, at firſt, of preſerving the appearance of a legal adminiſtration, he wiſhed to obtain a more expreſs and formal conſent, both of his own army and of the Engliſh nation: but Aimar of Acquitain, a man equally reſpected for his valour in the field, and for his prudence in council, remonſtrating with him on the danger of delay at ſo critical a conjuncture, he laid aſide all farther ſcruples, and accepted the offer made him of the crown. Orders were immediately iſſued to prepare every thing neceſſary for the ceremony of his coronation; but as he was afraid to place entire confidence in the Londoners, who were numerous and warlike, he, in the mean time, commanded fortreſſes to be erected, in order to curb the inhabitants, and to ſecure his perſon and government from any inſult.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury was not greatly in the duke's favour, both becauſe he had acquired the ſee by the expulſion of Robert, the Norman, and becauſe he poſſeſſed ſuch influence and authority over the Engliſh, as might be dangerous to a new eſtabliſhed monarch. William, therefore, pretending that the primate had obtained the pall in an irregular manner from pope Benedict the ninth, who was himſelf an uſurper, refuſed to be anointed by him, and conferred that honour on Aldred, archbiſhop of York.

Chriſtmas-day was appointed for the performance of that magnificent ceremony, in the abbey-church of St. Peter, at Weſtminſter. Accordingly, the moſt conſiderable of the nobility, both Engliſh and Norman, then attended; when Aldred, in a ſhort ſpeech, aſked the former, whether they agreed to accept William as their king; the biſhop of Conſtance put the ſame queſtion to the latter; and both being anſwered in the affirmative, Aldred adminiſtered to the

the duke the uſual coronation oath, by which he bound himſelf to protect the church, to adminiſter juſtice, and to repreſs violence; after which he anointed him, and placed the crown on his head. Tho' there appeared nothing but joy in the countenances of the ſpectators, yet, in that very moment, there burſt forth the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of the jealouſy and animoſity which had long prevailed between the Engliſh and the Normans, and which continually increaſed during the whole reign of this prince. The Norman ſoldiers, who were placed without, in order to guard the church, hearing the ſhouts within, fancied that the Engliſh were committing violence on the perſon of their duke, and therefore immediately aſſaulted the populace, and ſet fire to the neighbouring houſes. The alarm was conveyed to the nobility who ſurrounded the prince; both Engliſh and Normans, full of apprehenſions, ruſhed out to ſecure themſelves from the preſent danger; and it was with difficulty that William himſelf could appeaſe the tumult.

A. D. 1067. Having thus obtained poſſeſſion of the throne, by a pretended deſignation of Edward the Confeſſor, and by an irregular election of the people, but ſtill more by the force of arms, the king retired from London to Barking, in Eſſex, where he received the ſubmiſſions of all the nobility, who had not attended his coronation. Edric, ſurnamed the Foreſter, grand nephew to that Edric, ſo noted for his repeated acts of perfidy, during the reigns of Ethelred and Edmund; earl Coxo, a man famous for bravery, even Edwin and Morcar, dukes of Mercia and Northumberland, with the other principal nobleman of England, came and ſwore fealty to him, were received into favour, and confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and dignities. Every thing bore the appearance of peace and tranquillity; and William had no other difficulties to ſurmount, than to ſatisfy the foreigners who had aſſiſted him in acquiring the throne, and to give content to his new ſubjects, who had ſo readily ſubmitted to his government.

He had taken poſſeſſion of the treaſure of Harold, which was very conſiderable; and being alſo ſupplied with rich preſents from the opulent men in all parts of England, who were ſollicitous to gain the favour of their new monarch, he diſtributed large ſums among his troops; and by his liberality, gave them hopes of obtaining, at length, thoſe more durable eſtabliſhments, which they had expected from his enterprize. The eccleſiaſtics, both at home and abroad, had much forwarded his ſucceſs; and, in return, he expreſſed his gratitude in the manner which was moſt acceptable to them; he ſent Harold's ſtandard to the pope, accompanied with many valuable preſents: all the conſiderable churches and monaſteries in France, where prayers had been put up for his ſucceſs, now taſted of his bounty: the Engliſh monks found him well diſpoſed to favour their order; and he built a new convent near Haſtings, which he called Battel-abbey, and which, on pretence of ſupporting monks to pray for his own ſoul, and that of Harold, ſerved as a pepetual memorial of his victory.

As his dominions in Normandy were, during this interval, left in a defenceleſs condition, on account of his troops being employed in England, he now determined to go thither in perſon, in order to ſettle the affairs of his dutchy, and prevent it from being attacked by the king of France, who might have been tempted by this opportunity, to re-unite it to his kingdom.

But, previous to his taking this ſtep, William thought it expedient to purſue ſuch meaſures for the ſecurity of his new conqueſt, as might pacify the minds of the Engliſh nobility, render himſelf popular among perſons of the lower claſs, and prevent any commotions during his abſence.

He was convinced, that the poſſeſſion of lands, generally gave the poſſeſſor an influence over his tenants, and increaſed at once both his wealth and his power. The eſtates, therefore, of ſuch of the nobility and gentry as had fallen in the battle of Haſtings, he divided among ſuch of his followers, who could claim theſe rewards as a return for their ſervices, and as a debt he engaged himſelf to diſcharge, at the time when they firſt eſpouſed his cauſe: and the eſtates of thoſe among the Engliſh, who had the good fortune to eſcape the ſword in that fatal conflict, were confiſcated for the ſame purpoſe. But, in order to obviate any apprehenſions, which the reſt of the nobility might entertain, from the precarious tenure in which they now held their eſtates, he publiſhed a proclamation, wherein he declared, that he claimed the crown as a legal king, and would govern as ſuch; adding, that tho' he puniſhed thoſe who had taken up arms againſt him in favour of an uſurper, he was determined to maintain all others in a full enjoyment of their rights and properties.

As none were to be deprived of their eſtates but thoſe who had appeared againſt him in the field, the noblemen, who had remained neuter during his conqueſt, conſidered this as nothing more than an act of juſtice, and, by approving his equity, were reſtrained from taking part with thoſe who were deprived of their eſtates. Nor did he ſtop here, he made grants to ſeveral of them, which exceeded their warmeſt expectations, even from their natural parents, and beſtowed on others large eſtates in Normandy. And, in order to give the nation a ſignal mark of his generoſity and magnanimity, he not only confirmed Edgar Atheling in the earldom of Oxford, but alſo made him a grant of other eſtates, pretending he bore him a more than common reſpect, on account of his being the nephew of his great benefactor, Edward the Confeſſor.

It was impoſſible for the Engliſh to withſtand the charms of ſuch a conduct, which, as it coincided with their prejudices, by exalting their favourite, it palliated the invaſion of their conqueror. To convince the Engliſh ſtill more of his good intentions, he appeared ſollicitous to unite in an amicable manner the Normans and the Engliſh, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his new ſubjects, who approached his perſon, were received with affability and regard. This ſtep, which evidently ſhowed, that he intended to unite the two nations, ſerved to obviate every ſuſpicion they might otherwiſe have entertained of his reviving that partiality for the Normans, which had occaſioned ſo much confuſion in a former reign.

At the ſame time, he commanded his principal officers to treat the Engliſh with humanity and benevolence: his own army was governed by the ſevereſt diſcipline; and, notwithſtanding the inſolence of victory, care was taken to give as little offence as poſſible to the jealouſy of the vanquiſhed. At the ſame time, he introduced into England, that ſtrict execution of juſtice, for which his adminiſtration had been ſo celebrated in Normandy; and even dur-

during this violent revolution, every diſorder or oppreſſion met with the moſt rigorous puniſhment.

He alſo made a progreſs through ſeveral parts of England, in order to reconcile ſtill more his new ſubjects to his authority; and beſides a ſplendid court, and majeſtic preſence, which overawed the people, already ſtruck with his military fame, the appearance of his clemency and juſtice gained the approbation of the wiſe, who were very attentive to the firſt ſteps of their new ſovereign. He exerted himſelf in extirpating the banditti, which then infeſted the country, and ſheltered themſelves in the woods, which, at that time, abounded in the kingdom. Wherever he came, he left favourable ideas of his government, by making ſuch wiſe regulations, as contributed to preſerve the properties of the inhabitants from rapine, and the peace of the country from diſturbance.

But amidſt this confidence and friendſhip, which he expreſſed for the Engliſh, William took care to place all the real power in the hands of his Normans, and ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of the ſword, to which, he was ſenſible, he owed his advancement to ſovereign authority. He diſarmed the city of London and other places, which appeared the moſt warlike and populous; and, after building fortreſſes and citadels in that capital, as well as in Wincheſter, Hereford, and the cities beſt ſituated for commanding the kingdom, he quartered Norman ſoldiers in all of them, and left no where any power able to reſiſt or oppoſe him. He beſtowed the forfeited eſtates on the moſt powerful of his generals, and eſtabliſhed funds for the payment of his ſoldiers. And thus, while his civil adminiſtration carried the face of a legal magiſtrate, his military inſtitutions were thoſe of a maſter and a tyrant; at leaſt of one, who reſerved to himſelf, whenever he pleaſed, the power of aſſuming that character.

Theſe ſteps being taken, William prepared to reviſit his native country, and enjoy the triumph and congratulation of his ancient ſubjects. He left the adminiſtration in the hands of his uterine brother Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, and of his couſin William Fitz-Oſborne, whom he had created earl of Hereford; and that their authority might be expoſed to leſs danger, he carried over with him all the powerful nobility, whoſe fidelity was in the leaſt ſuſpicious. Among theſe were Edgar Atheling, Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edwin and Morcar, earls of Mercia and Northumberland, Waltheof, the ſon of the famous Siward, Roger, earl of Hertford, Rainulph, earl of Cambridge, Goſpatrick, earl of Cumberland, Algenoth, abbot of Glaſtonbury, and Frederick, abbot of St. Alban's. His pretence for taking theſe noble perſonages with him, was the eſteem he had for their characters, the pleaſure he received from their converſation, and his deſire of ſhewing them to the world, as the chief ornaments of his court. But they themſelves ſufficiently perceived, that they were really carried abroad as hoſtages to ſecure his conqueſt, to illuſtrate his power, and to adorn his triumph.

At the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that he treated them all, particularly Stigand, the archbiſhop, with all the exterior marks of civility and reſpect. He always addreſſed that primate with no other title than that of father; roſe from his ſeat in all aſſemblies to ſalute him; cauſed him to be received on all proper occaſions with ſolemn proceſſions; and paid him every ceremony, and every honour that was due, either to the dignity of his perſon, or the ſacredneſs of his character.

Attended with this train of honourable captives, he ſailed for Normandy, where he was received by his ancient ſubjects, with every demonſtration of joy, and every effort of officious gratitude. He kept his Eaſter in the abbey of Feſcamp, where he was viſited by Rodulph, uncle to the French king, and by many powerful princes and nobles, who, having contributed to his enterprize, were deſirous of participating in the joy and advantages of its ſucceſs. The Engliſh courtiers, willing to ingratiate themſelves with their new ſovereign, endeavoured to excel each other in equipages and entertainments; and made ſuch a diſplay of their riches, as ſtruck the foreigners with aſtoniſhment. William of Poictiers, a Norman hiſtorian, who was an eye witneſs, ſpeaks with admiration of the beauty of their perſons, the ſize and workmanſhip of their ſilver plate, and the coſtlineſs of their embroideries, an art in which the Engliſh then excelled. But tho' every thing bore the face of joy and feſtivity, and William treated his new courtiers with the greateſt appearance of kindneſs, it was impoſſible to prevent entirely the inſolence of the Normans; ſo that the Engliſh nobles received very little pleaſure from thoſe entertainments, where they conſidered themſelves as led in triumph by their oſtentatious conqueror.

While William was thus indulging himſelf in his native country, all the precautions he had taken, for ſecuring the tranquillity of England, were fruſtrated, by the behaviour of thoſe he had intruſted with the government. Forgetting the orders he had iſſued, for treating the natives with great moderation, tenderneſs and humanity, leſt they ſhould provoke the Engliſh to rebel; they were guilty of the greateſt exceſſes, and endeavoured, if we may uſe the expreſſion, to be ſuperlatively injurious. The inferior officers treated the Engliſh gentry with inſolence, loaded the people with grievous exactions, and ſubjected both to ſuch injurious treatment, as the Britiſh ſpirit could not endure without reſentment. Odo and Fitz-Oſborne, inſtead of correcting theſe abuſes, encouraged the perpetrators, and treated thoſe who complained with inſults and outrage: thus defended in their crimes, the Normans increaſed daily in their inſolence; they plundered the houſes of the Engliſh; they raviſhed the women, and were guilty of ſuch enormities, that nothing but cruelty could countenance; nothing but brutality could tollerate: yet ſo ſavage were the two guardians of the realm, that no complaints of the Engliſh could prevail, no ſupplications move them to redreſs their grievances.

The inhabitants of Kent, tired with remonſtrating in vain, and grown deſperate by their ſufferings, ſent privately to Euſtace, earl of Bologne for ſupport, and were determined either to recover their liberty, and puniſh their governors, or periſh in the attempt.

It is very remarkable, that the Kentiſhmen ſhould have ſo ſoon forgot their animoſity againſt the perſon of this nobleman, whom, in a fit of rage, they had, not many years before, driven out of the kingdom. But it is natural for perſons in danger to catch at any object to ſave themſelves. In this ſtate of calamity, the Engliſh loſt all remembrance of their former averſion to Euſtace; nay, what is ſtill more, they ſeem to have forgot they had treated him

with outrage. Nor was Euſtace himſelf leſs deſirous of burying his reſentment in oblivion. He was now at variance with the duke, and, therefore, glad of the opportunity of making him ſenſible of the weight of his anger. The plan of operations being ſettled, it was agreed that he ſhould ſeize the caſtle of Dover, and Hugh de Montfort the governor being abſent with part of the garriſon, every thing ſeemed to favour their deſigns. Euſtace croſſed the ſea in the night with a body of troops, and being joined by the Kentiſhmen, hoped to ſurprize the caſtle; but the garriſon, who were always on their guard, gave the inſurgents ſo warm a reception that they were beat off and put to flight by the Normans in a ſally, when many of them were precipitated down the cliffs into the ſea, and the nephew of Euſtace taken priſoner; he himſelf with a few followers, eſcaping with difficulty to his ſhips.

Though this faint ſtruggle for liberty proved abortive, it was far from intimidating the malecontents in other parts of the kingdom. Edric the foreſter, whoſe poſſeſſions lay on the banks of the Severn, being provoked at the depredations committed by ſome Norman captains in his neighbourhood, formed an alliance with Blethyn and Rowallan, two Welſh princes; and, by their aſſiſtance, endeavoured to repel force by force. But tho' theſe open hoſtilities were not very conſiderable, the diſaffection was general among the Engliſh, who had become ſenſible, tho' too late, of their defenceleſs condition, and began already to experience thoſe inſults and injuries, which a nation, that allows itſelf to be reduced to that deſpicable ſituation, muſt always expect. Several inſurrections were raiſed in different parts of the kingdom, and arrived to ſuch a height, that they were not ſuppreſſed without great difficulty by the joint forces of Odo and the earl of Hertford. A ſecret conſpiracy was alſo entered into for perpetrating in one day a general aſſaſſination of the Normans, like that which had been formerly executed upon the Danes; and the quarrel was become ſo univerſal and national, that the vaſſals of earl Coxo, having deſired him to head them in an inſurrection, and finding him reſolute in maintaining his fidelity to William, put him to death as a traitor to his country.

It is very ſurpriſing that William in leſs than three months after the conqueſt of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation, ſhould abſent himſelf in order to reviſit his own country, which remained in profound tranquillity, and without being menaced by any of its neighbours; leaving ſo long his jealous ſubjects to the mercy of an inſolent and licentious army. Were we not aſſured of the ſolidity of his genius, and the good ſenſe diſplayed in all other circumſtances of his conduct, we might aſcribe this meaſure to a vain oſtentation, which rendered him impatient to diſplay his pomp and magnificence among his ancient courtiers. It is, therefore, more natural to believe, that in ſo extraordinary a ſtep he was guided by a concealed policy; and that tho' he had thought proper at firſt to allure the people to ſubmiſſion by the appearance of a legal adminiſtration, he found that he could not ſatisfy his rapacious captains, nor ſecure his unſtable government, without exerting farther the rights of conqueſt, and ſeizing the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh. In order to give a pretence to this violence, he endeavoured, without diſcovering his intention, to provoke and allure them into inſurrections, which, he thought, could never prove dangerous while he detained all the principal nobility in Normandy, while a great and victorious army was quartered in England, and while he himſelf was ſo near to ſuppreſs any tumult or rebellion.

But whether this meaſure was the conſequence of the vanity or the policy of William, it was the immediate cauſe of all the calamities ſuffered by the Engliſh during this and the ſubſequent reigns, and gave riſe to thoſe mutual jealouſies and animoſities between them and the Normans, which were never appeaſed, till a long ſeries of time had gradually united the two nations, and made them one people.

William being informed of theſe diſturbances, left the care of Normandy to his queen Matilda and his eldeſt ſon Robert, and arrived in England on the ſixth of December, juſt time enough to prevent the aſſaſſination we have already mentioned from being carried into execution. Aſh-wedneſday was the day fixed upon for the perpetration of this ſcene of miſery, when the Normans would have been defenceleſs; it being the cuſtom for all perſons on that day to go to church barefooted and unarmed. This conſpiracy was ſo general, that it was almoſt impoſſible to keep it a ſecret; and it is probable that the private intelligence William had received of it, haſtened his return. But however that be, his preſence broke all the meaſures of the conſpirators, who retired into the north, and having fortified the city of Durham, made it their head quarters, and ſet the conqueror's power at defiance.

Whether theſe attempts of the Engliſh to recover their liberties, deſtroyed the mutual confidence which ſeemed to exiſt between him and his new ſubjects, or whether the diſguſt he ſhewed was the effect of a deep laid policy, it is certain he never after his arrival behaved with that openneſs and generoſity as before; but formed, or rather continued his reſolution of diſpoſſeſſing them of their eſtates, and diſtributing them among his Normans. He had however, the art to diſſemble his intentions, and thought proper to apply lenitives to the diſcontented ſpirits of the Engliſh. Accordingly, he threw the blame of what had paſſed in his abſence upon his miniſters and governors, who were unacquainted with the temper, diſpoſitions, and laws of the Engliſh. He profeſſed a readineſs to redreſs their grievances; he heard their complaints with complaiſance, and treated their nobility both ſpiritual and temporal with great affability. The late alliance between Edric and the Welſh had given him the greateſt uneaſineſs. He dreaded leſt theſe two nations, forgetting their former animoſities, ſhould join in their hatred to the Normans. He knew how odious the name of an invader was to both, and that they equally hated the manners of foreigners. He had, however, the art to conceal his apprehenſions. He invited the Welſh princes to London, where he kept his Chriſtmas, and where they were received with the greateſt honours; but in order to create a diſtruſt between them and the Engliſh, were adviſed to be upon their guard againſt the treachery and perfidy of the latter.

The ſubſidies William had hitherto levied upon the Engliſh were but ſmall, and far from anſwering the demands, either of William's neceſſities or avarice. He was under many engagements, beſides thoſe contracted for paying his army. His expedition into England was a bold, perhaps a deſperate undertaking, and this had induced him to promiſe

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the princes who had aſſiſted him, advantages of far more conſequence than the ordinary pay of their troops. His late viſit to Normandy had greatly exhauſted his treaſure, and the preſent ſituation of his affairs demanded an immediate ſupply. But being, at the ſame time, unwilling to introduce any thing that might have the appearance of a foreign tax, he determined to revive what was called Danegelt, a tax originally levied on the Engliſh, for ſupporting an army to oppoſe the depredations of the Danes; and had been aboliſhed by Edward the Confeſſor, becauſe the danger that gave riſe to its being collected, was no longer known. This tax was always extremely odious to the Engliſh; and Aldred, archbiſhop of York, who, before this ſtep, had the ſincereſt affection for William, no ſooner beheld his exertion of arbitrary power, than he endeavoured to cruſh it in its birth. Accordingly he ſent meſſengers to the king with remonſtrances, and laboured very aſſiduouſly to diſſuade him from putting his deſign in execution, by repreſenting the ill conſequences that muſt reſult from the diſplaying ſo glaring an indication of a deſpotic adminiſtration. But the prelate was ſoon convinced, that no repreſentations could prevail: his meſſengers found great difficulty in gaining admiſſion, and were ſent back to the biſhop with a very haughty anſwer.

A. D. 1068. William, without paying the leaſt regard to the prelate's remonſtrances, levied the tax with the greateſt rigour. That part of the nation, neareſt to his court, garriſoned by his creatures, and more immediately at the mercy of a ſtanding army, readily ſubmitted; but the weſtern counties of Devonſhire and Cornwall revolted, and the city of Exeter refuſed to acknowledge his authority, or receive a Norman garriſon.

Upon the loſs of the battle of Haſtings, Githa, mother of Harold, had taken refuge in the city of Exeter, and either thro' the political indulgence of the conqueror, or a particular ſtipulation in her favour, by Edwin and Morcar, had remained in that place unmoleſted, with all her rich effects. Perhaps her influence might have been the reaſon, why this city was the firſt that refuſed to ſubmit to the conqueror's regulations. But the citizens did not found their oppoſition upon his impoſing the Danegelt, but upon his other unconſtitutional proceedings. This was a dangerous precedent to William: and he accordingly informed them, that he was not uſed to govern ſuch ſubjects, and immediately marched againſt them at the head of a powerful army.

But when he had advanced within four miles of the city, he was met by the magiſtrates, with offers of ſubmiſſion, which being accepted, hoſtages were given as a pledge of their ſincerity. The populace, however, who had not conſented to theſe meaſures, renounced the treaty, and ſhut their gates againſt the conqueror. Incenſed at theſe proceedings, William commanded one of the hoſtages to be brought before the principal gate, where his eyes were put out in a very barbarous manner. This inſtance of terror did not, however, produce the deſired effect; ſo that the ſiege was now opened in form, and all the various engines of battery, known in that age, played againſt the walls. The inſolence of the citizens now gave way to their fears: they implored the compaſſion of the conqueror, and ſurrendered themſelves at diſcretion. Githa, on William's firſt appearance before the town, had found means to convey herſelf, and all her valuable effects on board a ſhip, in which ſhe eſcaped to Flanders.

William having thus reduced Exeter, choſe the moſt convenient ſpot for building a citadel to bridle the inhabitants for the future, and leaving a ſtrong garriſon in it, under the command of Baldwin, one of his Norman officers, he marched into Cornwall. His preſence ſoon put an end to all commotions, and having provided for the peace of the county, he returned to Wincheſter, and put his army into winter quarters. He was here joined by his wife Matilda, who had not before viſited England, and whom he now ordered to be crowned by Aldred, archbiſhop of York. Soon after ſhe brought him an acceſſion to his family, whom he named Henry. His three elder ſons, Robert, Richard and William, ſtill reſided in Normandy.

But the Engliſh, who are a people extremely tenacious of their privileges, and ready at any time to ſacrifice their lives in defence of their liberties, did not tamely ſubmit to the impoſitions of the Norman. An inſurrection broke out in the north, far more formidable than that which had lately been ſuppreſſed in the weſt; the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom were among the inſurgents, and wanted nothing but unanimity to render their deſigns effectual. In this diſtreſs, the people naturally turned their eyes to Edwin and Morcar; they knew their valour, they confided in their popularity, and made no doubt of ſucceſs, if they could induce theſe noblemen to declare in their favour. The earls themſelves were already prepared for any deſperate attempt: if the diſtreſſes of their country had made no impreſſion on their minds, a motive equally ſtrong, though not equally laudable, we mean revenge, inſtigated them to take up arms againſt William.

The Norman, in order to ſecure theſe two noblemen in his intereſt, had, on his acceſſion, promiſed his daughter in marriage to Edwin; but either he had never ſeriouſly intended to perform his engagement, or having changed his plan of adminiſtration in England from clemency to rigour, he thought it was to little purpoſe, to gain one family, at the expence of enraging the whole nation. When Edwin, therefore renewed his application, he gave him an abſolute refuſal; and this diſappointment, added to ſo many other reaſons for diſguſt, induced that nobleman and his brother to concur with their enraged countrymen, and to make one effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. But before they took up arms, they wiſely ſtipulated for foreign ſuccours, from their nephew Blethyn, prince of North Wales, from Malcolm, king of Scotland, and from Swein king of Denmark.

William, far from being alarmed at theſe preparations and alliances of the inſurgents, advanced by forced marches towards the north. He was already in poſſeſſion of the moſt important fortreſſes, and therefore had little to fear from the progreſs of the diſcontented Engliſh. He firſt viſited thoſe places of ſtrength, and put them in a condition to prevent a ſurprize. The caſtle of Warwick was new fortified, and committed to the cuſtody of Henry de Beaumont, a Norman nobleman, afterwards created earl of Warwick. William Peverel, another Norman, was intruſted with the important caſtle of Nottingham, the fortifications of which were alſo repaired.

paired. Theſe precautions taken by William and the great celerity of his march, by which he reached York before any of the foreign ſuccours arrived, except a ſmall reinforcement from Wales, ſufficiently convinced the two earls that they muſt either be reduced to the diſcouraging neceſſity of paſſing the approaching winter amidſt the faſtneſſes of the country, while William, poſſeſſing all the places of ſtrength, would be enabled to cut off their ſupplies, or have recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror. They choſe the latter; and William, not chuſing to exaſperate the Engliſh any farther, received them with ſeeming complaiſance. Archil, another nobleman of great intereſt in the northern parts, followed their example, and gave his ſon as a hoſtage to William for his good behaviour. Upon this, the inhabitants of York, a place at that time of great importance, ſent William the keys of their city. This ſubmiſſion was very agreeable to the conqueror, who immediately gave orders for building two forts, each of which were garriſoned with five hundred men. Egilwin, biſhop of Durham, now likewiſe made his peace; and had alſo the merit of prevailing on Malcolm to enter into a treaty with William, and to do him homage for Cumberland. The people thus deſerted by their leaders, were unable to make any farther reſiſtance. William religiouſly obſerved the terms granted to the chieftains, and allowed them for the preſent to keep poſſeſſion of their eſtates; but he extended the rigours of his confiſcations over their followers, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers, who being in poſſeſſion of the military power, and diſſeminated through the whole country, left Edwin and Morcar, whom he pretended to ſpare, deſtitute of all ſupport, and ready to fall whenever he ſhould think proper to command their ruin. The conqueror having thus weathered the ſtorm, renewed his application to erecting caſtles wherever they were wanting, or might be uſeful. Lincoln, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, were all bridled by ſtrong forts, and garriſoned with Norman ſoldiers.

In the mean time all the Engliſh, from whoſe influence with their countrymen, William had any thing to fear, ſuffered a kind of proſcription, by being either ſtripped of their eſtates or deprived of their liberty. The deſtructi n of ſo many families was a ſufficient proof, that the king intended to rely entirely on the ſupport and affections of foreigners. Many of the Engliſh, therefore, fled into foreign countries, hoping to paſs their lives abroad, free from oppreſſion, or to return, on a favourable opportunity, to aſſiſt their friends in the recovery of their native liberties. Edgar Atheling himſelf, dreading the inſiduous careſſes of William, was perſuaded by Coſpatric, a powerful Northumbrian, to eſcape into Scotland; and he carried with him his two ſiſters, Margaret and Chriſtina. The ſentiments of common humanity, could not diſpenſe with Malcolm's receiving the illuſtrious fugitives with great civility. As he himſelf had been an exile, he was moved with compaſſion at their fate. This compaſſion, improved by intercourſe, at laſt begot an affection for the perſon of Margaret, whom he afterwards married.

Edgar's reception in Scotland, was no ſooner known, than Malcolm's court was crouded with Engliſh exiles, who imoprted into that country their manners, and laid the foundations of very oppulent families. This could not fail of alarming William, who required Malcolm to deliver Edgar as his ſubject and a fugitive. Malcolm not obeying the Norman's ſummons, war was declared on both ſides. The Scot had many political reaſons for endeavouring to check the Norman's power. The ſubmiſſion of ſo great a people as the Engliſh, afforded Malcolm but a melancholy proſpect of his own fate, ſhould William's ambition tempt him to reduce the whole iſland under one head. He was now ſtrengthened by moſt of the nobility in the north of England; and he knew that powerful factions were formed in favour of Edgar Atheling, in many parts of the kingdom.

In the mean time the diſaffected Engliſh, encouraged by the ſupport and aſſiſtance they received from Scotland, harraſſed the Normans in their new poſſeſſions, and menaced them with ſtill more bloody effects of the public reſentment. This induced many of them to wiſh again for the tranquillity and ſecurity they once enjoyed in their native country. Hugh de Grentmeſnil, and Humphrey de Teliol, tho' intruſted with great commands, deſired to be diſmiſſed the ſervice, and ſome others imitated their example: a deſertion, which was highly reſented by the king, and which he puniſhed, by confiſcating all their poſſeſſions. But William's bounty to his followers, could not fail of alluring many adventurers into his ſervice; and the rage of the vanquiſhed Engliſh, ſerved only to excite the attention of the king, and keep theſe warlike chieftains in readineſs to ſuppreſs, in its infancy, any domeſtic rebellion, and render abortive any foreign invaſion.

A. D. 1069. William had ſome time ſince created Robert Cumin, one of his Normans, earl of Northumberland, and now ſent him to take poſſeſſion of his eſtate. The Norman, little acquainted with the ſpirit of that people, ſet out at the head of a large retinue rather than an army, and advanced as far as Durham, perſuaded that his appearance alone was ſufficient to vanquiſh all oppoſition. Egilwin, biſhop of Durham, met him near that city, and, without particularly explaining himſelf, counſelled Robert to beware of a ſurprize. The haughty Norman, diſdaining caution as cowardice, made no other uſe of this advice, than to treat the inhabitants with the utmoſt ſeverity; collecting from the words of the biſhop, that they had dared to entertain ſome thoughts of reſiſtance. Accordingly, on his entering Durham, he put to death ſeveral people, among whom were ſome of the biſhop's own tenants. The prelate, however, received him with great regard and civility; and Cuming ſeeing no ſigns of reſiſtance, imagined that his ſeaſonable ſeverity had produced the deſired effect. But he was fatally miſtaken. The county had by this time taken the alarm, and the Northumbrians marched from all quarters by night towards Durham.

About break of day they forced the gates, which were guarded by the Normans, and entering the town with great fury, a maſſacre of all the foreigners enſued. The reſiſtance was but feeble, the latter being fatigued with their march, had retired to reſt, at their different quarters, in various parts of the city; ſo that, out of ſeven hundred perſons who compoſed the Norman's retinue, one man only eſcaped alive. Cumin himſelf, with ſome of his attendants, taking ſhelter in the biſhop's palace, made a vigorous defence with their long bows and arrows;

arrows; but the Engliſh, immediately ſetting fire to the ſtructure, it was ſoon conſumed, and every perſon in it periſhed in the flames. This ſucceſs animated the inhabitants of York, who riſing in arms, ſlew Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, and beſieged Mallet in the caſtle, on whom the command now devolved.

In the mean time Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, three ſons of Harold, who immediately, after the defeat at Haſtings, had found a welcome reception in Ireland from Dermot, and other princes of that country, projected an invaſion of England, hoping all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, aſſiſted with forces from theſe ſeveral counties, would at once commence hoſtilities, and rouze the indignation of the Engliſh againſt their haughty conquerors. Filled with theſe pleaſing ideas, they landed in Devonſhire, but found Brian, ſon to the count of Britany, ready to oppoſe them, at the head of a body of foreign forces; and being defeated in ſeveral actions, they were obliged to retreat to their ſhips, and return with conſiderable loſs to Ireland.

Soon after an army of Danes landed from three hundred veſſels, under the command of Oſberne, brother to king Swein, and accompanied by Harold and Canute, the two ſons of that monarch. Edgar Atheling appeared from Scotland, and brought with him Coſpatric, Waltheof, Siward, Bearne, Merelſwain, Adelin, and other chieftains, who, partly from the hopes they gave of ſuccours from Scotland, partly from their authority in thoſe parts, eaſily perſuaded the warlike Northumbrians to join the inſurrection. Mallet, that he might better provide for the defence of the citadel of York, ſet fire to ſome houſes which ſtood contiguous; but this expedient proved the immediate cauſe of his deſtruction. The flames ſpreading into the neighbouring ſtreets, reduced the whole city to aſhes; and the enraged inhabitants, aſſiſted by the Danes, took advantage of the confuſion to attack the caſtle, which they carried by aſſault, and put the whole garriſon, conſiſting of three thouſand men, to the ſword.

Undiſmayed by this ſcene of confuſion, William aſſembled his forces, and marched with great celerity into the north; and, on his entering Yorkſhire, he filled the whole country with blood and ſlaughter, ſo that a tract of country, ſixty miles in length, extending from York to Durham, was depopulated. But ſtill his enemies were not defeated: William, therefore, had recourſe to policy. The Danes were encamped near their ſhips; and the Norman, well knowing the principles on which they acted, engaged Oſberne, by large preſents, and permitting him to plunder the ſea-coaſt, to retire, without committing any farther hoſtilities, into Denmark.

Ever ſince the death of Cumin, Durham had remained in the hands of the rebels; but William now determined to reduce it. Upon his approach, biſhop Egelwin, well knowing the provocations which the king had received from the city, retired with his clergy to Landisfarne, carrying with him the body of St. Cuthbert. But the prelate had no occaſion for this precaution; his prudent conduct had gained him the friendſhip of William, who ſpared every thing belonging to the church on his account.

When William entered Durham, he found the rebels had abandoned the city, ſo that he took poſſeſſion of it without any loſs; and ordered a new fort to be built within the walls, both for the ſecurity of the biſhop, and for bridling the inhabitants. The garriſon of the rebels, who abandoned the city on William's approach, retreated to the ſea-coaſt, where they embarked on board a fleet of ſmall ſhips, and ſubſiſted by acts of piracy.

William having thus reſtored peace, by depopulating the country, reſolved to paſs the winter at York, and therefore ordered the regal ornaments to be ſent from London to that city, with whatever elſe was neceſſary for the ceremonious obſervation of Chriſtmas, which was then approaching. In the mean time, Coſpatric, deſpairing of ſucceſs, made his ſubmiſſion to the king, and on paying a ſum of money as an atonement for his inſurrection, was received into favour, and even inveſted with the earldom of Northumberland. Waltheof, who long defended York with invincible courage, was allured by this appearance of clemency; and as William knew how to eſteem valour, even in an enemy, that nobleman had no reaſon to repent of this confidence: William not only granted him his pardon, but beſtowed his niece Judith upon him in mariage, and ſoon after created him earl of Northampton and Huntingdon.

A. D. 1070. As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year admitted of his taking the field, he put himſelf at the head of his troops, and marched againſt a party of the rebels, who had taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral difficult, and almoſt inacceſſible paſſes; but notwithſtanding their fortified retreats, they thought proper to ſeek their ſafety in flight on the approach of William, who marched quietly acroſs the country into Cheſhire, in order to curb the Welſh, who, at the inſtigations of Edric, had beſieged Shrewſbury. The Welſh, however, did not chuſe to face the army of the conqueror: they raiſed the ſiege, and retired into their own country with precipitation, and Edric himſelf, impelled by neceſſity, made his ſubmiſſion to the conqueror, received his pardon, and afterwards obtained ſome degree of truſt and favour. In the mean time Malcolm, who came too late to ſupport his friends, retired into his own country, and was followed by Edgar Atheling, who again ſought, in that kingdom, a ſecure retreat from the purſuit of his enemies.

The Norman being thus the ſole maſter of the kingdom, purſued his plan of tyrannical adminiſtration, without the leaſt compaſſion for his unhappy ſubjects. The inſurrections and conſpiracies formed in ſo many different parts of the kingdom, had involved the greater part of the landed proprietors in the guilt of treaſon: and the king took the advantage of carrying into execution againſt them the laws of forfeiture and attainder, with the utmoſt rigour. Moſt of their lives, indeed, were ſpared, but their eſtates were confiſcated, and either annexed to the royal demeſnes, or conferred, in the moſt profuſe manner, on the Normans, and other foreigners. Scarce a form of juſtice was obſerved on this occaſion. It was a ſufficient crime in an Engliſhman to be noble, opulent, or powerful; and the policy of the king, concurring with the rapacity of foreign adventurers, produced almoſt a total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary: the nobles themſelves were every where treated with ignominy and contempt; they had the mortification of ſeeing their caſtles and manors poſſeſſed by Normans of the meaneſt birth and loweſt ſtations; and, at the ſame time, found themſelves

carefully excluded from every road leading either to riches or preferment. The following are a few of the many eſtates, &c. beſtowed by William on the Normans, and his other favourites.

To William Fitz-Oſberne, ſewer of Normandy, he gave the Iſle of Wight, and earldom of Hereford, and committed the care of guarding the Engliſh frontiers againſt the incurſions of the Welſh to him, Robert Lacy, and others. The town and county of Cheſter, the conqueror gave at firſt to Gherbad, a Fleming, who being called into his own country, by the moſt urgent affairs, was ſeized by his enemies, and kept in confinement till he died, and his eſtates in England were given to Hugh d'Amonches. Arundel, Chicheſter, and, afterwards, the county of Salop, he gave to Roger Montgomery. Northampton and Huntingdon to Waltheof. The county of Buckingham to Walter Giffard. The county of Surry to William de Warren. To Odo, ſon of Tedbald, earl of Blois, married to William's ſiſter, he gave Holderneſs. To Ralph Gauder, the earldom of the Eaſt-Angles. To Hugh de Grentmeſnel, he gave the town of Leiceſter, and diſtributed many cities and towns among other noblemen. To Henry de Ferariis, he gave the caſtle of Tetbury: and laviſhed honours and preferments on the meaneſt of his creatures, provided they had been forward in cruſhing the Engliſh.

Odo, his uterine brother, received from him the earldom of Kent; was made count palatine, gave laws as a viceroy, and was created juſticiary of England. Beſides his eſtates in Kent, where he poſſeſſed one hundred and eighty-four lordſhips, he had alſo thirty-nine in Eſſex, thirty-two in Oxfordſhire, twenty-three in Herefordſhire, thirty in Buckinghamſhire, two in Worceſterſhire, eight in Bedfordſhire, twelve in Northamptonſhire, five in Nottinghamſhire, twenty-two in Norfolk, ſix in Warwickſhire, and ſeventy-ſix in Lincolnſhire: in all four hundred and thirty-nine.

At the ſame time, in order to retain for ever, in the ſame hands, the military authority which had enabled him to ſubdue the kingdom, William introduced into England the feudal law, which he found eſtabliſhed both in France and Normandy, and which, during that age, was the foundation of the ſtability, and alſo of the diſorders in moſt of the monarchical governments in Europe. He divided all the lands of England, a few only, together with the royal demeſnes excepted, into baronies; and conferred theſe, with the reſervation of ſtated ſervices and payments, on the moſt conſiderable of his adventurers; ſome of whom we have above enumerated. Theſe great barons, who held immediately of the crown, divided out their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vaſſals, and who paid their lord the ſame duty and ſubmiſſion in peace and war, which he himſelf owed his ſovereign. The whole kingdom contained about ſeven hundred chief tenants, and ſixty thouſand two hundred and fifty knights fees; and as none of the native Engliſh were admitted into the firſt rank, the few who retained their landed property, were glad to be received into the ſecond, and under the protection of ſome powerful Norman, to load themſelves and their poſterity with this grievous burthen, for eſtates which they had received free from their anceſtors.

Nor were the eſtates of the eccleſiaſtical order excepted; William reduced their revenues under the ſame feudal law; and though he had courted the church at his firſt invaſion and acceſſion, he now ſubjected it to burthens, which the clergy regarded as a grievous ſlavery, and totally unbecoming their profeſſion. The biſhops and abbots were obliged, whenever required, to furniſh, during the war, a number of knights or military tenants, proportioned to the extent of property poſſeſſed by each ſee or abbey; and the incumbents were liable, in caſe of failure, to the ſame penalties which were laid upon the laity. The pope, together with the whole body of the clergy, exclaimed loudly againſt this ſpecies of tyranny, as they were pleaſed to call it; but William's authority was ſo well eſtabliſhed over the army, who held every thing from his bounty, that ſuperſtition itſelf, even in that age of bigotry, was obliged to ſubmit to his ſuperior authority.

But ſtill the great body of the clergy were natives; and conſequently enemies to the tyrannical adminiſtration of William and his Normans. He therefore ſummoned a council of the prelates and abbots at Wincheſter, where Ermefroy, biſhop of Sion, the pope's legate, preſided, aſſiſted by his cardinals, Peter and John. In this council, Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was not only degraded on the moſt frivolous pretences, but thrown into priſon, where he ſoon after died thro' the cruelty of the conqueror. The ſame rigorous proceedings were carried on againſt the other Engliſh prelates: Algeric, biſhop of Selſey, and Agelmare, biſhop of Elmham, were depoſed by the legate, and impriſoned by the Norman. Many conſiderable abbots ſhared the ſame fate: Egelwin, biſhop of Durham, fled out of the kingdom; Wolſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, a man of an inoffenſive character, was the only Engliſh prelate who eſcaped this general proſcription, and remained in poſſeſſion of his dignity. Aldred, archbiſhop of York, who had ſet the crown on William's head, had paid the debt of nature ſome time before; leaving his malediction to that prince, on account of the breach of his coronation-oath, and of the ſhameful tyranny with which he ſaw he was determined to treat his Engliſh ſubjects.

Having thus ſucceeded in depoſing moſt of the Engliſh prelates and abbots, William took care to fill their places with foreigners. Accordingly Lanfranc, a Milaneſe monk, celebrated for his learning and piety, was promoted to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, and Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, to that of York. While the biſhoprics of Wincheſter, Elmham, and Selſey, were beſtowed upon three of the conqueror's chaplains. At the ſame time, it muſt be owned, that William took care to fill thoſe ſees with perſons of great merit and diſtinguiſhed learning.

But all theſe deſpotic proceedings were not ſufficient to ſatisfy the revenge and avarice of the Norman conqueror. He had been informed that ſeveral perſons, during the late inſurrections, had depoſited their money, and other valuable effects, in the religious houſes. He therefore ordered all the monaſteries to be ſearched, and, under pretence of taking away what had been concealed by the inſurgents, he robbed theſe eccleſiaſtical edifices of their plate, and even ſtripped the ſacred ſhrines of their moſt valuable offerings, preſented by the ſuperſtitious hand of religious bigotry.

At the ſame time, William quartered the greater part of his troops upon the religious houſes, and com-

compelled the monks to find them in neceſſaries; by this means he ſupported his army at a ſmall expence, while he kept all thoſe religious communities in awe, under the immediate eye of his truſty Normans.

A. D. 1071. Strengthened by the addition of two ſuch powerful ſubjects as the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, William heaped new oppreſſions on his Engliſh ſubjects; and this produced a conſpiracy among the latter, which had almoſt proved fatal to the Norman conqueror. At the head of this conſpiracy was Frederic, abbot of St. Alban's, a perſon of great wealth, great ſpirit, and deſcended from the royal houſe of Denmark. Indeed, the miſeries of the Engliſh at this period, were abundantly ſufficient to juſtify the abbot's efforts to reſtore the ancient conſtitution, had he received no private injuries. The moſt reſpectable men in England were driven into the foreſts, where they procured a precarious ſubſiſtence by rapine: every private ſubject's houſe was little better than a garriſon, provided with weapons, both offenſive and defenſive, to repel the attacks of robbers. Indignation ariſing from the ſight of ſuch calamities, inflicted on a diſpirited people by a tyrannical conqueror, added to the principle of ſelf-preſervation, animated Frederic to attempt a remedy. He gave refuge to all the proſcribed Engliſh, who were ſo numerous, that in a ſhort time he collected a very ſtrong party, and found means to ſend for Edgar Atheling out of Scotland, to head the army. The ſtate of England, at this period, may be compared to that of an infant colony; the new planters were juſt beginning to taſte the rewards of a long courſe of military fatigues. Agriculture, and the ſettlement of their new poſſeſſions, now employed their chief attention, and to call them off from theſe, might occaſion diſguſt, and be attended with fatal conſequences. William, therefore, conſcious of his own demerits, feared the effects of this conſpiracy, which he knew would, ſooner or later, be joined by every Engliſhman, if not cruſhed in its infancy. He therefore had recourſe to the advice of his favourite counſellor Lanfranc, who deſired him to conciliate the affections of the Engliſh, by every act of condeſcenſion and kindneſs, conſiſtent with his own dignity and ſafety. He repreſented to him the ſalutary effects that might be expected from recalling the moſt popular among the proſcribed nobility, and reſtoring them to his favour and protection. William liſtened to this prudent advice, and prevailed with the chiefs of the conſpirators to give him a meeting at Berkhamſtead, where, after long debates, the terms of their ſubmiſſion were adjuſted, and William ſwore to maintain them inviolable, in the preſence of Lanfranc, adding, "that he would obſerve the good, "approved, and ancient laws of the kingdom, "which the holy and pious kings, his predeceſſors, "particularly king Edward, had ordained."

The Engliſh not ſuſpecting any deceit on the part of William, after ſo ſolemn an oath, laid down their arms, and returned to their reſpective habitations; but the Norman no ſooner ſaw them diſperſed, than he impriſoned their perſons, ſeized their eſtates, and filled their houſes with his own countrymen. Edgar Atheling, informed of this breach of faith, immediately repaired to Scotland, notwithſtanding all the vigilance of William to take him priſoner. In vain Frederic, and other chiefs among the Engliſh, remonſtrated againſt this perfidious conduct: inſtead of redreſs, many of them were treated themſelves in the ſame manner. This ſo greatly diſcouraged the abbot, that, fearing he ſhould ſhortly experience the ſame fate with his countrymen, he retired to the Iſle of Ely, where he ſoon after finiſhed his life in obſcurity.

The earls Edwin and Morcar, who had engaged in this conſpiracy, and laid down their arms on William's taking the above oath, to obſerve the laws of England, now perceived, that nothing leſs than the deſtruction of all the Engliſh was ſufficient to ſatisfy the hatred of the Norman. Morcar, therefore, retired to the Iſle of Ely, while Edwin repaired into the north, in order to commence a freſh inſurrection, but was barbarouſly murdered by a party of Norman ſoldiers.

In the mean time the malecontents, in the Iſle of Ely, daily increaſed. They were joined by Egelwin, biſhop of Durham, and Siward, a Northumbrian nobleman, who had fled to Scotland from the tyranny of the Norman. But their chief hero was one Hereward de Wake, a young Engliſh nobleman of diſtinguiſhed accompliſhments, and conſidered as the greateſt warrior of the age. Theſe ſhining qualities, and his known hatred to the Normans, induced the malecontents to chuſe him for their leader. This diſtinction animated young Hereward with freſh ardour, and, in order to convince thoſe who had intruſted him with the command, that they had not made choice of an unworthy object, he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly in making preparations for a vigorous defence; convinced that William would ſoon attack their retreat. Had the Engliſh, in general, exerted the ſame ſpirit with their leader, and properly ſeconded his efforts, they might ſtill have retrieved the affairs of their country. But his attempts, unſupported by the reſt of the nobility, in other parts of the kingdom, ſerved only to accelerate the ruin of the few Engliſh, who had hitherto been able to preſerve their rank or fortune during the paſt convulſions.

Sufficiently acquainted with Hereward's abilities, and apprehenſive that Morcar's popularity might animate great numbers to join his party, William reſolved to attack the inſurgents during the ſummer, when the place was acceſſible, being ſurrounded by a deep moraſs, which, in the winter, was covered with water. His firſt precaution was to build the caſtle of Weſbich, on the eaſt ſide of the moraſs, and then to ſtop up all the avenues by which the Engliſh could make any excurſions. But the malecontents had fortified themſelves too ſtrongly, for William to attempt making any aſſault upon their works; all he could do, was to form a kind of blockade, and by cutting off their communication with the main land, to wait the effects of famine. The active Hereward, however, while the Normans were one morning buſily employed on their works, ſallied out, engaged, and routed the party he attacked, and returned to the iſland loaded with plunder.

A. D. 1072. William now employed all his endeavours to ſubdue the rebels; and having ſurrounded the iſland with flat-bottomed boats, and made a cauſeway two miles in length thro' the moraſſes, he obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion. Hereward alone forced his way, ſword in hand, thro' the enemy, and ſtill continued his hoſtilities by ſea againſt the Normans, till at laſt William, charmed with his bravery, received him into favour, and reſtored

reſtored him to his eſtate. Earl Morcar, and Egelwin, biſhop of Durham, were thrown into priſon, and the latter ſoon after died in confinement.

In the mean time, the king of Scotland, hoping to profit by theſe confuſions, had fallen upon the northern counties, but, on the approach of William, he retired; and when the king entered his country, he was glad to make peace, and to pay the uſual homage to the Engliſh crown. To complete the king's proſperity, Edgar Atheling, deſpairing of ſucceſs, and weary of a fugitive life, ſubmitted to his enemy, and, receiving a handſome allowance, was permitted to live in England unmoleſted.

But theſe acts of generoſity towards the leaders were, as uſual, diſgraced by the rigour William exerciſed againſt the inferior malecontents. He ordered the hands to be lopped off, and the eyes to be put out, of many of the priſoners he had taken in the Iſle of Ely, and, in that miſerable condition, led them thro' the country as monuments of his cruelty.

A. D. 1073. Philip, king of France, either jealous of William's growing power, or hoping, that the unſettled ſtate of his affairs in England, would prevent his aſſiſting his ſubjects on the continent, attacked the dutchy of Normandy. This greatly embarraſſed William: he could truſt only to the Normans in ſubduing and awing the Engliſh, eſpecially when he himſelf was abſent. He therefore raiſed an army, wholly compoſed of the inhabitants of this kingdom, and paſſed over to the continent, where his Engliſh forces were joined by ſome troops levied in Normandy. Philip was, by this time, in poſſeſſion of the city of Mans, the capital of the province of Maine, which had ſome time before revolted from the Norman government. The Engliſh appeared ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves on this occaſion, and of recovering that character for valour, which had long been national among them; but which their late eaſy ſubjection by the Normans, had ſomewhat degraded and obſcured. Nor is it impoſſible but they might hope, by their zeal and activity, to recover the confidence of their ſovereign, as their anceſtors had formerly, by a ſimilar conduct, gained the affections of Canute; and to conquer his inveterate prejudices in favour of his own countrymen. The valour of the Engliſh, together with the king's military abilities, ſoon ſurmounted all difficulties in Maine: the city of Mans was retaken, the inhabitants were obliged to ſubmit to William's government, and the king of France, to give him an honourable peace.

A. D. 1074. But, during the king's ſtay in Normandy, a conſpiracy of a very extraordinary nature was formed in England, by perſons, whom, of all others, he imagined he had the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect of being diſſatisfied. Theſe were the very foreigners whom he had enriched with his bounties, and raiſed to the moſt eminent ſtations, from the love and eſteem he bore to their perſons. Robert, the youngeſt ſon of William Fitz-Oſberne, who ſucceeded to the Engliſh eſtate, and earldom of Hereford had, either by way of compliment to his ſovereign, or in compliance with the forms of vaſſallage, applied to William for leave to marry his ſiſter to Ralph de Gauder, earl of Norfolk, and met with an abſolute denial. He, however, proceeded to finiſh the nuptials, and aſſembled all his friends together, with thoſe of Gauder, to attend the ſolemnity. The two earls, diſguſted with receiving a denial to their requeſt, and dreading William's reſentment for their diſobedience, now prepared matters for a revolt; and, during the gaiety of the feſtival, while the company were heated with wine, they opened the deſign to their gueſts. They inveighed bitterly againſt the arbitrary conduct of the king; his tyranny towards the Engliſh, whom they affected on this occaſion, to commiſerate; his imperious behaviour to his barons of the nobleſt birth; and his apparent intention of reducing the victors and the vanquiſhed, to a like ignominious ſervitude. Amidſt their complaints, the indignity of ſubmitting to a baſtard was not forgot; the certain proſpect of ſucceſs in a revolt, by the aſſiſtance of the Danes and the diſcontented Engliſh, was inſiſted on; and the whole company, inflamed with the ſame ſentiments, and, warmed by the jollity of the entertainment, entered, by a ſolemn engagement, into the deſign of ſhaking off the royal authority. Even earl Waltheof himſelf, who happened to be preſent, inconſiderately expreſſed his approbation of the conſpiracy, and promiſed to aſſiſt in the execution to the utmoſt of his power.

Waltheof, who, as we have already obſerved, was married to Judith, the conqueror's niece, now poſſeſſed the confidence and friendſhip of his ſovereign, and had lately been inveſted with the important earldom of Northumberland, in the room of Coſpatric, who, on ſome new diſguſt from William, had retired into Scotland, where he received the earldom of Dunbar from the bounty of Malcolm. It is indeed probable, that Waltheof was greatly affected by the tyranny exerciſed by the conqueror over the Engliſh, and which deſtroyed all the ſatisfaction he could reap from his own grandeur and advancement. Animated by a deſire of relieving the oppreſſions of his countrymen, it is no wonder, when a proſpect was opened, of retrieving their liberty, that he haſtily embraced it; while the fumes of the liquor, and the ardour of the company, prevented him from reflecting on the conſequences that would certainly attend ſo raſh an attempt. But when his cool judgment returned, he eaſily foreſaw, that the conſpiracy of theſe diſcontented barons was not likely to prove ſucceſsful againſt the eſtabliſhed power of William; or, if their attempts ſhould be crowned with a favourable iſſue, that the ſlavery of the Engliſh, inſtead of being alleviated, would become more grievous, under a multitude of foreign leaders, factious and ambitious, whoſe union or diſcord, would be equally oppreſſive to the people. Tormented with theſe reflections, he opened his mind to his wife Judith, on whoſe fidelity he thought he might ſafely depend; but who, having ſecretly fixed her affections upon another, took this opportunity of ruining her eaſy and credulous huſband. She conveyed intelligence of the conſpiracy to William, and took care to aggravate every circumſtance which ſhe believed would tend to enrage him againſt Waltheof, and render him abſolutely implacable. In the mean time the earl, ſtill unſatisfied with regard to the part it would be moſt prudent for him to act, diſcovered the ſecret in confeſſion to Lanfranc, on whoſe probity and judgment he placed the utmoſt confidence; and was perſuaded by the prelate, that he owed no fidelity to thoſe rebellious barons, who had, by ſurprize, gained his conſent to a crime; that his firſt duty was to his ſovereign and benefactor, his next to himſelf and family; and that if he neglected the opportunity of making atone-

ment

ment for his guilt, by revealing it, the temerity of the conſpirators was ſo great, that they would give ſome other perſon the means of acquiring the merit of the diſcovery. Convinced by theſe arguments, Waltheof went over to Normandy, where he was well received by the king, and thanked for his fidelity; but the account previouſly conveyed by Judith, had ſunk ſo deeply in William's mind, that all the merit of her huſband's repentance, was not ſufficient to to eraze the impreſſion.

As ſoon as the conſpirators were informed of Waltheof's departure, they concluded their deſign was betrayed, and flew to arms before their ſchemes were ripe for execution, and before the Danes, on whoſe aſſiſtance they placed their chief confidence, were arrived; but they were too well acquainted with William's diſpoſition, to expect either ſafety or pardon, except from their own ſwords.

The earl of Hereford firſt took the field, at the head of a body of his followers, and was joined by the Welſh; but received a check from Walter de Lacy, a powerful baron in thoſe parts, who, ſupported by the biſhop of Worceſter and the abbot of Eveſham, raiſed ſome forces, and prevented the earl from paſſing the Severn, or advancing into the heart of the kingdom. The earl of Norfolk was defeated at Fagadun, near Cambridge, by Odo, the regent, aſſiſted by William de Warren, and Richard de Bainfaite, the two juſticiaries of the kingdom. Each of the priſoners taken had his right foot cut off, as a puniſhment for his treaſon: the earl himſelf eſcaped to Norwich, and thence to Denmark, where the Daniſh fleet, which had made an unſucceſsful attempt on the coaſt of England, ſoon after arrived, and informed him that the conſpiracy was ſuppreſſed, and all his confederates either killed, fled, or taken priſoners. Deſpairing, therefore, of retrieving his fortune, Ralph fled to Britany, where he poſſeſſed a large eſtate, and a noble juriſdiction.

In the mean time, William haſtened over to England, in order to ſuppreſs the inſurrection; but found on his arrival, that nothing remained but the puniſhment of the criminals, which he executed with great ſeverity. Many of the rebels were hanged; ſome had their eyes put out, and others their hands cut off. But William, agreeable to his uſual maxim, ſhewed more lenity to their leader, the earl of Hereford, who was only condemned to forfeit his eſtates, and be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure. William even ſeemed diſpoſed to remit the latter part of the ſentence, had not Roger, by a freſh inſolence, provoked him to render his confinement perpetual.

A. D. 1075. But the unfortunate Waltheof met with leſs favour: he was an Engliſhman, and therefore an object of the conqueror's vengeance. Notwithſtanding his crime was much inferior to that of the others, and he had even atoned for it by a very early repentance, and return to his duty, yet William, inſtigated at once by his niece, and his rapacious courtiers, who longed for ſo rich a forfeiture, ordered him to be tried, condemned, and beheaded. The Engliſh, who conſidered this nobleman, as the laſt reſource of their nation, grievouſly lamented his fate, and fancied that miracles were wrought by his reliques, as a teſtimony of his innocence and ſanctity. Nor did the infamous Judith long eſcape the puniſhment due to her treachery; ſhe ſoon after incurred the king's diſpleaſure, was abandoned by all the world, and paſſed the remainder of her days in miſery and remorſe.

The rebellion being thus extinguiſhed, William haſtened his return to Normandy, in order to ſatiate his revenge on Ralph de Gauder, who had taken every precaution to defeat the attempts of his enemy. William immediately beſieged the caſtle of Dole; but Ralph made ſo brave a reſiſtance, and ſo harraſſed William's troops, that the beſieged held out till Philip, king of France, came to their relief at the head of a powerful army; on whoſe approach the conqueror thought proper to raiſe the ſiege, and retire towards the ſea-coaſts with his army. And ſoon after a peace was concluded between the king of England and France, in which Ralph was included.

In the mean time, England continued in tranquillity, and nothing remarkable occurred, except two eccleſiaſtical ſynods, which were ſummoned, one at London, and the other at Wincheſter. In the former, the precedency among the epiſcopal ſees was ſettled, and the ſeat of ſome of them removed from ſmall villages, to the moſt conſiderable towns within the dioceſe. The ſame ſynod alſo determined a civil difference that had, for ſome time, ſubſiſted between Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Odo, biſhop of Bayeaux. The former poſſeſſing the friendſhip of the king, was reſolved to act up to his great character, without any regard to perſons. Accordingly, he had ſome time ſince ſent over to William a complaint againſt Odo, for having, in the life-time of his predeceſſor Stigand, ſeized many lands belonging to the ſee of Canterbury. William, who knew his brother to be bold, impetuous, and encroaching, ordered the matter of complaint to be heard in the moſt ſolemn manner. Lanfranc pleaded his own cauſe, and gained a complete victory over his antagoniſt; recovering no leſs than twenty-five manors, which Odo had unjuſtly ſequeſtered.

In the other ſynod, which was held at Wincheſter, a buſineſs of much greater importance was tranſacted. Pope Gregory VII. one of the moſt enterprizing pontiffs that ever filled St. Peter's chair, wrote a letter to William, requiring him to fulfil his promiſe, in doing homage for the kingdom of England, to the ſee of Rome, and to ſend him over that tribute which all his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to pay to the Roman pontiff. By the tribute, he meant Peter's-pence, which, tho' at firſt a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, was interpreted, according to the uſual practice of the Romiſh court, as a badge of ſubjection acknowledged by the kingdom. William replied, that the money ſhould be remitted as uſual, but that he neither had promiſed to do homage to Rome, nor had he the leaſt intention of impoſing that ſervitude on his kingdom. And the better to convince Gregory of his determination of continuing independent, he refuſed the Engliſh biſhops permiſſion to attend a general council that pontiff had ſummoned againſt his enemies; nor could all the pope's rhetoric and threatenings prevail.

A. D. 1076. Tho' William was not to be intimidated by the inſolent demands of St. Peter's ſucceſſor, and had even been fortunate enough to ſubdue the malecontents in England, yet he now experienced, that he was not free from misfortunes, and that the ties of blood and nature, are of ſmall account, when weighed in the balance againſt ambition

bition or intereſt. Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſurnamed Gamberan, or Courthoſe, from his ſhort legs, inherited all the bravery of his family, but without that policy and diſſimulation, by which his father was ſo much diſtinguiſhed; and which, no leſs than his military accompliſhments, had contributed to his amazing ſucceſs. Greedy of fame, impatient of contradiction, without reſerve in his friendſhips, and open in his enmities: this prince could endure no controul, even from his imperious father, and openly aſpired to that independence, to which he was ſtrongly invited, both by his temper, and ſome circumſtances in his ſituation. Upon the ſubmiſſion of the province of Maine, William promiſed the inhabitants, that Robert ſhould be their prince, as ſoon as he became of age, and fit to hold the reins of government. This was the ſpark that lighted up the torch of rebellion in Normandy. For Robert now demanding the execution of this engagement, William gave him an abſolute denial.

In the mean time, the French court, jealous of William's power, and willing to embarraſs him in every reſpect, did not fail to inſtigate the prince againſt his father. By this means the quarrel continued augmenting, when Robert began to entertain a ſtrong jealouſy of his two brothers, William and Henry, who, by greater ſubmiſſion and complaiſance, had acquired the affections of their father. An accident ſoon after happened, which confirmed the prince in this opinion, and ſo far inflamed his diſpoſition, that he left the court of his father, and retired to Rouen, intending to ſeize the citadel of that place. But his deſign being diſappointed, by the vigilance and precaution of Roger de Ivery, the governor, he fled to Hugh de Neufchatel, a powerful Norman baron, who gave him protection in his caſtles, and openly levied war againſt the conqueror. The plauſibility of Robert's claim to the dutchy, together with his popular character, and a ſimilarity of manners, ſoon gained over all the young nobility of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Britany to his party.

A. D. 1079. This rebellion laſted ſeveral years, and threw all the provinces, poſſeſſed by William on the continent, into convulſions. He was obliged at laſt to have recourſe to England for an army to quell the inſurgents. In the mean time Robert, by the aſſiſtance of the French court, the affections of the Normans, and the ſecret remittances of money he received from his mother, was enabled to make ſeveral ſucceſsful incurſions into his father's territories. But the forces from England being arrived, William, with that expedition ſo peculiar to his character, advanced againſt the rebels, and ſtraitened them ſo much, that Robert was forced to apply to the king of France for a place of retreat againſt the reſentment of his father. Philip readily granted his requeſt, and Robert accordingly withdrew to Gerberoy, in the Beauvoiſis, with his army. William, however, followed him thither, and made preparations for beſieging the place in form.

Animated by the deſire of diſplaying his valour, and thinking it a diſgrace to be ſhut up in a fortreſs at the head of an army, Robert drew out his forces, and gave his father battle. The diſpute was long, bloody, and obſtinate. Both armies fought with the utmoſt reſolution, and fully ſeconded the heroic ardour of their leaders. Aſhamed of having his laurels blaſted by his own ſon, William made prodigious efforts for obtaining the victory. He was in cloſe armour, and in the heat of the battle, diſtinguiſhed only by the heaps of dead which marked his tract. Robert, not knowing the perſon who thus thinned the ranks, as he paſſed, was pleaſed of having, for once, an object worthy of his arms: he preſſed towards him, and a fierce combat enſued; till Robert's lance, guided by a more active arm, killed his father's horſe; by which accident, the Engliſh monarch, now corpulent and unweildy with age, was thrown to the ground. Calling for aſſiſtance, his voice diſcovered him to his ſon. This awakened in the breaſt of the young prince, all the ſentiments of filial reverence and duty; he threw himſelf precipitately from his horſe, flew to his father, whom he raiſed from the ground with infinite tenderneſs; and then caſting himſelf at his feet, implored his pardon for his paſt offences, and offered to purchaſe forgiveneſs by any atonement. But the reſentment harboured by William, was ſo inveterate, that he did not immediately correſpond to this dutiful ſubmiſſion of his ſon with equal tenderneſs. He gave him his malediction, inſtead of his bleſſing, mounted Robert's horſe, by the aſſiſtance of his ſon, and drew off his forces to Rouen, where, by the interpoſition of the queen, and other common friends, a reconciliation was accompliſhed. William, however, not caring to truſt his ſon on the continent, where he was ſo greatly beloved, during his abſence, carried him over to England, under pretence of heading his army againſt the Scots.

For the year preceding this tranſaction, the Scots, taking the advantage of William's abſence, had harraſſed the northern borders, and ravaged Northumberland as far as the Tyne. Malcolm had, indeed, been encouraged in this attempt by an inſurrection raiſed againſt Walchar, biſhop of Durham, who had drawn upon himſelf the reſentment of the populace, by favouring perſons, become obnoxious by their oppreſſions: but on William's ſending his ſon Robert againſt him, at the head of a powerful army, the Scot thought proper to retire into his own country; and a treaty of peace was ſoon after concluded between the two nations. At the ſame time the Welſh, unable to reſiſt the power of William, were obliged to make ſatisfaction for their incurſions, and ſubmit to pay an annual tribute.

A. D. 1081. William having thus reſtored peace to all his dominions, had now leiſure to finiſh an undertaking, which proves the capacity of his genius, and does honour to his memory. This was a general ſurvey of all the lands in England, their extent in each diſtrict, their proprietors, tenure, and value; the quantity of meadow, paſture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and, in ſome counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and labourers or ſervants, of all denominations, who lived on thoſe lands. He appointed commiſſioners for this purpoſe, who entered every particular in their regiſter by the verdict of juries; and, after a labour of ſix years, brought him an account of all the landed property of his kingdom. This monument, called Domeſday-book, the moſt valuable piece of antiquity poſſeſſed by any nation, is ſtill preſerved in the exchequer; and tho' only ſome extracts of it have hitherto been publiſhed, it ſerves to illuſtrate the ancient ſtate of England.

But whatever care the conqueror might take in compiling this ſurvey, it is impoſſible, on account of the extenſiveneſs of its deſign, that it could be mi-

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Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

WILLIAM *the* **CONQUEROR** *Seizing his* **BROTHER ODO**
Bishop of Bayeaux & Earl of Kent.

minutely accurate. Accordingly we find, that ſeveral towns or villages, held by under-tenants, were omitted: indeed the conqueror ſeems to have intended nothing more than to obtain an account of his head-tenants, and to know what taxes the kingdom could bear.

Tho' William had been ſo bountiful to his officers and ſervants, it was merely becauſe they had rendered him the univerſal proprietor of all the lands in England, and gave him a whole kingdom to beſtow. He reſerved a very ample revenue for the crown; and, in the general diſtribution of land among his followers, he kept poſſeſſion of no leſs than fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors in different parts of England, which paid him rent, ſome in money, others in corn, cattle, and the uſual produce of the land. Odericus Vitalis, an ancient hiſtorian, computes, that his annual fixed income, beſides eſcheats, fines, reliefs, and other caſual profits, amounted to four hundred thouſand pounds a year; a ſum, when all circumſtances are conſidered, almoſt incredible. A pound, in that age, was twelve ounces of ſilver, three times as much as at preſent; and the ſame weight of ſilver, by the moſt probable computation, would purchaſe ten times more of the neceſſaries of life than at preſent. This revenue, therefore, of William, would be equivalent to at leaſt ten millions at preſent. And, as that prince had neither fleet nor army to ſupport, the former being only a caſual expence, and the latter maintained without any charge to him, by his military vaſſals, we may juſtly conclude, that no emperor or prince, in any age or nation, was ever equal to the conqueror in opulence and riches.

A.D. 1082. While William's commiſſioners were engaged in taking the above ſurvey, he viſited his Norman dominions, and, during his abſence, a very remarkable affair was tranſacting in England. Odo, his uterine brother, biſhop of Bayeaux, and earl of Kent, who, from being chief juſticiary of the kingdom, and generally regent during William's abſence, had amaſſed immenſe ſums, by the moſt illegal and oppreſſive methods; and, from an idle prediction, made by ſome itinerant aſtrologer, that Gregory, who then filled the papal chair, would ſhortly die, and be ſucceeded by one Odo, reſolved to employ his treaſure in obtaining the papacy. Accordingly, he now purchaſed a magnificent palace at Rome, furniſhed it in the moſt ſuperb manner, and employed a number of agents in that city, to engage the cardinals, and other great men, to favour him at the next election: but judging his preſence would be neceſſary to inſure the ſucceſs of his deſigns, he propoſed to withdraw privately from the kingdom, and repair to Rome, where he propoſed to reſide, till the death of Gregory ſhould leave vacant the papal throne. He took all his meaſures with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and even perſuaded Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Cheſter, as well as ſeveral others of his tenants and partizans, to follow him into Italy, promiſing to beſtow on them more conſiderable eſtabliſhments in that country.

Theſe proceedings were not, however, ſo effectually concealed as Odo imagined. William received intelligence of the deſign, and juſtly apprehending, that both himſelf and his kingdom might ſuffer for this chimerical project of his brother, he determined to cruſh the aſpiring hopes of Odo, who had now repaired to the Iſle of Wight, where he propoſed to embark for Italy. William accordingly ſailed immediately to that iſland, and commanded his followers to ſeize the biſhop's perſon; but they were ſo impreſſed with his character as a prieſt, and his power as a nobleman, that William could not prevail on them to lay hands on Odo, who ſtrongly inſiſted on his ſacred function, and that he was accountable to no power on earth but that of the pope. William, who well knew how to diſtinguiſh on ſuch occaſions, ſeeing the arrogance of his brother, and the timidity of his own followers, boldly ſeized the delinquent himſelf, telling him, that he was determined to bring him to juſtice, not as biſhop of Bayeaux, but as earl of Kent. This diſtinction reconciled his ſervants to their duty; Odo was ſeized, tried, and convicted of extortion in matters of government, and of ſeducing the great peers of the realm to leave the kingdom. Upon which his eſtates and treaſures were confiſcated, and himſelf ſent priſoner to Rouen, where he continued till the death of the conqueror, notwithſtanding all the efforts of pope Gregory, who had recourſe to both flattery and threatenings in his behalf. This ſpirited behaviour of William did infinite honour to his adminiſtration, in the opinion of all the chriſtian princes, who were then very little better than ſlaves to the imperious pontiff of Rome.

An epidemical diſtemper, which broke out and raged in Normandy, detained William longer in England than he intended. In order, therefore, to amuſe himſelf during this conſtrained abſence from his native country, in favour of which he was warmly prepoſſeſſed, he ſpent great part of his time in hunting, a diverſion of which he was fond to infatuation; and the meaſures he took to gratify that paſſion, were at once abſurd and tyrannical. Not contented with thoſe large foreſts, poſſeſſed by former kings, in different parts of England, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near Wincheſter, the uſual place of his reſidence, without diminiſhing his own revenue. Accordingly he laid waſte the county of Hampſhire, for an extent of thirty miles, expelling the inhabitants from their houſes, ſeizing their property, and even demoliſhing the churches and convents, without making the unhappy ſufferers the leaſt compenſation for the injury. This cruel tranſaction gave riſe to ſeveral bitter invectives from the ſufferers, who ſtiled him the father of wild beaſts: but he was ſo far from endeavouring to conciliate the minds of his people, by acts of kindneſs and benevolence, that he enacted the moſt rigorous laws relating to foreſts, claiming an abſolute right over thoſe diſtricts, and forbiding all his ſubjects, under the moſt ſevere penalties, from hunting in any of them, without his expreſs permiſſion. Laws like theſe, could not fail of being conſidered as oppreſſive both by his Norman and Engliſh ſubjects, particularly by the nobility, who were now deprived of purſuing their favourite diverſion, the only one they could have recourſe to in that illiterate age, for paſſing away the tedious hours.

Theſe, and many other oppreſſions which the Engliſh ſuffered under this prince, ſufficiently demonſtrated, that their complaints were not without foundation, tho', perhaps, their impatient behaviour might ſometimes exaſperate William to have recourſe to harſher meaſures than he would otherwiſe have purſued.

A.D.

A. D. 1084. William now, to ſecure himſelf from any attacks that might be made on his territories by foreign princes, impoſed a tax on all the lands in England, of no leſs than ſix ſhillings on every hide, which was three times as much as the Danegelt. This brought into his coffers a prodigious ſum. In the mean time, he was called over to Normandy, by an event which gave him the greateſt concern. This was the death of Matilda his conſort, whom he tenderly loved, and for whom he had ever preſerved the moſt ſincere friendſhip. She was buried with great funeral pomp in the nunnery of the Holy Trinity at Caen; and William was ſo afflicted with his loſs, that he for ever after abſtained from his uſual diverſions.

Soon after this mournful ſolemnity, William received advice that the Danes had completed a powerful fleet, in order to make a deſcent upon England, and that they were to be joined by the forces of Robert, earl of Flanders, with whom the king had, for ſome time, been upon very bad terms.

Canute IV. who now filled the Daniſh throne, and claimed the crown of England in right of his anceſtor Canute the great, had ſome time ſince married the daughter of Robert, earl of Flanders, by which means a powerful alliance was formed againſt William. The preparations made by Canute on this occaſion, were very extraordinary, and had taken him up no leſs than two years. His fleet amounted to near a thouſand ſail; on board of which he embarked a prodigious quantity of warlike ſtores, with proviſions ſufficient for the maintenance of an hundred thouſand men.

A. D. 1085. William, upon the firſt notice of the ſtorm that threatened him, croſſed over to England with a numerous army of mercenaries from Spain, France, and Germany, well knowing, that he could expect but little aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, whom he had lately governed in ſo deſpotic a manner. On the contrary, he feared that a general inſurrection of the inhabitants in favour of the enemy, would be the conſequence on their landing. In order, therefore, to awe the Engliſh, he diſtributed his foreign forces in different parts of the kingdom, obliging the nobility and gentry to furniſh them with proviſions, and even quartered a conſiderable number on the religious houſes.

But whether theſe preparations intimidated Canute, or a diſagreement between him and his brother Olaus, prevented him from carrying his deſign into execution, is not certainly known. The expedition, however, was laid aſide, and the forces collected by Robert, earl of Flanders, diſbanded. This ſtorm, being thus blown over, William, to give ſome eaſe to his ſubjects, ſent back many of his ſoldiers to Normandy, but kept part in England for the ſecurity of his government.

A. D. 1087. Having ſettled the peace of his kingdom, William embarked for Normandy, carrying with him Edgar Atheling, to whom he had very readily granted permiſſion to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

A dreadful famine, ſoon after his departure, raged in England, occaſioned principally by that general deſpondency which had ſeized on the diſtreſſed inhabitants, who, having no longer any property they could juſtly call their own, loſt the ſpirit of induſtry, neglected the culture of their lands, knowing they laboured only for others, and thought that ſcarcity was an evil at leaſt as tolerable as ſlavery. This univerſal neglect produced famine, the parent of diſeaſe, and both produced mortality; ſo that an incredible number died in the ſpace of a few months. To add to the calamity of the inhabitants, many of the chief cities were conſumed by accidental fires; among which the greater part of London, together with the cathedral church of St. Paul, was reduced to aſhes.

William, however, diſregarded the miſeries of the Engliſh, whom he at once hated and feared. He intended indeed to have viſited his kingdom now groaning under the moſt complicated diſtreſs, but was detained on the continent by a miſunderſtanding which broke out between him and the French king, occaſioned by the inroads made into Normandy by ſome French barons whoſe caſtles were ſituated on the frontiers of William's territories. In that age the power of princes was inſufficient to reſtrain their licentious nobility; but William ſuſpected that theſe barons would not have ventured to provoke his indignation, had they not been aſſured of the countenance and protection of Philip. His diſpleaſure was increaſed by the account he received of ſome railleries which the French monarch had thrown out againſt him. William, who was become corpulent, had been for ſome time confined to his bed by ſickneſs; upon which Philip expreſſed his ſurprize that his brother of England ſhould be ſo long before he was delivered of his great belly. This ill-timed jeſt ſo exaſperated William, that he ſent Philip word, that as ſoon as he was up, he would light up a thouſand candles in the church of Notre Dame, by way of thankſgiving for his recovery.

Accordingly, about the beginning of Auguſt, when his reſentment had got the better of his diſeaſe, he led a powerful army into the Iſle of France, and laid every thing waſte with fire and ſword. Among other cities that of Mante felt his fury; for having made himſelf maſter of the place, he ſet it on fire, together with all its churches and religious houſes; and ſo punctual was he in ſatiating his vengeance, that he continued on horſeback, to enjoy the conflagration. But the progreſs of theſe hoſtilities were ſtopt by an accident which ſoon after put a period to William's life. His horſe ſtarting aſide on a ſudden, he bruiſed the rim of his belly againſt the pommel of the ſaddle; and being before of a bad habit of body, as well as ſomewhat advanced in years, he began immediately to apprehend the conſequences; and therefore ordered his ſervants to carry him in a litter to the monaſtery of St. Gervaiſe. Finding his illneſs increaſe, and being ſenſible of the approach of death, he diſcovered at laſt the vanity of all human grandeur, and was ſtruck with remorſe for thoſe horrid cruelties and violences, which for the attainment and defence of it he had committed during the courſe of his reign over England. The mighty conqueror, who had ſo often faced death clad in all its terrors in the field, now trembled at its ſilent approach. He ſent for Anſelm, the abbot of Bec; he ordered his treaſure to be diſtributed, that he might make ſome recompence to thoſe, particularly the clergy, who had ſuffered by his late ravages. He iſſued orders for ſetting the earls Morcar and Siward, with other Engliſh priſoners, at liberty. He was even prevailed upon, though not without reluctance, to conſent

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Wale delin. *Walker Sculp.*

Anselm Fitz-Arthur claiming the Ground
wherein **WILLIAM** *the* **CONQUEROR** *was going to be Buried.*

conſent with his dying breath, to the deliverance of his brother Odo, againſt whom he was extremely incenſed.

He left Normandy and Maine to his eldeſt ſon Robert: He wrote to Lanfranc, deſiring him to crown William king of England. He bequeathed to Henry nothing more than the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda; but foretold that he would one day ſurpaſs both his brothers in opulence and power.

Having thus ſettled his temporal affairs, he ordered his ſervants to remove him to a village called Hermentrude, ſituated on the banks of the Seine, where he ſoon after expired, on the ninth of September, in the ſixty-third year of his age, in the twenty-firſt of his reign over England, and in the fifty-fourth of that over Normandy,

The great officers, dreading the leaſt reſentment of Robert ſhould extend to thoſe who ſhewed any regard for the remains of his father, mounted their horſes, and repaired to pay their court to the new duke. The inferior ſervants being thus freed from all reſtraint, began immediately to ſtrip the houſe in which the conqueror died, of all its rich furniture. Their rapacity extended even to the breathleſs body of their maſter, which was left naked, and for ſome time indecently expoſed. William had ordered his remains to be depoſited in a church founded by himſelf, in the city of Caen; and the archbiſhop of Rouen, in compliance with his will, gave directions for conveying it thither; but none could for ſome time be found to undertake the performance. At laſt one Herlwine, a country gentleman, was generous enough to cauſe the body to be embalmed and prepared for interment at his own expence. He then carried it in a coach to the mouth of the river Seine, where, putting it on board a veſſel, it was conveyed, partly by land, and partly by water to the city of Caen.

On its arrival before the gate, the corps was met by the monks of the convent, and the proceſſion increaſed by great numbers of the citizens and others, who were deſirous of doing honour to the deceaſed, this being the favourite place of the conqueror, adorned by his hand, and enriched by his munificence. But in the midſt of the ſolemnity a fire broke out, which threatened deſtruction to both the city and convent. The royal corps was now again deſerted; each leaving the breathleſs body to take care of his own private concerns. At laſt the violence of the flames being abated, the ceremonies were reſumed, and the body introduced into the church. There a venal oration was begun by the biſhop of Evreux; in which, after diſplaying the merits of William, he extenuated his faults. But had no ſooner finiſhed his oration than one Anſelm Fitz-arthur, a young gentleman of Normandy, ſtood up, and, in the face of the whole aſſembly, declared, that the ſpot on which they then ſtood was once the floor of his father's houſe, and had been unjuſtly ſeized by William, in order to found a religious houſe; not through neglect, miſinformation or neceſſity; but from a ſpirit of oppreſſion and avarice. "I do therefore, continued he, chal-"lenge this ground as my undoubted right; and "do here charge you, as ye will anſwer it before "the fearful face of the great judge of all the earth, "that the body of the ſpoiler be not covered with "the earth of mine inheritance."

This terrible adjuration, ſpoken in ſuch a manner, and on ſo ſolemn an occaſion, ſtruck the whole aſſembly; and many preſent declaring, that the charge was juſt, the clergy and nobility ſatisfied Fitz-arthur for the ground which had been already broken to receive the royal body. But when this affair was adjuſted, the maſon-work of the grave, for receiving the body, proved too narrow, and, in thruſting it down, the belly burſt, and emitted ſuch an inſufferable ſtench, that notwithſtanding all the incenſe and perfumes then burning, the ſpectators were obliged to retire from the tomb.

Theſe particulars, however minute, are far from being immaterial in the hiſtory of the Norman conqueror; they prove how little he regarded all laws, when they obſtructed his rapacious deſires, and how unlamented he died, even among his natural ſubjects, who were ennobled by his conqueſts, and rendered happy by his labours. And hence we may conclude, that true fame can only attend the memory of a prince, whoſe munificence is directed by wiſdom, his ſeverity by juſtice, and his conduct by reaſon. All thoſe qualities exiſted in William, but their principles were wrong. His paſſions rendered his virtues uſeleſs: his genius was great for conqueſt, but ſtill greater for command; and by ſeeking to live and reign over ſlaves, his life was unhappy, and his reign a continued ſeries of trouble. Both were without that even tenor of government, which diſtinguiſhes the father of a people, from the tyrant. Glory, not virtue, was his aim, therefore power, without happineſs, was his reward; and when he went to the grave, his fortune was admired, while his memory was curſed. He was not, however, without private virtues: he was a tender huſband, an indulgent parent, a generous maſter, when matters of ſtate did not interpoſe. His attendance at the ſacred ſervices of the church were remarkable and regular; and we ought, in charity, to believe, that the many iniquities he was guilty of, rather flowed from the exigences of his ſituation, than the cruelty of his nature.

Beſides the three ſons already mentioned, who ſurvived him, William had five daughters, namely, (1.) Cicily, firſt a nun in the monaſtery of Feſchamp, afterwards abbeſs in the Holy Trinity at Caen, where ſhe died in 1127. (2.) Conſtantia, married to Allan Fergeant, earl of Britany. She died without iſſue. (3.) Alice, contracted to Harold. She died before William's expedition to England. (4.) Adela, married to Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom ſhe had four ſons, William, Theobald, Henry and Stephen. (5.) Agatha, betrothed to the king of Gallicia, but died on her journey before ſhe reached her bridegroom.

WILLIAM II. SURNAMED RUFUS.

A. D. 1087. WILLIAM the Second, ſurnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, paid particular attention to his father's inſtructions. He determined to make Lanfranc his friend. Senſible that a deed, ſo unformal, and ſo little prepared, which violated Robert's right of primogeniture, might meet with great oppoſition, he truſted entirely for ſucceſs to his own celerity and diſpatch; and having left St. Gervaiſe, while the king was breathing his laſt, he arrived in England before any intelligence of his father's death had reached that kingdom. Pretending he had received orders from the king, he ſecured the caſtles of Dover, Pevenſey, and Haſtings, whoſe ſituation rendered them of the utmoſt importance at this critical juncture, and took poſſeſſion of his father's treaſure at Weſtminſter, amounting to the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds, by which he hoped to increaſe and encourage his partizans.

The primate, whoſe rank and reputation in the kingdom gave him great authority, had been intruſted with the care of his education, and had conferred on him the order of knighthood. Connected with Rufus by theſe ties, and, perhaps, thinking his pretenſions juſt, declared he would pay a willing obedience to the laſt will of the conqueror, his friend and benefactor.

Accordingly he aſſembled the great council of the kingdom at Weſtminſter, where the primate, in preſence of the archbiſhop of York, moſt of the other prelates of the kingdom, and many of the principal nobility, placed the crown on William's head. At the ſame time Robert, who had been already acknowledged ſucceſſor to Normandy, took peaceable poſſeſſion of that dutchy.

But tho' this partition appeared to have been made without any violence or oppoſition, there remained in England many cauſes of diſcontent, which ſeemed to threaten a ſudden revolution in that kingdom. The Norman barons, many of whom poſſeſſed large eſtates both in England and their own country, were uneaſy at the ſeparation of theſe territories; and foreſaw, that as it would be impoſſible for them to preſerve long their allegiance to two maſters, they muſt of conſequence reſign either their ancient property, or their new acquiſitions. They conſidered Robert's title to Normandy as inconteſtible; his claim to England plauſible, and therefore all deſired, that this prince, who alone had any pretence to unite theſe territories, ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of both. A compariſon alſo, of the perſonal qualities of theſe two princes, led them to give the preference to the elder. The duke was brave, open, ſincere, generous; and even his predominant faults, his extreme indolence and facility, were not diſagreeable to theſe haughty barons, who affected independence, and ſubmitted with reluctance to a rigorous adminiſtration in their ſovereign. The king, tho' equally brave with his brother, was violent, haughty, tyrannical, and ſeemed rather diſpoſed to govern, by exciting the fear, than by attracting the love of his people. Odo, biſhop of Bayeaux, and Robert, earl of Mortaigne, maternal brothers of the conqueror, envying the great credit of Lanfranc, which was increaſed by his late ſervices, enforced all theſe motives with their partizans, and engaged them in a formal conſpiracy to dethrone William. They communicated their deſign to Euſtace, earl of Bologne, Roger, earl of Shrewſbury and Arundel, Robert de Bleſme, his eldeſt ſon, William biſhop of Durham, Robert de Mowbray, Roger Bigod, and Hugh Grentmeſnil; and eaſily procured the conſent of theſe noblemen.

Odo finding his intrigues attended with ſuch ſucceſs, ſent an account of the conſpiracy to Robert in Normandy, aſſuring him, that nothing but his preſence, at the head of a reſpectable body of Norman troops was wanting, to recover that throne from which he had been excluded by the unjuſt caprice of his father.

Robert, tho' of an indolent diſpoſition, had a ſoul not inſenſible to the call of ambition: he received this news with great ſatisfaction, and informed Odo, that as ſoon as his friends were in a condition to declare in his favour, they might depend upon being powerfully aſſiſted by an invaſion from Normandy.

Upon receiving theſe aſſurances from Robert, the conſpirators retired to their reſpective caſtles, in order to make the neceſſary preparations for taking the field, expecting ſoon to hear, that the Norman army was landed in England. The biſhop of Coutances, and his nephew, Robert de Mowbray, ſtruck the firſt blow, by ſeizing upon Bath, Berkley and Briſtol, whence they made excurſions, and ruined the eſtates of thoſe noblemen who had embraced William's party. Their example was ſoon followed by Roger Bigod, who raiſed a conſiderable party in the county of Norfolk, while Hugh de Grentmeſnil made himſelf maſter of moſt of the fortreſſes and ſtrong holds in Leiceſterſhire. The earls of Hereford and Shrewſbury raiſed the Welſh, and all their own tenants, at the head of whom they over-ran the whole country, between the frontiers of Wales and Worceſter. The behaviour of the good biſhop Wolſtan, on this occaſion, deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity. Tho' he had many perſonal cauſes of diſlike to archbiſhop Lanfranc and his clergy, he made private injuries ſubmit to the love he bore his country: he refuſed to admit the forces of the malecontents into Worceſter; and when at length he was obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperiority of numbers, and abandon the city, he retired into the caſtle, where he made ſo noble a defence, that he obliged the inſurgents to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with the utmoſt precipitation.

William, ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation, endeavoured to engage the affections of the native Engliſh; and as that people were now ſo thoroughly ſubdued, that they no longer aſpired to the recovery of their ancient liberties, and were contented with the proſpect of ſome mitigation in the tyranny of the Norman princes, they zealouſly embraced William's cauſe, upon receiving ſome general promiſes of good treatment, and of enjoying the licence of hunting in the royal foreſts. By their aſſiſtance,

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king was ſoon in a condition to take the field, and well knowing the danger of delay, he marched ſuddenly into Kent, and made an attempt to ſurprize Rocheſter, where, he had been informed Odo, with a choſen band of malecontents, had taken up their ſtation; but on his arrival before the place, he found the city in an excellent poſture of defence, and learned that Odo was removed to Pevenſey, and ſtrengthened the fortifications of that caſtle. Diſappointed in his attempt, to ſecure the perſon of the arch-rebel, he blocked up the caſtle of Rocheſter, and marched to Pevenſey, where Odo had fortified himſelf, expecting the arrival of ſuccours from Normandy. The king, without loſing a moment's time, cloſely inveſted the place, and carried on his attacks with ſuch fury, that Odo, ſeeing no probability of relief, and dreading the conſequences that might follow an obſtinate reſiſtance, offered to capitulate; but William refuſed to grant him any other terms than thoſe of ſparing his life, on condition of his abjuring the kingdom for ever, and prevailing on his garriſon at Rocheſter to ſurrender. Hard as theſe conditions were, Odo was obliged to accept them: accordingly he opened Pevenſey gates to the king; and then being eſcorted to Rocheſter, by a party of the royal army, he ſummoned the city and caſtle to ſurrender to William. The garriſon of Rocheſter was, at this time, compoſed of the flower of the Norman party in England, with many of the French and Engliſh nobility; Euſtace, count of Bologne, was alſo there, who, gueſſing the cauſe of Odo's appearance from his countenance, and that he acted wholly from compulſion, made a ſudden ſally, at the head of a choſen body of troops, and took Odo, with his whole eſcort priſoners.

Deceived in his attempt of recovering Rocheſter by the aſſiſtance of Odo, William determined to make himſelf maſter of the city by force. Accordingly he marched his army into Kent, and beſieged the city in form. The place was defended with the greateſt vigour, ſo that William contented himſelf with reducing it by famine; and tho' he was prevailed upon by the earl of Cheſter, William de Warren, and Robert Fitz-Hammon, who had joined his party, to ſpare the lives of the rebels, he confiſcated all their eſtates, and baniſhed them from the kingdom. Odo found means, during the ſiege, to eſcape by ſea to Normandy, where he was made lieutenant of that dutchy by Robert, but all his Engliſh eſtates were confiſcated.

This advantage gave great weight to William's negociations with Roger, earl of Shrewſbury, whom he had found means to detach from the confederates; and, as his powerful fleet, joined to the indolent temper of Robert, prevented the arrival of the ſuccours expected from Normandy, all the other rebels found no reſource but in flight or ſubmiſſion. Some of them were pardoned, but the greater part of their eſtates were confiſcated, and which the king beſtowed on thoſe who had continued attached to his fortune.

A. D. 1089. Robert's party being thus entirely broken, William thought himſelf at liberty to diſpenſe with the performance of many of the promiſes he had made in his diſtreſs. The Engliſh, who thought themſelves juſtly intitled to every reaſonable mark of favour from a king, whoſe throne they had ſo loyally and effectually ſupported, now found, by his enacting ſeveral rigorous laws concerning the royal foreſts, that all their pleaſing hope were vaniſhed; and that they were ſtill to labour under the ſame oppreſſions they had ſuffered during the reign of the conqueror. Lanfranc could not ſilently behold ſuch proceedings: he remonſtrated to the king, with a becoming boldneſs, how inconſiſtent his actions were with the ſacred promiſe he had made, when only a candidate for the crown. This freedom of the archbiſhop, ſtung the haughty ſoul of William to the quick; but fearing the great power and influence of the prelate, he thought proper to conceal his reſentment, and only anſwered with a ſmile, "It is impoſſible for kings to keep "all their promiſes." But William was not long under the reſtraint of this honeſt counſellor; he died a few months after, juſtly regretted by every good man in the kingdom, as the moſt able and upright prelate and ſtateſman, that had for ſome centuries adorned the court of England.

On the death of Lanfranc William gave a full career to his tyranny; and all orders of men found reaſon to complain of an arbitrary and illegal adminiſtration. Even the privileges of the church, which in thoſe days, were held very ſacred, proved but a feeble rampart againſt his uſurpations. He ſeized the temporalities of all the vacant biſhoprics and abbies: he delayed appointing ſucceſſors to thoſe dignities, that he might the longer enjoy the profits of their revenues; he beſtowed ſome of the church lands in property on his captains and favourites; and he openly put up to ſale ſuch ſees and abbies as he thought proper to diſpoſe of. The complaints of the eccleſiaſtics againſt this grievance were ſoon propagated through the nation; but the terror of Williams authority, confirmed by the ſuppreſſion of the late inſurrections, retained every one in ſubjection, and preſerved a general tranquillity in England.

A. D. 1090. Being now perfectly at liberty, William formed a reſolution, not warranted, indeed, either by chriſtian or fraternal piety, but well agreeing with the maxims followed by princes who conſider worldy grandeur as their principal object, of ſtripping Robert, his elder brother of his territories. He, however, concealed his intention till he could take advantage of Robert's neceſſities. Public profuſion is the parent of public penury; and when luxury, at the ſame time, creates neceſſities, which wealth alone can gratify, the miniſters and officers of a prince thus circumſtanced, and in a court thus degenerate, are, in their ſtations under equal temptations with the common ranks of men, when preſſed by the neceſſities of nature.

The ſucceſs of the Normans in England, under ſo munificent a prince as the conqueror, gave them a taſte of life, which at once ruined their country and their virtues; not by a gradual, but by a headlong courſe. They were now reduced to the narrow limits of a dukedom; the diviſion of William's empire introduced an alteration of affections: their hearts were with their treaſures; and finding it impracticable to reconcile their duties to both princes in both countries, each purſued that courſe which his intereſt dictated, or his affections prompted. The Normans ſettled in England, and now in full and legal poſſeſſion of eſtates, equal to principalities on the continent, ſoon conſidered themſelves as Engliſhmen; their affection for their native ſoil, gave way to their immediate intereſt, and the proſpect

ſpect of future greatneſs. The Normans, on the contrary, who were ſtill in France, found very mortifying alterations in their circumſtances.

Robert, by his indolence and dilatory conduct, had loſt the faireſt opportunity of rivaling his father in power and opulence. In the mean time his looſe and negligent adminiſtration had encouraged the barons to affect and independency in their government; and their mutual quarrels and devaſtations, had rendered the whole territory a ſcene of violence and outrage. In the mean time Robert ſquandered away his revenues, ſo that he was not able to ſupport the extravagance of thoſe nobles who adhered to his party. His circumſtances were not unknown to William; but like a prudent engineer, he choſe to undermine before he ſtormed. Being now enriched with revenues of the church, as well as his own, he corrupted the needy noblemen of Normandy. His firſt attempt was upon Walter, governor of the important caſtle of St. Valori. Money making this officer a traitor to his prince, he promiſed to deliver the fortreſs into the hands of William. Having ſucceeded in this attempt, he applied to the governor of Albermarle, and was equally ſucceſsful. Other governors imitated the example of theſe traitors, and promiſed to deliver up their caſtles, which were all ſituated on the ſea coaſts, into the hands of Rufus.

Aſſured of gaining a firm footing in Normandy, William continued his military preparations with great diligence; and having raiſed a powerful army, he landed at St. Valori, which was accordingly delivered into his hands. Stephen, ſon to Odo, earl of Champaigne, and governor of Albermarle, declared that he held his caſtle for Rufus, and accordingly increaſed its fortifications at the expence of that prince. Gilbert de Gourney, next delivered into the hands of Rufus his fortreſſes of Gourney, Ferte, and Gaily-fountaine; and then Robert de Ou, Walter Giffort, Ralph Mortimer, and ſeveral others of the Norman nobility, declared in his favour. This defection of ſo many powerful men, ſoon brought over to William the greater part of the inhabitants of Normandy, on the north ſide of the Seine.

Robert now found himſelf in great diſtreſs; he therefore applied to the court of France for relief; but William, by large preſents, had engaged Philip to remain neuter. Abandoned by the very perſon on whom he had placed the utmoſt dependance, Robert had the mortification of ſeeing his towns falling one after another into the hands of William; and even received certain advice, that Rouen itſelf, the capital of his dutchy was on the point of being delivered up to the king of England, by the treachery of its governor Canon, who had for ſome time carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy of his ſovereign and his country.

At this critical moment, Henry, who equally diſtruſted both his brothers, but feared William moſt, as being the moſt powerful, deſerted the part of the latter, and reſolved to throw the weight of his intereſt into the ſcale of the former. Accordingly he marched to Rouen at the head of a body of forces, and arrived juſt time enough to prevent the traitorous ſcheme of Odo from being executed. He ſeized the perſon of the perfidious governor, and ordered him to be thrown head long from the battlements of the caſtle; and then took poſſeſſion of the city in the name of his eldeſt brother. By this bold attempt he deſtroyed the confederacy, which would otherwiſe have deprived Robert of his capital, and probably of his whole dominions. This union between the two brothers, added to the miſcarriage of the attempt upon Rouen, put a ſtop to William's progreſs for that year, and he returned to England; but reſolved to proſecute the war with redoubled vigour the enſuing campaign.

A. D. 1091. Accordingly he croſſed the ſeas, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, with a ſtrong fleet, and a powerful army, and falling upon Robert, who was engaged in the ſiege of Courcy, he obliged him to retreat with the utmoſt precipitation. After this he marched to Ville d'Eu, where he encamped, and was viſited by many of the Norman nobility, whoſe own intereſts rendered them deſirous of bringing about an accommodation between the two brothers; and their endeavours were attended with ſuch happy ſucceſs, that a peace was ſoon after concluded on the following conditions. The duke was to leave William in poſſeſſion of the province of Eu, the towns of Feſchamp, Cherburgh, and all the other places he had reduced in Normandy. In conſideration of this ſacrifice, William agreed to aſſiſt his brother in reducing the province of Maine, which had rebelled; and to reſtore Robert, together with the Norman barons, who had engaged in his party, to their eſtates in England. The two brothers alſo ſtipulated, that on the demiſe of either without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould inherit all his dominions.

Henry, diſguſted that ſo little care had been taken of his intereſts in this accommodation, retired to St. Michael's mount, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, and infeſted the neighbourhood with his incurſions. Robert and William, with their joint forces, beſieged him in this place, and reduced his forces to great ſtreights for want of water. Robert hearing of his brother's diſtreſs, granted him permiſſion to ſupply himſelf, and alſo ſent him ſome pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for this ill-timed generoſity, he replied, "What! ſhall I ſuffer my brother to "periſh with thirſt? Where ſhall we find another "when he is gone?" The king alſo, during this ſiege, performed an act of generoſity, which was leſs ſuitable to his character. Riding out one day alone, to take a ſurvey of the fortreſs, he was attacked by two ſoldiers, and diſmounted. One of them drew his ſword in order to diſpatch him, when the king exclaimed, "Hold, fellow! I am the king of "England." The ſoldier ſuſpended his blow, and raiſing the king from the ground, with great marks of reſpect, received a handſome reward, and was taken into his ſervice. Prince Henry was ſoon after obliged to capitulate; and being deſpoiled of all his eſtates, wandered about for ſome time, with few attendants, and often in great poverty, not having a place where he might fix his reſidence.

About this time Edgar Atheling returned to Normandy from Paleſtine, and was kindly received by Robert; but Rufus, who entertained ſome diſagreeable apprehenſions of that prince, inſiſted on his brother's obliging him to quit his dominions, which he accordingly did; and William having ſeized upon the eſtates he held in England, Edgar found himſelf once more obliged to have recourſe to Malcolm, king of Scotland, to whom he repreſented his hard treatment, in ſo affecting a manner, that the Scot reſolved to revenge his cauſe on William, and to march at the head of a powerful army into Eng-

land, in order, if poſſible, to place Edgar on the throne of his anceſtors. He accordingly took the advantage of William's abſence, to enter Northumberland, where he ravaged the whole country, then in a defenceleſs ſtate, and retired into his own territories, with a conſiderable booty.

Rufus, on being informed of this invaſion, made preparations for attacking the Scots both by ſea and land. In the mean time Robert came over to England with his brother, in order to aſſiſt him in this expedition againſt the enemy. The fleet accordingly ſailed, but ſuffered ſo greatly by a tempeſt, that nothing of conſequence could be effected. The land forces, headed by the two brothers, advanced as far as Scotwater, where they were met by an envoy from Malcolm, with the following meſſage to William: "That as he neither did, nor ever intended, "to acknowledge him king of England, he could "conſider him only as an invader of his kingdom; "but if his brother Robert was with him, he was "ready and willing to do that prince homage for "Cumberland, as the eldeſt ſon of William, his "lord paramount."

Rufus, on receiving this meſſage, called a council of war, to conſult upon the moſt proper meaſures to be purſued; when Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, a wiſe and experienced general, repreſented the neceſſity there was of coming to an accommodation, as the Engliſh army was greatly weakened and diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the enemy having ſo entirely waſted the country, that there was neither forage for the horſes, nor food for the ſoldiers. Theſe pertinent obſervations had the deſired effect, and Robert was ſelected by the council, to repair to the Scottiſh camp, with propoſals to Malcolm, by whom he was received with the greateſt marks of reſpect; and his offers being ſeconded by the perſuaſions of Edward Atheling, whom Mowbray had found means to impart his deſign, of getting him reſtored to his eſtates in England, Malcolm conſented to conclude a peace with Rufus, on the following conditions: That William ſhould reſtore to Malcolm twelve manors, which the latter had held under the conqueror, and pay him annually twelve marks of gold; and that Malcolm ſhould do homage to William in the ſame manner as he had done to his father. At the ſame time William conſented to receive Edgar Atheling again into favour, and reinſtate him in his Engliſh poſſeſſions.

A peace being thus concluded between the two kingdoms, William returned with the ſhattered remains of his army into England. And Robert thought this a ſeaſonable opportunity of reminding his brother of the treaty lately concluded, by which his eſtates in England were to be reſtored. William, however, only amuſed him with flattering promiſes, without ſhewing the leaſt inclination to perform his contract; which ſo exaſperated Robert, that he quitted England immediately, and carried Edgar Atheling with him to Normandy.

A. D. 1092. On his return to his own dominions, Robert found his brother Henry in poſſeſſion of Danfront, a ſtrong ſea-port town in Normandy, which had been delivered into his hands by Robert de Belleſme, together with the whole province of the Contantin. William now thought proper to ſupport Henry ſecretly, not chuſing to appear openly in this conteſt; ſo that Robert found it impoſſible to reduce his brother, or diſpoſſeſs him of the territories he had ſeized. Nor was this the only inſtance which Rufus gave of his inſincerity with regard to the treaty concluded with Robert: he was continually endeavouring to draw off the Norman barons from their allegiance, hoping to weaken his brother ſo effectually by degrees, as to be able to make himſelf maſter of Normandy with very little trouble.

A. D. 1093. The clergy were now grown very uneaſy with regard to the long vacancy in the ſee of Canterbury, and renewed their ſollicitations to have it filled; but William, who entertained a hearty contempt for the whole order, diſregarded their remonſtrances, till the affair was likely to take a very ſerious turn, the clergy having long maintained a very powerful influence over the common people. At laſt one of the nobility propoſed Anſelm, abbot of Bec, as a perſon of unexceptionable character, and every way qualified to fill the archiepiſcopal chair. But while this propoſal was under conſideration, William fell dangerouſly ill at Glouceſter: and, as none but the truly virtuous are truly brave, William betrayed, on this occaſion, all the ſigns of puſillanimity and terror. He had now recourſe to the prayers and counſels of that order of men he had always before affected to treat with contempt; while they, true to their grand principle, the acquiſition of power, embraced the preſent opportunity of improving the fears and terrors of the monarch, in order to gain their purpoſe. They ſucceeded, and the archbiſhopric of Canterbury was beſtowed upon Anſelm, who was then in England, on a viſit to his friend the earl of Cheſter. At the ſame time Robert Bloet, one of the king's chaplains, was created biſhop of Lincoln. Rufus alſo promiſed Anſelm, to reſtore all the revenues of the archiepiſcopal ſee; part of which had been given, at the death of Lanfranc, to perſons in civil employments. But his diſeaſe had no ſooner taken a favourable turn, and the king found himſelf freed from the immediate terror of a ſpeedy diſſolution, than he repented of the conceſſions he had made, and diſregarding, on his recovery, all the promiſes he had made in his ſickneſs, gave the clergy to underſtand, that they had taken unfair advantages of his weakneſs, and therefore countermanded ſeveral orders he had iſſued in their favour, Theſe proceedings gave occaſion to a conteſt between him and Anſelm, which proved the ſource of many diſorders.

Soon after William's recovery, Malcolm, king of Scotland, ſent ambaſſadors into England, to demand the performance of that part of the late treaty, which regarded the twelve Engliſh manors. William, inſtead of giving a direct anſwer to the demand, deſired that Malcolm would repair in perſon to him at Glouceſter, where juſtice ſhould be ſpeedily done him. Malcolm accepted the invitation, but was received in ſo haughty a manner by Rufus, that he returned in a tranſport of rage to his own country, where he immediately aſſembled a powerful army, at the head of which he entered Northumberland, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages. Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, collected what forces he could to oppoſe the invaſion, but could not prevent Malcolm's beſieging the caſtle of Alnwick, which had been ſeized by the Engliſh. Mowbray, unable to meet the Scottiſh army in the open field, came ſilently, by night, to the enemy's camp, and fell upon the Scots with ſuch fury, that both Malcolm and his ſon were

ſlain in the action, and the whole army routed with great ſlaughter. The loſs of this prince was ſeverely felt by the Engliſh fugitives, who had long reſided in Scotland under his protection, and to whom he had been a father and a friend. His brother Donald, who ſucceeded him in the throne, purſued a very different conduct, expelling from his dominions all the Engliſh, whom the late king had ſo remarkably favoured. The excellent Margaret did not long ſurvive the death of her huſband. She ſilently retired to a church, where the laſt offices of religion were adminiſtered to her, and then, after pining for a few days, ſhe expired.

A. D. 1094. Rufus, being thus freed from a dangerous enemy, in the perſon of Malcolm, found himſelf at leiſure to invade the territories of his brother Robert, whom he could never forgive, for the peremptory manner in which he had demanded the performance of the late treaty between them. He therefore paſſed over into Normandy, at the head of a powerful army; but, in order to give ſome reaſon for commencing ſuch unnatural hoſtilities, he requeſted an interview with his brother, when Robert made ſome propoſals, which were rejected by William with great contempt. Robert then propoſed a ſecond conference, at which all the barons, and great men, who had aſſiſted at the ratification of the treaty in queſtion, were preſent; but ſo many difficulties aroſe between the contending parties, that the negociation was broke off, and the two brothers prepared to decide their quarrel by the ſword.

William ſoon made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, the governors of which he had previouſly gained over to his intereſt by preſents; and flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſoon ſubduing the whole dutchy of Normandy. But the king of France, whoſe intereſt it was to keep the two brothers at variance, without ſuffering either to acquire too much power, marched at the head of an army to Robert's aſſiſtance, and ſoon changed the face of affairs. The towns and caſtles which Rufus had taken, were reduced one after another, and garriſoned with a mixture of Norman and French forces, and William was obliged to ſend to England for a reinforcement.

Upon the receipt of William's orders in England, levies were made with great expedition, and twenty thouſand men being raiſed, a general muſter was appointed at Haſtings. It was the cuſtom, in theſe times, for the ſeveral barons and knights, to furniſh each of their ſoldiers with ten ſhillings, towards defraying their expence during the campaign; theſe ſums amounted, in the whole, to ten thouſand pounds, anſwering to near two hundred thouſand pounds of the preſent currency. William, who had expended vaſt ſums in corrupting Robert's officers and governors, had the mortification to find his coffers nearly exhauſted, and was therefore deſirous of having recourſe to ſome expedient for a ſupply. Accordingly the prime miniſter, by the king's orders, acquainted the ſoldiers, that his maſter had more occaſion for their money than their ſervices; and that their going to Normandy might be diſpenſed with, upon each man's paying into the hands of the government, the money he had received for his ſubſiſtence. The ſoldiers, whoſe livelihood, as well as that of their families, depended upon agriculture, were pleaſed with the alternative, and accordingly paid their money very readily into the treaſury.

In the mean time, William's affairs in Normandy, wore a very indifferent aſpect. Moſt of his towns were now reduced, and he himſelf ſhut up in the city of Eu, waiting for ſupplies from England. Robert had formed a plan for terminating the war, by attacking Eu, and taking his brother priſoner. In this critical moment William received the money, and well knowing, that the ruling paſſion of Philip, the French king, was avarice; he was perſuaded that he might be induced, by a handſome ſum, to deſert Robert's party. William was not miſtaken. Philip accepted the offer; and tho' he did not immediately withdraw his forces from Robert's army, yet he propoſed ſo many difficulties, and occaſioned ſo many delays in the operations propoſed by Robert, that no tranſaction of conſequence happened during the remainder of the campaign; and William was ſoon after prevented from proſecuting the war, by an inſurrection in Wales, which called him back to England.

He found no difficulty in repelling the enemy, but was not able to make any conſiderable impreſſion on a country, guarded by its mountainous ſituation. He, therefore, contented himſelf with giving ſtrict orders to the wardens of the marches to guard the borders with the greateſt care, and, by building ſtrong forts, in proportion as they gained ground on the enemy, to prevent theſe reſtleſs invaders from making any farther encroachments.

A. D. 1095. Soon after his return from the frontiers of Wales, William received advice that a conſpiracy was formed againſt his life, and that all his perſonal and political abilities would be wanting, to prevent the conſequences. The Normans ſettled in England, were perſuaded that the conteſts in which William was engaged on the continent, tended only to exhauſt England of her money and beſt troops; and conſidering themſelves as Engliſhmen, had formed a deſign, during William's abſence, of bringing about a total revolution in the government. At the ſame time Robert de Mowbray thought, that his merit in defeating the Scottiſh army, had not been properly rewarded. This nobleman, having great power and intereſt in the north, his diſcontent ſoon infected William, count de Eu, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacey, and ſeveral others.

The late attempts and invaſions of the Scots were of great uſe to the conſpirators; they furniſhed Mowbray with a pretence for building ſeveral forts, filling magazines, raiſing troops, and making other military diſpoſitions, without giving the leaſt ſuſpicion of the real uſe intended to be made of theſe preparations. William, however, was perſuaded that this exceſs of public ſpirit aroſe from ſome private views, and therefore ſent ſeveral meſſages to Mowbray, requiring him to moderate his expences at a time when the crown was hardly able to provide for the neceſſities of government. Mowbray, however, with ſome appearance of reaſon, repreſented, that the precautions he had taken, were for the ſecurity of his own eſtates, acquired by many years painful labour, and which he had hitherto defended with ſo much ſucceſs and loyalty; that the caſtles he had fortified, belonged to his own earldom; that they were guarded by his own followers; and that if the crown was at any extraordinary

dinary expence, it was no greater than was abſolutely neceſſary for ſo important a ſervice.

But William eaſily perceived, that this reply was merely evaſive, and therefore loſt no time in forcing the conſpirators to an explanation. He, however, reſolved to effect it in the moſt legal and conſtitutional manner, that all the virtuous part of his ſubjects at leaſt, might perceive and applaud his juſtice. He kept his Eaſter at Wincheſter, when all the great barons in the kingdom were obliged to attend the court, on receiving ſummons for that purpoſe. Among the reſt who abſented themſelves on this occaſion, was the earl of Northumberland. Rufus was, however, cautious of proceeding to extremities, and therefore required his attendance at Windſor on the Whitſuntide following; adding, at the ſame time, that if he did not comply, he muſt expect the ſeverity of the law. Robert, however, thought proper to be abſent, but ſent an apology, pretending that the king had denied him a ſafe conduct, and hoſtages for his return.

In the mean time, the conſpirators had formed a plan of the intended revolution, and determined to place Stephen, earl of Albermarle, and grandſon to the conqueror, on the Engliſh throne. William was not yet acquainted with their deſigns, but conſidering Mowbray's refuſal as an act of rebellion, he immediately ordered out commiſſioners for a general array, and raiſing a large army, marched towards the north. Mowbray was prepared to receive the king, having taken care to fortify Newcaſtle upon Tyne, Bamborough, and Tinmouth, all of them naturally very ſtrong, and well provided for defence. The earl made no attempt to oppoſe Rufus in the field; his forces were not only unequal to thoſe of the royal army, but many of the conſpirators had already abandoned their party, and made their peace with William, who met with no reſiſtance till he came to Newcaſtle, which he immediately beſieged: but finding it too well provided for a defence, after loſing two months before the place, he ſuddenly aſſaulted Tinmouth, ſituated in the neighbourhood, and took it, making many of Mowbray's beſt officers priſoners, who had been placed there under the command of his brother, to defend the place. Tinmouth being thus in the hands of the king, Newcaſtle was ſoon after obliged to capitulate.

Having reduced theſe places, Rufus marched for Bamborough-caſtle, in which he was informed Mowbray had taken refuge; but in this march, he very narrowly eſcaped being cut off with his whole army. For Mowbray had taken care to plant a body of troops in a defile, thro' which the king muſt paſs, and where he could make little or no reſiſtance. This deſign was, however, fruſtrated by Richard de Tunbridge, who had been intruſted by Mowbray with the ſecret of this ambuſcade; touched by the remembrance of former favours, and pitying the loſs of ſo many brave men, who muſt have fallen a ſacrifice on this occaſion, Tunbridge found means to apprize William of his danger, and thereby ſaved both the king and his army from deſtruction. Filled with rage at this attempt upon his life, Rufus advanced againſt Bamborough, and immediately beſieged it in form. This was a very ſtrong place, and Rufus, after repeated aſſaults, was convinced, that every attempt to carry it would prove abortive. He therefore changed the ſiege into a blockade, and built, oppoſite to the caſtle, a tower, which he called Malvoiſin, or bad neighbour. In this town he placed a large garriſon, and departed for the ſouthern parts, where his affairs now demanded his preſence.

Upon the king's departure, Mowbray, leaving his ſteward, Morell, to command Bamborough-caſtle, repaired to the caſtle of Tinmouth, which ſtill continued in his poſſeſſion, tho' the town had been taken by the royal army. While Mowbray remained there, he attempted to corrupt ſome of the Norman ſoldiers left by William at Newcaſtle. The truſty Normans amuſed him with hopes, adding, that if he would appear before the town, with about thirty followers, they would give him admittance, and then join him in ſecuring the place. Robert, unfortunately for himſelf, fell into the ſnare, while the artful Normans acquainted the garriſon of Malvoiſin of the whole tranſaction. Mowbray ſet out according to their agreement, but was intercepted by a detachment of Normans, and obliged to take refuge in the monaſtery of Oſwin, where he made a brave reſiſtance, till moſt of his followers being cut to pieces, and himſelf wounded in the leg, he was forced to fly into the church, till that time always deemed a place of ſafety. But the enemy, paying no regard to the ſanctity of the ſtructure, forced him from the altar, and committed him to priſon.

Rufus, informed of Mowbray's misfortune, ordered him to be carried before the gate of Bamborough-caſtle, which ſtill made a noble defence, under the command of Morell. On Robert's appearing, it was declared to Morell, and the counteſs of Northumberland, that unleſs they delivered up the caſtle inſtantly, his eyes ſhould be put out before their faces. This menace produced the deſired effect; the caſtle was ſurrendered, and by that acquiſition, all the hopes of the conſpirators were blaſted. Mowbray was ordered to be committed cloſe priſoner in the caſtle of Windſor, where he died about thirty years after.

A. D. 1096. The rebellion being thus extinguiſhed, and Mowbray cloſely confined, Rufus proceeded to try the other conſpirators. The firſt was William, count de Eu, who was impeached in a great council, held at Saliſbury, by Godfrey Baynard, of high treaſon, and being privy to the late conſpiracy. As no poſitive witneſs appeared againſt him, the accuſed claimed the privilege of proving his innocence by ſingle combat, which was accordingly granted; but being vanquiſhed by his accuſer, he was condemned to be caſtrated, and to have his eyes put out. William de Alderi was ſoon after tried for the ſame treaſon, found guilty, and ordered to be hanged. Odo, earl of Champaigne, and Philip, ſon to Hugh earl of Shrewſbury, were found to have engaged in the ſame conſpiracy; upon which they were committed to priſon, and their Engliſh eſtates confiſcated; but the earl of Cheſter was diſmiſſed, after being fined and reprimanded.

About this time an incident happened, which occaſioned great heats and animoſities in the nation. We have already obſerved, that William, ever ſince the promotion of Anſelm to the archiepiſcopal chair, had been engaged in diſputes with that auſtere prelate. There was at that time a ſchiſm in the church between Urban and Clement, who both pretended to the papacy; and Anſelm, who, as abbot of Bec, had already acknowledged the former, was deter-

determined, without the king's conſent, to introduce his authority into England. William, who imitated his father's example, had prohibited his ſubjects from acknowledging any pope, whom he had not previouſly received, was enraged at this attempt of the prelate, and ſummoned a ſynod at Rockingham, with an intention of depoſing Anſelm; but the ſuffragans of that prelate, declared, that without the papal authority, they knew of no expedient for inflicting ſuch a puniſhment on their primate. Afterwards the king himſelf was obliged, by other motives, to give the preference to Urban's title: Anſelm received the pall from that pontiff, and matters ſeemed to be tollerably compoſed between the king and the primate, when a new cauſe occaſioned the quarrel to break out afreſh. William had undertaken an expedition againſt the Welſh, and required the archbiſhop to furniſh his quota of ſoldiers for that ſervice; but Anſelm, who conſidered the demand as an incroachment upon the church, and yet durſt not refuſe compliance, ſent them ſo miſerably equipped, that the king was extremely offended, and threatened him with a proſecution. Anſelm, on the other hand, demanded poſitively, that all the revenues of his ſee ſhould be reſtored to him; appealed to Rome againſt the king's injuſtice, and affairs came, at laſt, to ſuch extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous for him to remain in England, deſired permiſſion to repair to the continent. All his temporalities were confiſcated, but he was received with great reſpect by Urban, who conſidered him as a martyr in the cauſe of religion, and even menaced the king, on account of his proceedings againſt the primate and the church, with the ſentence of excommunication. Anſelm aſſiſted at the council of Bari, where, beſides determining the controverſy between the Greek and Latin churches, with regard to the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, the right of election to church preferments, was declared to belong to the clergy alone; and ſpiritual cenſures were denounced againſt all eccleſiaſtics, who did homage to laymen for their ſees or benefices, and on all laymen who exacted it. The rite of homage, by the feudal cuſtoms was, that the vaſſal ſhould throw himſelf upon his knees, put his joined hands between thoſe of his ſuperior, and, in that poſture, ſwear fealty to him. But the council declared it execrable, that pure hands which could create God, and offer him up as a ſacrifice for the ſins of mankind, ſhould be put after this humiliating manner, between profane hands, which, beſides being innured to rapine and bloodſhed, were employed day and night in impure purpoſes, and obſcene contacts.

But a ſcene of far greater importance was now opened upon the continent, which muſt not here be omitted, as its conſequences were ſeverely felt by this kingdom, we mean the Cruſade, or Holy war, which at this time engaged the attention of all Europe, and has ever ſince employed the attention of mankind, as the moſt ſignal and durable monument of human folly, that has yet appeared in any age or nation. Gregory VII. among other vaſt ideas, had formed the deſign of uniting all the weſtern Chriſtians againſt the Mahometans, in order to wreſt out of their hands the land of Paleſtine, in which the city of Jeruſalem was ſituated, and which had been, for ſome time, poſſeſſed by the infidels. But his exorbitant enterprizes againſt the civil power of princes, had rendered all his ſchemes ſo ſuſpicious, that he was unable to make any great progreſs in this undertaking: the work was reſerved for a much more proper, tho' meaner inſtrument.

One Peter, generally called the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Piccardy, had made a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and being deeply affected with the dangers to which that act of piety now expoſed the pilgrims, as well as the inſtances of oppreſſion, under which the eaſtern Chriſtians laboured, he formed the bold, and, to all appearance, impracticable project, of leading into Aſia, from the fartheſt extremities of the weſt, armies ſufficient to ſubdue thoſe powerful and warlike nations, by whom the Holy Land was held in ſlavery and ſubjection. He propoſed his intentions to Martin II. who filled the papal chair, and who, tho' he was ſenſible of the advantages which the head of the Chriſtian church muſt reap from a religious war, and tho' he eſteemed the blind zeal of Peter, a proper means for effecting the purpoſe, reſolved not to interpoſe his authority, till he ſaw a greater probability of ſucceſs.

He, however, thought proper to call a council at Placentia, at which above thirty thouſand ſeculars, beſides four thouſand eccleſiaſtics, were preſent, ſo that it became neceſſary to hold the aſſembly in the open plain, no hall being capacious enough to contain the multitude. The harangues of the pope, and Peter himſelf, repreſenting the diſmal ſituation of their bretheren in the eaſt, and the indignity ſuffered by the Chriſtian name, in allowing the holy city to remain in the hands of the infidels, here found the minds of men ſo well prepared for theſe impreſſions, that the whole multitude, as if actuated by a ſupernatural impulſe, declared for the war, and ſolemnly devoted themſelves to perform a ſervice, which they conſidered as ſo meritorious towards God and religion.

Martin was, however, perſuaded, that tho' the Italians had embraced this propoſal with the greateſt zeal, yet ſomething more was wanting to render the attempt ſucceſsful. He thought it neceſſary to engage the greater, and more warlike nations in the ſame religious cauſe; and accordingly diſpatched Peter, to viſit the chief cities and ſovereigns in Chriſtendom, previouſly to his ſummoning another general council at Clermont in Avergne. The fame of this great and pious deſign, being now univerſally diffuſed, procured the attendance of the greateſt prelates, nobles, and princes; and when the pope and the hermit renewed their pathetic exhortations, the whole aſſembly, as if impelled by an immediate inſpiration, exclaimed, with one voice, "It "is the will of God, it is the will of God:" words deemed ſo memorable, and ſo much the reſult of a divine influence, that they were afterwards employed as the ſignal of rendezvous and battle, in all the future exploits of theſe adventurers. Men of all ranks flew to arms with the utmoſt ardour; and, at the ſame time, an exterior ſymbol, a circumſtance of conſiderable moment, was choſen by the devoted combatants. The ſign of the croſs, which had been hitherto ſo much revered among chriſtians, became the badge of union, and was affixed to their right ſhoulder, by all who inliſted themſelves in this religious war.

Ignorance and ſuperſtition had, at this time, ſpread their ſable wings over Europe, and wholly excluded the light of reaſon: The clergy had acquired the greateſt aſcendant over the human mind: the people, who were little reſtrained by honour, and ſtill leſs by

by law, abandoned themſelves to the greateſt crimes and diſorders, knew of no other expiation, than the rules and penances impoſed on them by their ſpiritual paſtors: and it was eaſy for them to repreſent the holy war, as an equivalent for all penances, and an atonement for every violation of juſtice and humanity. At the ſame time, an univerſal ſpirit for war had diffuſed itſelf among all ranks of people; and tho' not ſupported by art or diſcipline, was become the favourite profeſſion of all the nations governed by the feudal ſyſtem. All the great barons poſſeſſed the right of peace and war: they were continually engaged in hoſtilities with each other; the open country was become one general ſcene of outrage and diſorder: the cities, which were ſtill mean and poor, were neither guarded by walls, nor protected by privileges; they were expoſed to every inſult, and ſhared in the common diſorder: every man was allowed to depend upon his own force, or his private alliances. Valour, therefore, was the only excellence held in eſteem, or that gave one man the pre-eminence over another. Hence, it is no wonder, that when religious ſuperſtition, and the univerſal paſſion for war were united in one great object; all the kingdoms of Europe ſhould be, as it were, looſened from their foundations, and all their inhabitants prepare for an expedition, by which they were to obtain both an earthly and a heavenly kingdom.

The multitude of adventurers ſoon became ſo great, that their moſt ſagacious leaders, Hugh count de Vermandois, brother to the French king, Raymond count of Tholouſe, Godfrey of Boulogne, prince of Brabant, and Stephen count of Blois, became apprehenſive, that the greatneſs of the armament itſelf would diſappoint its purpoſe; and therefore permitted three hundred thouſand men to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Walter the Moneyleſs. Theſe took the road towards Conſtantinople, thro' Hungaria and Bulgaria, and truſting that heaven, by ſupernatural aſſiſtance, would ſupply all their neceſſities, they made no proviſion for ſubſiſtance on their march. They, however, ſoon found themſelves miſtaken, and were obliged to obtain by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles: while the enraged inhabitants of the countries thro' which they paſſed, gathering together in arms, attacked the diſorderly multitude, and put them to death without reſiſtance. The more diſciplined armies followed after, and croſſing the ſtreights of Conſtantinople, they were muſtered in the plains of Aſia, and amounted in the whole to ſeven hundred thouſand fighting men.

Among the reſt of theſe religious adventurers, Robert, duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery, and miſtaken generoſity of his ſpirit, had early inliſted; while his brother William, king of England, deſpiſing the ſuperſtitious bigotry of the times, kept aloof from all connexions with thoſe romantic warriors. Robert, whoſe treaſury was nearly exhauſted, ſoon found that it would be impracticable for him to appear, in a manner ſuitable to his rank and ſtation, at the head of his numerous vaſſals and ſubjects, who, tranſported with the general fury, were determined to follow him into Aſia, the chief ſeat of arts and commerce in thoſe ages, and where they hoped to gain eſtabliſhments far more opulent than thoſe they poſſeſſed in their own country. Deſtitute of money, and yet determined at any rate, to purſue the romantic expedition to the eaſt, Robert reſolved to mortgage, or rather ſell his dominions, which he wanted talents to govern. Accordingly he offered them to his brother William, for the ſmall ſum of ten thouſand marks. The bargain was ſoon concluded; William raiſed the money by violent extortions on his ſubjects of all ranks, even to the religious houſes, who were obliged to melt their plate, in order to furniſh the quota demanded of them; and the king, croſſing the ſea, was accordingly put in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Maine. While Robert, providing himſelf with a magnificent train, ſet out for the Holy Land in purſuit of glory.

A. D. 1097. Rufus continued in Normandy, till he was recalled by new troubles in England. The Welſh had now, in ſome meaſure, recovered their independence, choſen Codagan for their principal leader, and made ſeveral incurſions into William's territories, by which the Norman nobility, who had been placed as wardens upon their borders, were greatly diſtreſſed. William, reſolved to chaſtiſe the Welſh for this freſh breach of the treaty, raiſed a powerful army, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome Welſh deſerters, whom he had gained over to his intereſt, advanced into the heart of their country, hoping now to wipe off all the ignominy that had attended his former expeditions againſt that people. But the Welſh had recourſe to their old policy: for, finding themſelves unable to face the king in the open field, they carried off every thing neceſſary for the ſubſiſtance of his army, into inacceſſible paſſes, ſo that he was obliged to content himſelf, after loſing great part of his forces by hunger and fatigue, with building ſome fortreſſes on the borders of that country.

The affairs of Scotland now took a turn, which William wiſely improved to his own advantage; for the Scots, finding that Duncan, who had been placed by Rufus on their throne, behaved in a very arbitrary manner, recalled Donald, and put Duncan to death. This prince was by no means agreeable to William, on account of his connexions with Norway, and, at the ſame time, was oppoſed by a ſtrong faction at home, who favoured Edgar, the eldeſt ſon of Malcolm, their late king. That prince, who, ever ſince the death of his father, had reſided in England, was now of an age for government, and had received ſecret invitations from his party to aſſert his right, with aſſurances, that the whole nation would declare in his behalf, the moment he ſhould appear perſonally in his kingdom. Determined to make an effort, and, at the ſame time unwilling to truſt himſelf intirely unguarded, Edgar, in conjunction with his uncle Edgar Atheling, applied to Rufus for a ſmall body of troops. Rufus, well acquainted with the diſpoſition of young Edgar, knew that gratitude, for the kindneſs he had ſhewn him, would for ever after bind the Scot to his intereſt, granted him more troops than the young prince demanded, and to oblige him the more ſenſibly, gave the command to Edgar Atheling. This attempt met with little reſiſtance: Edgar was placed on the throne of his anceſtors; the uſurper died in chains; and William's ſucceſſors found, in the reſtored prince, a faithful and uſeful ally.

About the end of November, Rufus paſſed over into Normandy, where he received letters from the pope, requiring him to replace archbiſhop Anſelm in the ſee of Canterbury. William ſent an ambaſſador to the pope, by whom he was received with all

the haughtineſs of eccleſiaſtical authority, and commanded to leave the Roman court. The ambaſſador, however, being a perſon of ſenſe and addreſs, eaſily perceived there were ſtill methods of gaining the favour of his holineſs. He inſinuated he had ſome private inſtructions from his maſter; and by delaying his departure from day to day, found means to raiſe ſo powerful a party among the cardinals, that the farther conſideration of Anſelm's complaint was put off from Eaſter to Michaelmas.

While William continued in Normandy, the kingdom of England ſuffered greatly from ſcarcity, occaſioned by inclement ſeaſons. A bridge had, many years ſince, been built over the Thames; but being of a ſlight ſtructure, was now ſwept away by the floods. This misfortune produced a reſolution to rebuild it in the place where it now ſtands, in ſo durable a manner, as to be proof againſt the like accidents for the future. This coſt an immenſe ſum, which was raiſed by a tax laid on the whole kingdom. About the ſame time, Weſtminſter-hall was firſt built, and remained till the days of Richard II. a noble monument of William's munificence, it being the fineſt Gothic room in the world. The Tower of London is another inſtance of this prince's grandeur, he having ſurrounded it with walls at a prodigious expence to the nation.

A. D. 1098. Tho' William had purchaſed the dutchy of Normandy and province of Maine, yet the increaſe of territories added very little to the increaſe of his power, from the unſettled ſtate of theſe countries, the mutinous diſpoſitions of the barons, and the near neighbourhood of the French king, who ſupported them in all their inſurrections. Even Helie, lord of Fleche, a ſmall town in Anjou, was able to diſturb the peace of William's government; and this great monarch was obliged to make ſeveral expeditions abroad, without being able to prevail over ſo petty a baron, who had acquired the confidence and affections of the inhabitants of Maine.

A. D. 1099. At laſt William having, as he imagined, terminated all the troubles in Normandy, returned to England: but ſoon after his arrival, while he was hunting in the new foreſt, a meſſenger arrived with the important news, that Helie had again appeared at the head of an army, and beſieged Mans. William was ſo provoked at this intelligence, that he immediately turned his horſe's head towards the city of Mans, and galloped to the ſeaſhore at Dartmouth, declaring, he would not ſtop a moment, till he had made that daring baron feel the weight of his reſentment. At his arrival, he found no other accommodation for his paſſage over, than a crazy veſſel, and at the ſame time the ſea very rough, and the weather tempeſtuous. The maſter of the veſſel being ordered to ſet ſail, repreſented that he could not obey, without expoſing his majeſty to almoſt unavoidable deſtruction, "Set ſail," replied William, "didſt thou ever hear of a king "being drowned?" None daring to diſpute this peremptory demand, the veſſel ſailed immediately, and landed the king and all his attendants at Barfleur in France, the next morning. He immediately diſpatched ſummonſes thro' all Normandy, for his officers to repair to his ſtandard at Mans; but the enemy, amazed at ſuch prodigious diſpatch, raiſed the ſiege, and, after a few ſkirmiſhes, made a precipitate retreat, in which Helie was taken priſoner. Being brought before William, the king could not help cenſuring the baron for his conduct, adding inſults to his reproaches. But the nobleman fiercely replied, "Your majeſty has little cauſe for triumph "on account of an advantage gained rather by "fortune than by valour. Were I once more at "liberty, you ſhould then know what I could do." William, who was pleaſed at having it in his power to make amends for his inſult on ſo brave a man, replied, "And what would you do, ſir, were you "at liberty? Haſte! be gone! fly! you are at li"berty to do what you will; and by the face of "St. Luke, if it ſhould ever be your fortune to "conquer me, I ſhall expect nothing for this fa"vour." His actions were equal to his words: he diſmiſſed his enemy rather with admiration of his valour than enmity to his perſon.

About the end of September, William having reſtored peace and tranquillity to Normandy and Maine, returned to England. Soon after his arrival the great biſhopric of Durham, which had been for ſome time vacant, was beſtowed upon Ranulph, who had long acted as firſt miniſter in England. This perſon, from a mean original, advanced himſelf by his eloquence and bold meaſures, to the office of lord ſteward of the kingdom, the moſt conſiderable poſt in England.

This year is alſo diſtinguiſhed by the taking of Jeruſalem by the chriſtian forces. Robert duke of Normandy, being the moſt illuſtrious adventurer, as well as the greateſt warrior in the whole army, was elected king of Jeruſalem by the unanimous voice of the confederate princes. But the great reputation he had gained in the fields of Aſia, filled him with the fond idea that it would now be eaſy for him to recover his dutchy, and even get poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown. He therefore declined the ſceptre of Jeruſalem; upon which Godfrey of Boulogne, a prince of inferior rank, but ſuperior virtues, was elected, and while he lived, the city was governed with great juſtice and wiſdom. There is ſufficient reaſon to believe, that Robert's declining this honour, was ever after attended with very fatal effects to his intereſt; ſuch was the reverence of thoſe times for unprofitable royalty.

A. D. 1100. When we conſider the weakneſs of the greateſt monarchs, during this age, in their military expeditions againſt their neighbours, we are aſtoniſhed at hearing of the amazing numbers which even petty princes, ſeconding the enthuſiaſtic rage of the people, were able to aſſemble, and to conduct, in dangerous enterprizes to the remote provinces of Aſia. William earl of Poictiers and duke of Guienne, enflamed with the glory without being diſcouraged by the misfortunes which had attended former adventurers in the cruſades, had put himſelf at the head of an immenſe multitude, ſaid by ſome hiſtorians to amount to ſixty thouſand horſe, and a much greater number of foot, and propoſed to lead them into the Holy Land againſt the infidels. But wanting money to forward the preparations requiſite for this expedition, he offered to mortgage his dominions to William, without entertaining any ſcruple of that rapacious hand into which he was going to conſign them. Rufus, who deſpiſe dand ridiculed the enthuſiaſtic madneſs of the time, had kept his kingdom free from thoſe bigotted expeditions; and, for ſome years paſt had been amaſſing large ſums, from a perſuaſion that he ſhould have an offer of making another purchaſe as valuable as that of Normandy. This offer of the earl of Poictiers convinced him he was not miſtaken, and William readily accepted the offer;

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WILLIAM II. *Killed by* WALTER TYRREL
on the NEW FORREST.

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offer; agreeing to pay down the ſum demanded, provided he was put into immediate poſſeſſion of the eſtates. This being complied with, a great army was raiſed, and a powerful fleet fitted out in England, the king intending to carry over the money in perſon, and take poſſeſſion of the rich provinces of Poictou and Guienne.

Theſe prodigious preparations, joined to the aſpiring ſpirit of Rufus, alarmed all Europe, then mad with religious rage, and weakened by unprofitable expences. A prince in the flower of his age, of great experience in war, of unbounded ambition in peace, maſter of England, and of the richeſt provinces of France, muſt have ſoon given laws to Europe; nor was it poſſible to ſee what was capable of reſtraining his ambition. But when every thing was ready for this important expedition, an accident happened which put an end at once to his life, and all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting, the favourite, and indeed almoſt the ſole diverſion and occupation of princes in that rude and barbarous age, when ſociety was little cultivated, and the arts afforded few objects worthy of attention. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his addreſs in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the new foreſt was the ſcene; and as William had diſmounted after the chace, Tyrrel, impatient to ſhow his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a ſtag, which ſuddenly ſtarted before him. The arrow glancing from a tree ſtruck the king in the breaſt and inſtantly killed him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put ſpurs to his horſe, haſtened to the ſea ſhore, embarked for France, and joined the cruſade in an expedition to Jeruſalem; a penalty he impoſed upon himſelf for this involuntary crime. The body of William was afterwards found in the foreſt by the country people, and buried without any pomp or ceremony in the cathedral church at Wincheſter. His courtiers were negligent in paying their laſt duies to a maſter who was ſo little beloved; and every one was too much occupied in the intereſting object of fixing his ſucceſſor, to attend the funeral of a dead ſovereign.

Thus fell William Rufus on the ſecond of Auguſt, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of twelve years, ten months, and twenty days. In his perſon he was of a middle ſtature, but appeared ſhorter than he really was, on account of his being very fat. His complexion was florid, his hair of a yelloviſh red, and one of his eyes ſpotted, which rendered it unlike the other. In bodily ſtrength he exceeded moſt men of his time; his manner of ſpeaking was diſagreeable, from an impediment in his ſpeech. His countenance was ſevere and his voice ſtrong, which he frequently exalted in order to intimidate thoſe to whom he was ſpeaking; though he was remarkably affable in private converſation with his courtiers.

William's courage was ſuch that he thought it a ſtain on his honour, if, on any occaſion, he was not himſelf the firſt who drew his ſword, or ſuffered the meaneſt of his ſubjects to ſurpaſs him in time of danger. His magnanimity declared itſelf on many occaſions, in a manner becoming the greateſt of princes, He was a profeſſed patron of perſons of merit, in all profeſſions, to whom his court was always open, and whom he always encouraged in proportion to their merit. He had the higheſt ideas of grandeur, and an extraordinary genius for architecture. But all theſe virtues were more than balanced by his vices. He was a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treaſury; and the abilities he poſſeſſed were ſo confined under the government of impetuous paſſions, that they were of little uſe in his adminiſtration; governing his whole kingdom by that domineering policy, which, being blended with courage and vigour, was ſo well ſuited to the age, and calculated to rule a violent and bigotted people.

William was never married, and conſequently left no legitimate iſſue; and hence the crown became conteſted between his two brothers.

HENRY I. SURNAMED BEAUCLERC.

A. D. 1100. HENRY received the news of his brother's death in the new foreſt, where he had been hunting with Rufus. Senſible of the advantage that attended this critical conjuncture, he galloped to Wincheſter in order to ſecure the royal treaſure, a neceſſary inſtrument for facilitating his deſigns on the Engliſh crown. William de Bretuil, keeper of the king's treaſures, and who had alſo been of the ſame hunting party, haſtened likewiſe to Wincheſter, the moment he was informed of the king's unhappy cataſtrophe. Henry had reached the treaſury before him, and demanded to be put in poſſeſſion of whatever belonged to his brother. Bretuil oppoſed Henry's pretenſions, telling the prince, that this treaſure, as well as the crown, belonged to Robert, his elder brother, who was now his ſovereign; and that he was determined to maintain his allegiance to that prince, the undoubted heir to the Engliſh throne. But Henry, drawing his ſword, threatened him with inſtant death, if he dared to diſobey his commands. At this critical moment Robert de Mellant arrived with a number of the late king's attendants, who all declaring in favour of Henry, Bretuil was obliged to ſubmit, and ſuffer Henry to take poſſeſſion of his brother's treaſure.

Having thus ſucceeded in his firſt attempt, Henry haſtened with his money to London; and having aſſembled ſome noblemen and prelates, whom his addreſs, abilities, or preſents had gained over to his party, he was ſuddenly elected, or more properly ſaluted king; and immediately proceeded to exerciſe the royal authority. The ceremony of his coronation was performed on the fifth of Auguſt; about three days after his ſucceſſion, by Maurice biſhop of London, who was perſuaded to officiate on that occaſion. And thus by a moſt ſurprizing, and, perhaps, unparallelled celerity, a total revolution was brought about in the affairs of the nation: a king in the flower of his age, and in the zenith of his power, was cut off by an inſtantaneous death; the true ſucceſſion was ſet aſide; the treaſures

treaſures of the kingdom were ſeized by a perſon who had not the leaſt legal claim to them during the life of his eldeſt brother; and a bold intruder placed upon the Engliſh throne.

But Henry well knew, that a crown uſurped againſt all the rules of juſtice, muſt ſit heavy on the brow of the wearer, unleſs ſomething was done to obtain the affections and ſupport of the people. He therefore determined, by fair profeſſions at leaſt, to conciliate the love of all his ſubjects. Accordingly as ſoon as the ceremony of the coronation was over, he cauſed a charter under the great ſeal of England, to be publiſhed and proclaimed. This charter, the foundation of many others afterwards granted by ſucceeding kings, is as follows.

I. Henry's charter to all his faithful ſubjects.

Henry, by the grace of God, king of the Engliſh, to all his barons and faithful ſubjects, both French and Engliſh, greeting.

" Know ye, that, by the mercy of God, and " by the common-council (with the aſſent) of the " barons of the kingdom of England, I am crowned " king of the ſaid kingdom; and becauſe the king- " dom has been oppreſſed with unjuſt exactions, I, " from the love of God, and the regard I bear you " all, in the firſt place free the holy church, ſo as " that I will neither ſell nor farm it out; nor upon " the death of any archbiſhop, biſhop, or abbot, " will I accept of any of the property of the church, " nor ought from any of its tenants, until a ſuc- " ceſſor enters upon the ſame. And I baniſh all " the evil uſages with which the kingdom of Eng- " land has been unjuſtly oppreſſed, part of which " evil uſuages I here ſet down.

" If any of my barons, earls, or my tenants, " holding of me, ſhall die, his heirs ſhall not redeem " his land, as was the cuſtom in the days of my " brother; but ſhall relieve the ſame by a juſt and " lawful relief. In like manner ſhall the tenants of " my barons relieve their lands by a lawful (certain) " and juſt relief.

" And if any of my barons, or other of my ſub- " jects have a mind to give a daughter or ſiſter, or " niece in marriage, let him treat with me; but I " will neither accept any part of his fortune for ſuch " licence, nor will I prohibit his diſpoſal of her, un- " leſs it be to my enemy. And if any one of my ba- " rons, or ſubjects ſhould, at his death, leave a " daughter, his heir, I will diſpoſe of her, with the " advice of my barons, together with her lands. And " if upon the death of a huſband, a wife ſhall ſurvive " without children, ſhe ſhall have her own dowry " and marriage portion; nor will I give her to a " huſband but with her own conſent, provided the " wife keeps her body in chaſtity: and either the " wife, or ſome other relation, who is to deal juſtly, " ſhall be guardian of the children and the eſtate. " And I command my barons that they act con- " formably hereunto, towards the ſons, daughters, " and wives of their tenants.

" The common mintage of money, which was " taken throughout cities and counties, and was " not in uſe under king Edward, I abſolutely for- " bid to be taken for the future. If any minter or " other perſon, be taken with falſe money, let " right juſtice be done upon him.

" All fines and debts due to my brother, I for- " give, except my juſt farms, and thoſe of bar- " gains which concerned the inheritance of others, " or for thoſe effects which juſtly concerned other " perſons; and I forgive all bargains which any " man has made with regard to his right of inhe- " ritance.

" And if any of my barons or tenants ſhall be " ſick, ſo that he ſhall diſpoſe of his money, I will " that ſuch diſpoſition ſtand good; but if he be " prevented by war or ſickneſs, ſhall not give or " diſpoſe of his effects, let his wife, children, or " parents, or his lawful tenants, divide it among " themſelves, as ſhall ſeem beſt to them.

" If any of my barons or tenants forfeit, he ſhall " not give a pledge for favour of the whole fine, as " he did in the time of my father and brother; " but according to the meaſure of the forfeit ſo " ſhall he be fined, in ſuch manner as fines were " laid on, under thoſe, my predeceſſors, who reign- " ed before my father and brother: but if he ſhall " be convicted of treaſon, or wickedneſs, let him " make ſatisfaction as ſhall ſeem juſt.

II. Concerning the confirmation of king Edward's laws.

" I pardon all murders committed before my " coronation; and thoſe which ſhall be hereafter " committed ſhall be ſatisfied for, according to the " laws of king Edward.

" I have, by the common conſent of my barons, " retained to myſelf the foreſts, in like manner as " my father held them.

" I grant, of my own free gift, to my knights " (i. e. tenants by knights ſervice) who defend their " lands by their habergeons (or arms) that their de- " meſne lands and goods ſhall be free from all un- " juſt guilds and taxes, and all labours, that their " fidelity may be in proportion to my kindneſs; " that, ſince they are eaſed of ſo great a burden, " they may the better provide themſelves with horſes " and arms, and ſo be made fitter, and more ready " for my ſervice, and the defence of my kingdom.

" I reſtore to you the laws of king Edward, to- " gether with thoſe amendments which my father " made by advice of his barons.

" If any one has taken any thing from me, or " from any other perſon, he ſhall forthwith reſtore " the ſame, without making ſatisfaction; and he " on whom any ſuch thing is found ſhall make ſure " ſatisfaction to the owner.

" Given in preſence of the archbiſhops, biſhops, " barons, earls, ſheriffs, and nobles of all the " kingdom of England, on the day of my " coronation."

This charter, that it might be known throughout the whole kingdom, was ordered to be immediately copied, and a fair tranſcript lodged in ſome eminent abbey in every county of England. But ſo induſtrious were the truſtees of thoſe authentic duplicates, to conceal this valuable monument of liberty, that it was with difficulty a ſingle copy of it was found in the reign of king John.

Nor was this charter the only inſtance he gave the people that he was deſirous of rendering them happy: he committed Ranulph, biſhop of Durham, the inſtrument of all the oppreſſions in the late reign,

reign, priſoner to the Tower, with an intention of giving him up to the juſtice of his country. The charge againſt him was, his adviſing the late king, whoſe confidence he had abuſed, to oppreſs his ſubjects with many unjuſt impoſitions. But the artful prelate found means of eſcaping into France, where he endeavoured to embroil that government he could no longer direct.

Senſible of the great authority Anſelm had acquired by his character of piety, and by the perſecutions he had ſuffered from William, Henry ſent repeated meſſages to him at Lyons, where he now reſided, inviting him to return, and take poſſeſſion of his dignities. The prelate, at laſt, accepted the offer, and, upon his landing in Kent, was received with extraordinary joy and reſpect. But when the king propoſed to him the renewal of that homage which he had done his brother, and which had never been refuſed by any Engliſh biſhop, Anſelm gave an abſolute refuſal: declaring, that ſo far from doing homage for his ſpiritual dignity, he would not even communicate with any eccleſiaſtic who paid that ſubmiſſion, or who received inveſtitures from laymen. However provoked Henry might be at this behaviour of the haughty prelate, he thought proper to diſſemble his reſentment, and only deſired, that meſſengers might be ſent to Rome, to accommodate matters with the pope, and to obtain his confirmation of the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms.

Anſelm had not been long in England, before an affair happened, which obliged Henry to have recourſe to his authority. Matilda, daughter to Malcolm, the third king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, had, on her father's death, and the ſubſequent revolutions of the Scottiſh government, been brought to England, and educated under her aunt, in the nunnery of Rumſey. This princeſs Henry propoſed to marry. She was not only accompliſhed, with all that could render a woman deſirable, but unexceptional in point of intereſt; her uncle Edgar, having no children, and the old Engliſh party, conſidering her as the only remains of the Cerdic race, from whom they were to expect the continuance of that venerable line. But, as ſhe had worn the veil, tho' never taken the vows, doubts might ariſe with regard to the lawfulneſs of this action; and it was abſolutely neceſſary for Henry, not to ſhock the religious prejudices of his ſubjects. Recourſe was therefore to be had to Anſelm, whoſe authority was deciſive in this particular; but the prelate would do nothing of himſelf. He ſummoned a ſynod to meet at Lambeth, where Matilda proved, that ſhe never intended to embrace a religious life, and had worn the veil, merely in imitation of a cuſtom familiar to the Engliſh ladies, who protected their chaſtity from the brutal violence of the Normans, by taking ſhelter under that habit, which, amidſt the horrid licentiouſneſs of the times, was generally revered. The ſynod ſenſible, that even a princeſs, could have recourſe to no other method for the ſecurity of her honour, admitted the plea as valid, and declared that Matilda was free from all religious engagements, and ſtill at liberty to marry. Anſelm acquieſcing with his clergy, her marriage with Henry was celebrated by the archbiſhop, with great pomp and ſolemnity.

In the mean time, Robert returned from his eaſtern expedition, and took poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Normandy without oppoſition. On his return from the Holy Land, he paſſed thro' Italy, where he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter to the count of Converſana, a young lady of great beauty and merit, whom he eſpouſed; and indulging himſelf in this new paſſion, as well as fond of enjoying eaſe and pleaſure, after the fatigues of ſo many rough campaigns, he lingered a twelve-month in that delicious climate. By this delay, he loſt the crown of England, which the great fame he had acquired during the cruſades, as well as his undoubted title, both by birth, and the treaty formerly made with his deceaſed brother, would, had he been preſent, have infallibly ſecured to him.

A. D. 1101. His arrival, tho' too late to aſcend the throne of England, without meeting with a powerful oppoſition, revived at once the hopes and fears of the Normans of his party, who had poſſeſſions in France. He ſaw himſelf, contrary to his expectations, prevented from ſucceeding to the crown of England, and complained loudly of the injuſtice of his younger brother. Robert de Beleſme, earl of Shrewſbury and Arundel, having ſucceeded to the great eſtates of his family, both in England and Normandy, was, at this time, one of the moſt conſiderable of Henry's ſubjects. His genius was enterpriſing, his behaviour arrogant, and his principles entirely in favour of Robert. He was joined by his two brothers, Roger and Arnulf, William de Warenne, earl of Surry, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Grentmeſnil, and many others of the principal nobility, who entered into an aſſociation, for inviting Robert to make an attempt upon England, and promiſed to join him with all their forces. Robert accepted the invitation, and applied himſelf cloſely to make preparations for invading England.

In the mean time Henry, alarmed at the defection of ſo many of his principal nobility, and ſtill more at the great popularity of his brother, who was become the idol of the people, on account of his having ſo greatly contributed to reſcue the holy city of Jeruſalem out of the hands of infidels. Perſuaded of the power of popular bigotry, and dreading the conſequences of his injured brother's obtaining the crown, Henry had recourſe to Anſelm, whoſe ſanctity and wiſdom he now pretended to revere. He conſulted him in all difficult emergencies, ſeemed to be governed by him in every meaſure; promiſed a ſtrict regard to eccleſiaſtical privileges; profeſſed a great attachment to Rome, and a reſolution of perſevering in an implicit obedience to the decrees of councils, and to the will of the ſovereign pontiff. By theſe careſſes and declarations, he gained entirely the confidence of the primate, whoſe influence over the people, and authority with the barons, was of the greateſt ſervice to him in his preſent ſituation. Anſelm became ſurety for the king, pledging his faith, that he would govern the kingdom, as long as he ſat upon the throne, by juſt and equitable laws. By this means, the king was in a condition to oppoſe the great intereſt of his brother, which had already induced many of the ſailors to declare in his favour, and even to carry over to him the greater part of a fleet, which had been fitted out to oppoſe his paſſage.

This inſtance of treachery, made Henry very diſtruſtful of the Normans. But having gained the favour of the clergy, he raiſed a powerful army of Engliſhmen, on whom he placed great dependence. Anſelm had gone too far to retract, and therefore laboured aſſiduouſly in Henry's ſervice. He opened

his coffers, he raiſed his tenants, he exhorted his friends, he gave Henry continual aſſurances of his unalterable attachment to his government; and, in a word, acted ſo indefatigably, that ſeveral noblemen of great power, were prevailed upon to abandon the party of Robert. He even rode thro' the ranks of the army, recommended to the ſoldiers the defence of their prince, repreſented the duty of keeping their oaths of allegiance, and prognoſticated to them every ſpecies of happineſs from the government of ſo wiſe, and ſo juſt a ſovereign. By this expedient, joined to the influence of the earls of Warwick and Mellent, of Roger Bigod, Richard de Redvers, and Robert Fitz-Hammon, powerful barons, who ſtill adhered to the preſent government, the forces were detained in the king's intereſt, and marched, with an appearance of union and firmneſs, to oppoſe Robert, who had landed his troops at Portſmouth.

Every thing now appeared ready for a general and deciſive action, tho' both parties had powerful reaſons for not coming to extremities. The connexions of blood, intereſt, friendſhip, and alliances, rendered it very diſagreeable to the officers and ſoldiers on both ſides: they could not, without horror, think of drawing their ſwords againſt their parents, brothers, friends, relations, and countrymen. Robert had been diſappointed in his expectations; he hoped his partizans would have joined him with a much greater number of forces; he had experienced his brother's great abilities in war; he knew, in caſe of a defeat, he had no reſource, and that he ſhould loſe at once his proſpect of the crown of England, and his poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Normandy. Henry, on the other hand, was ſenſible of the prize he riſked, on the uncertain chance of war; eſpecially as he was apprehenſive that the ſoldiers would not continue faithful in the day of battle, and by going over to his brother, deprive him both of his life and dignity. Both were, therefore, deſirous of terminating their diſputes in an amicable manner, and many meſſages paſſed every day between the two camps. At laſt it was agreed, that Robert ſhould reſign his pretenſions to the crown of England, and in conſideration of his making this ſacrifice, receive an annual penſion of three thouſand marks; that if either of the princes died, without iſſue, the other ſhould ſucceed to his dominions; that the adherents to each ſhould be pardoned, and reſtored to all their poſſeſſions, either in Normandy or England; and that neither Robert nor Henry ſhould, from that time encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other.

Twelve of the nobility on both ſides, were ſworn to the performance of theſe articles; but the Normans were greatly diſſatisfied with the conditions. They had flattered themſelves with the hopes of conquering England; and it was therefore no wonder, that during their ſtay here, they endeavoured to make themſelves amends for the diſappointment, by taking every opportunity of pillaging the country. Henry, tho' he received many complaints of the behaviour of the Normans, thought it prudent not to have recourſe to ſeverities; and Robert, from his late conduct, had not power ſufficient to reſtrain his ſoldiers.

A. D. 1102. Tho' the above treaty was ſo very advantageous to Henry, yet he himſelf was the firſt who violated the articles. He indeed reſtored all Robert's adherents to their eſtates, but determined not to ſuffer thoſe noblemen, who had ſo nearly deprived him of his crown, to enjoy, unmoleſted, their preſent opulence and grandeur. Accordingly, he began with the earl of Shrewſbury, who was, for ſome time, watched by ſpies, and then indicted upon a charge, conſiſting of above forty articles. This turbulent nobleman, well knowing his own guilt, and the prejudices of his judges, refuſed to ſurrender himſelf, in order to receive his trial in the king's courts. He was in poſſeſſion of the important caſtles of Shrewſbury, Arundel, and Tick-hill, about five miles from Doncaſter. He had, for ſome time, been on bad terms with his ſovereign, and therefore had taken care to fortify thoſe caſtles in the ſtrongeſt manner, and to furniſh them with proviſions and military forces. At the ſame time he had recourſe to his friends in Normandy, where he poſſeſſed a very large eſtate, and ſent his brother Arnulf to ſollicit ſuccours from the Welſh, on whoſe borders the greater part of his own lands were ſituated.

Henry did not take proper care to cruſh this rebellion in its infancy; perhaps he waited till his ſubjects ſaw the neceſſity for his humbling this powerful nobleman. But however that be, the firſt act of hoſtility was committed by the earl and his brother, who marched at the head of a ſtrong party of Welſh and Normans, into Staffordſhire, where they ſeized all the cattle they met with, and drove them into Wales. Many outrages of the ſame kind were alſo committed by the inſurgents, which convinced Henry, that it was now time to come to extremities. The earl of Shrewſbury was accordingly proclaimed a traitor, and the king iſſued orders for a general array of all the militia in England. His firſt attempt was upon the caſtle of Arundel, but found it too ſtrongly fortified to be carried by aſſault, and therefore changed the ſiege into a blockade. The earl, ſatisfied of the ſtrength of Arundel-caſtle, continued in the weſt, and placed in Bridgnorth a numerous garriſon of Welſh forces. Henry hoping to ſurprize the earl in Bridgnorth, advanced in perſon againſt it; but the earl, after encouraging the Welſh, and engaging them to defend the place to the laſt extremity, ſet out for Shrewſbury, where he entered into a negotiation with Cadogan and Gervath, the two chief princes then in Wales, who furniſhed him with a conſiderable body of forces. Thus aſſiſted, after ſtrengthening the garriſon of Shrewſbury-caſtle, he took the field, at the head of an army, compoſed chiefly of Welſh and Normans. Henry was now engaged in the ſiege of Bridgnorth, which he preſſed with great vigour; but was ſo greatly harraſſed by the earl's army, that he found it would be impoſſible to take the place, unleſs he could bribe the garriſon to ſurrender. This ſtratagem ſucceeded, the Welſh took the money, and delivered up the town to the king's forces.

In the mean time the earl was ſtrongly ſollicited by the garriſon of Arundel, to come to their relief. He accordingly did all in his power to aſſiſt them; but the beſiegers had taken ſuch effectual meaſures, to prevent the garriſon from receiving any ſuccours, that his endeavours were fruſtrated, and the garriſon was ſoon after obliged to capitulate.

Theſe misfortunes greatly diſtreſſed the earl of Shrewſbury, and diſconcerted all the ſchemes of his party. He had flattered himſelf with a general revolt of the Norman nobility; but Henry's vigorous proceedings had kept them all in awe, except thoſe who

who were immediately connected with his perſon. Finding himſelf, therefore, unable any longer to oppoſe his ſovereign, with any hopes of ſucceſs, he retired into Normandy, where he had ſtill a very great eſtate. His ruin involved his two brothers, Arnulf de Montgomery, and Roger earl of Lancaſter. This was ſoon after followed by the proſecution and conviction of Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, and William de Warrenne, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves among Robert's adherents.

All theſe noblemen were formerly diſſeiſed of their eſtates, which greatly increaſed the revenues of Henry, and ſtrengthened the hands of his government. The king now ſaw himſelf abſolute maſter of England: before this period, he had never conſidered himſelf as a real monarch, but now reſolved to render himſelf independent of every foreign prince, as well as of every claſs of his own ſubjects.

The moſt conſiderable power now exiſting in the nation, diſtinct from that of the crown, was poſſeſſed by the biſhops and abbots, who were continually labouring to ſtreighten the prerogatives of royalty. Henry could not ſee this without a mixture of indignation and terror. Conveniency had long obliged him to conceal his apprehenſions at the great power of Anſelm, whoſe behaviour, during the late invaſion, had highly exaſperated the Norman faction. Senſible of this, and deſirous of mortifying the pride and arrogance of the primate, Henry reſolved to make the reſentment of the Norman nobility ſubſervient to his own purpoſe; but at the ſame time to proceed in ſuch a manner, as might carry the greateſt appearance of difference, though not of ſubjection, to the Roman pontiff. In purſuance of this reſolution, the archbiſhop was ſummoned to appear at the king's court. The prelate obeyed, and was required to do homage immediately to the king, and to conſecrate thoſe perſons whom the court had nominated to the vacant ſees, and abbeys, or to quit the kingdom without delay. Anſelm was ſtruck with this peremptory requiſition: he appealed to the pope's letters which laid him under an inhibition not to comply with ſuch orders. He added, that he had himſelf been a member of a council held at Bari, in which it was reſolved to excommunicate all thoſe who ſhould admit the claim of lay-inveſtitures. He told the king, that by allowing that claim, he ſhould be ſelf-condemned, and ſelf-excommunicated. "But "what is all this to me?" replied the king with great quickneſs, "I am reſolved not to depart from "the prerogatives of my crown, nor ſuffer any per-"ſon to reſide within my dominions, who ſhall re-"fuſe to pay me the allegiance due to a ſovereign."

Anſelm, however, knew his own power too well to be intimidated by threatenings, and therefore boldly replied, That he was reſolved not to leave the kingdom, but to repair to Canterbury, and apply himſelf to the performance of the neceſſary functions of epiſcopacy, and wait the event with patience and reſignation. Henry, not expecting ſuch a reſolute anſwer from the primate, began to fear the conſequence; and being deſirous to avoid, or, at leaſt, delay, the coming to any dangerous extremity with the church, he told Anſelm, that he would ſend a new deputation to Rome, in order to lay before Paſcal, who then filled St. Peter's chair, the alternative of either departing from his declaration with regard to inveſtitures, or the neceſſity of the archbiſhop's leaving the kingdom, which might be attended with a total defection of the Engliſh nation from the ſee of Rome. A deputation was accordingly appointed, conſiſting of Gerard, archbiſhop of York, Herbert, biſhop of Thetford, and Robert, biſhop of Cheſter. Anſelm, afraid of the influence thoſe prelates might have on the papal deciſions, nominated two monks as deputies of his own, namely, Baldwin of the abbey of Bec, and Alexander of the abbey of Canterbury, with inſtructions to take care of his intereſt at the court of Rome, and to repreſent the danger that now threatened the papal authority, if the aſpiring power of the king was not depreſſed.

A. D. 1103. This eccleſiaſtical diſpute did not, however, divert Henry's attention from his intereſt in other particulars. He had already greatly reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility, and reſolved to purſue that intention ſtill farther. William de Warrenne, earl of Surry, who retired into Normandy on the accommodation between Robert and his brother, had been diſſeiſed of his Engliſh eſtate; but was continually importuning the duke to uſe his good offices with Henry, in order, if poſſible, to procure his being reinſtated in his lands. Robert, whoſe heart glowed with the benign warmth of humanity and compaſſion, determined to pay a viſit to his brother in order to ſollicit in perſon the reſtitution of the earl of Surry's poſſeſſions. Previouſly informed of the deſign of Robert's viſit, Henry was fully prepared for his reception, and immediately on his arrival, pretended to be highly diſpleaſed at his brother's entering his kingdom without permiſſion, and bringing with him, in his retinue, perſons whom he well knew to be enemies to his perſon and government. At the ſame time, the king charged Robert with a breach of the late treaty, by giving refuge and encouragement to the rebellious earl of Shrewſbury, and putting him in poſſeſſion of his father's demeſnes in Normandy. Robert now perceived the wrong ſtep he had taken, by thus putting himſelf in the power of his brother; but it was too late to recede. He therefore remonſtrated boldly with his brother, in behalf of the earl of Surry, but met with ſo bad a reception, that Robert began to apprehend his own liberty was in danger, and was therefore glad to purchaſe an eſcape, by reſigning his penſion. The earl of Surry was, however, reſtored to all his poſſeſſions, and remained ever after a faithful and uſeful ſubject to Henry.

Nor was this the only injury to which Robert was expoſed by his indiſcretion. This prince, whoſe bravery and candour procured him reſpect, while at a diſtance, had no ſooner attained the poſſeſſion of power, and the enjoyment of peace, than all the vigour of his mind relaxed, and he fell into contempt among thoſe who approached his perſon, or were ſubject to his authority. Abandoned alternately to diſſolute pleaſures, and to unmanly ſuperſtition, he became ſo remiſs, both in the care of his treaſure, and the exerciſe of his government; that his ſervants pillaged him with impunity, and proceeded to practiſe every ſpecies of extortion on his defenceleſs ſubjects. The turbulent barons, whom a ſevere adminiſtration alone could have reſtrained, gave a looſe to their unbounded rapine upon their vaſſals,

and

and inveterate animoſities againſt each other, ſo that all Normandy, during the reign of this benign prince, was become a ſcene of violence and depredation.

Wearied with theſe exceſſes, the Norman nobility, who had for ſome time remarked the regular government which Henry, notwithſtanding his uſurped title, had been able to eſtabliſh in England, applied to that monarch, beſeeching him to uſe his authority for ſuppreſſing theſe diſorders. This application afforded him a very ſpecious pretence for interfering in the affairs of Normandy. But inſtead of employing his mediation for rendering his brother's government reſpectable, or redreſſing the grievances of the Normans, he was attentive only to ſupport his own partizans, and to increaſe their number by every art of bribery, intrigue, and inſinuation. He paſſed over into Normandy eſcorted by a noble fleet, and accompanied by a powerful army. On his arrival his court was crowded with Norman nobility, who all joined in repreſenting the diſtreſs of their country, and imploring his protection. But the ſeaſon was too far advanced for beginning military actions. Henry, therefore, contented himſelf with fortifying all the places belonging to his own eſtate, and returned to paſs the winter in England.

A. D. 1105. The rebels, during the time of Henry's viſit had continued quiet within their own fortreſſes, no ſooner ſaw the king embark for England, than they renewed the former depredations with double fury, filling the whole country with murder and deſolation; while the common people, to avoid being put to the ſword, retired into the territories of France.

The earl of Shrewſbury was now arrived to the higheſt pitch of inſolence; his two brothers, Roger and Arnulf, who had loſt all their poſſeſſions in England on his account, were treated by that turbulent nobleman, in the moſt ungrateful and unnatural manner. They were reduced to poverty, treated with contempt in his ſervice, and deprived of all their father's eſtate. Rouzed by theſe repeated acts of cruelty, Roger retired to Carof-caſtle, which was his wife's inheritance, while Arnulf ſeized the caſtle of Amaniſca, putting it into the hands of Robert, and prevailed upon ſeveral of the Norman nobility to follow his example. The earl of Shrewſbury marched immediately to recover theſe caſtles, and, in his rout, ſurprized ſome of Henry's Norman troops, who lay at the abbey of Amaniſca. This corps he totally routed, and treated his priſoners with great barbarity. Robert, who was now at Hieſmes, could not ſee theſe exceſſes without concern, and accordingly advanced to chaſtiſe the rebels; but was met on his march by the earl, who charged his troops ſo vigorouſly, that Robert was forced to retreat with conſiderable loſs. Elated by this ſucceſs, the earl ſeized ſeveral caſtles in the neighbourhood, ſome of which belonged to Robert, and others to Henry, and declared himſelf equally an enemy to both.

In the mean time Henry, under pretence of delivering Normandy from the ravages of the rebels, raiſed a powerful army, and landed at Barfleur. He had already taken care to gain Philip, king of France, over to his party, together with Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, by pretending that his only deſign was that of chaſtiſing the diſturbers of the public tranquillity, and protecting the patrimony of the church. Having ſucceeded in this negotiation, he took into his pay a body of troops belonging to the earl of Maine; but ſtill without declaring his real intentions. He ſtill conſidered that ſtep as dangerous; but it was at laſt effected, without any hazard, by the refined policy of Henry, and the enthuſiaſtic zeal of the biſhop of Seez. That prelate coming to Carenton to celebrate the feaſt of Eaſter, found the church almoſt filled with the effects of the country people, who had fled thither for refuge from the fury of the rebels. The biſhop took advantage of this circumſtance; and, in a very moving harangue, laid before Henry the miſeries ſuffered by the inhabitants of Normandy, from the cruelty and avarice of the rebels, countenanced by the inactivity and weakneſs of their own duke, whoſe duty it was to protect and defend his ſubjects. He next repreſented, that the ties of blood and nature, as well as the rights of mankind, called upon the king of England to undertake the defence of a people, who were born the ſubjects of his family, and had placed his father on the Engliſh throne. He then recounted all the failings and vices of Robert; and concluded with a freſh exhortation, imploring Henry to draw his ſword, and take under his protection the dutchy of Normandy, which Robert for his mal-adminiſtration, had juſtly forfeited.

This ſpeech was ſeconded by the intreaties of the earl of Mellant, and many other Norman noblemen, ſubjects both to the duke and the king of England.

Henry was, however, ſtill unwilling to declare his intentions, but on receiving a letter from pope Paſcal, exhorting him to undertake the defence of Normandy, he laid ſiege to Bayeaux. This city was commanded by Gunter Dawney, who had taken Robert Fitz-Hamon, a nobleman highly eſteemed by Henry, priſoner. Dawney, to remove every pretence the king might make for carrying on the ſiege, on account of this nobleman, ſet Fitz-Hamon at liberty. But this condeſcenſion in the governor, was far from ſatisfying Henry, for, on Dawney's refuſing to deliver up the place, he renewed his aſſaults with ſuch vigour, that both the town and its cathedral were laid in aſhes, and the governor and his whole garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

The fate of Bayeaux ſtruck the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities with terror. But Henry had ſtill no juſtifiable pretence for declaring againſt his brother. He therefore had recourſe to other means, in order to conceal his real intentions, under the appearance of its being no more than the conſequence of a voluntary ſubmiſſion on the part of the people. Many of the inhabitants of Caen had, by the prevailing power of money, been brought over to his intereſt. That important town was commanded by Fitz-Ilbert, whom, on Henry's approach, the inhabitants expelled, and permitted the king's forces to take poſſeſſion of the town without reſiſtance. Four of the principal citizens were afterwards rewarded by the king, with the manor of Dallington in England. This remarkable ſucceſs, together with the ſubmiſſions of ſeveral other places, encouraged Henry to attempt the reduction of Falais. But by this time the king's proceedings began to alarm his allies: for the earl of Maine, being now convinced, that he intended to render himſelf ſole maſter of Normandy, refuſed to ſuffer his troops

troops to continue any longer in the pay of Henry. He accordingly withdrew his forces, and the Engliſh monarch was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. This repulſe, together with the defection of the earl of Maine, and the want of money, occaſioned by the vaſt ſums Henry had employed in corrupting the chief Normans, obliged him to put an end to the campaign, and return to England.

A. D. 1106. The ſucceeding campaign was opened with the ſiege of Tenchebray; and it now became ſufficiently evident, both from his preparations and progreſs, that he intended to uſurp the entire poſſeſſion of Normandy. Robert was at laſt rouſed from his lethargy, and being joined by the earl of Mortaigne, and Robert de Belleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, the king's inveterate enemies, he raiſed a conſiderable army, and approached his brother's camp, intending to finiſh, by one deciſive battle, the quarrel between them. He was now entered upon that ſcene of action, in which alone he was qualified to excel; and, accordingly, he ſo animated the Norman troops by his example, that they made a great impreſſion on the Engliſh, and had nearly obtained the victory, when the flight of Belleſme threw the whole army into diſorder, and occaſioned a total defeat. Henry, beſides making a great ſlaughter among the enemy, took near ten thouſand priſoners, among whom was duke Robert himſelf, together with moſt of the conſiderable barons, who adhered to his intereſt.

This victory was followed by the entire reduction of Normandy: Rouen immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror: Falais, after ſome negotiation, opened its gates; and by this acquiſition, beſides rendering himſelf maſter of an important fortreſs, Henry got into his hands the perſon of prince William, the only ſon and heir of Robert. He now aſſembled the ſtates of Normandy; and, having received the homage of all the vaſſals of the dutchy, ſettled the government, revoked his brother's donations, and diſmantled the caſtles lately erected, he returned to England, carrying with him the duke as a priſoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in cuſtody during the remainder of his life, which was no leſs than twenty-eight years, when he died in the caſtle of Cardiff, in Glamorganſhire: happy, if, without loſing his liberty, he could have relinquiſhed that power, which he was not qualified to hold or exerciſe. Prince William was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who, being a man of more probity and honour, than was common in thoſe ages, executed the truſt with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in his expedition to Jeruſalem, and who had ſince reſided with him in Normandy, was another illuſtrious priſoner, taken in the battle of Tenchebray. Henry gave him his liberty, and ſettled on him a ſmall penſion, with which he retired, and lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was diſtinguiſhed by perſonal bravery; but nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the mediocrity of his talents, in every other reſpect, than that, notwithſtanding he poſſeſſed the affections of the Engliſh, and enjoyed the only legal title to the crown, he was allowed, during the reigns of ſo many violent and jealous uſurpers, to live unmoleſted, and deſcend to his grave in peace.

A. D. 1107. Soon after Henry had completed the conqueſt of Normandy, he finiſhed the controverſy that had, for ſome time, ſubſiſted between him and the primate. The deputies who, as we have already obſerved, had been ſent to the court of Rome, were now returned to England. Their ſucceſs with the haughty pontiff had been very indifferent. His holineſs had behaved with great decency, but with remarkable firmneſs. He wrote two letters, one to Henry, and the other to Anſelm, both of them condemning all lay-inveſtitures, in direct terms. That directed to Henry was delivered into his own hands, and conſequently the contents of it were known only to himſelf, and perhaps to the prelates who had been ſent on this embaſſy, and who were entirely in Henry's intereſt. Anſelm made no ſecret of the contents of his letter; he imparted them to all, and applauded himſelf for acting ſo agreeably to the ſentiments of his holineſs. Vexed, and diſdaining to be defeated in a cauſe ſo intimately connected with the dignity of his crown, Henry had recourſe to a ſubterfuge, which, to this enlightened age, will perhaps appear ſomething extraordinary. He again ſummoned the archbiſhop before his court, and inſiſted on his immediately complying with his will, in regard to inveſtitures, or quitting the kingdom. Anſelm was aſtoniſhed at this peremptory demand, ſo directly contrary to what he had reaſon to expect. He repreſented to the king, that the letter with which the pope had honoured him, left him no room for compliance, and intreated his majeſty to impart to him the contents of the letter he had received, ſince he was both ready and willing to obey the will of his ſovereign, as far as his own conſcience, and the commands of his holineſs would give him leave. But this Henry abſolutely refuſed; and plainly told Anſelm, that the pope's determination had very little influence with him; that he did not think himſelf obliged to produce his letter, and that if he did produce it, the contents would, perhaps, be very far from anſwering the primate's expectations: in ſhort, that the queſtion now ſolely regarded his ſubmiſſion, and that he expected his direct compliance. This anſwer ſavoured too much of abſolute power. Anſelm appealed to the contents of his own letter, for a vindication of his conduct; and Henry was obliged to have recourſe to another expedient. He appealed to his deputies, who now declared, that with regard to the letters in queſtion, they were entirely ignorant of what they contained; but that they were perfectly acquainted with the pope's ſentiments, and that they had verbal inſtructions, to inform both the king and his court, that, provided the king behaved with proper ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee, in other reſpects, he would diſpenſe with the matter of inveſtitures. With regard to the letters, they obſerved, that it would have been extremely improper for the pope to have given any ſuch indulgence under his hand, ſince it might have encouraged other princes to expect the ſame favour. Anſelm's two meſſengers, who were both monks, affirmed, that it was impoſſible this ſtory could have any foundation; but their word was not eſteemed equivalent to that of three biſhops; and the king, as if he had entirely gained his cauſe, proceeded to fill up the ſees of Hereford and Saliſbury, and to inveſt the new biſhops in the uſual manner. But Anſelm, who, from ſufficient reaſons, gave no credit to the aſſeverations of the king's meſſengers, not only refuſed to conſecrate theſe prelates, but even to communicate with them; and the biſhops themſelves,

ſelves, finding how odious they were to the people, returned back to Henry the enſigns of their dignity. The quarrel every day increaſed between the king and the primate: the former, notwithſtanding his great prudence, and the moderation of his temper, threw out menaces againſt all ſuch as ſhould pretend to oppoſe him in exerting the ancient prerogatives of his crown: and Anſelm, ſenſible of his diſagreeable and dangerous ſituation, deſired leave to undertake a journey to Rome, in order to lay the caſe before the ſovereign pontiff. Henry, well pleaſed with being freed, without having recourſe to violence, from ſo inflexible an antagoniſt, readily granted him permiſſion; and Anſelm ſet out on his journey. He was attended to the ſea-ſhore, by an infinite number of people of all ranks, who regarded his departure as the final diſſolution of religion and piety in this kingdom. But the king, tho' he had granted Anſelm leave to repair to Rome, immediately confiſcated all the revenues of his ſee, and ſent William de Warelwaſt to negociate with Paſcal, and ſo find ſome means of bringing this delicate affair to an accommodation.

The envoy and the archbiſhop had an audience at the ſame time. Warelwaſt, preſuming upon the experienced compliance of the Roman ſee, when it was treated with any degree of firmneſs, opened his maſter's cauſe with great ſpirit, and boldly told the pontiff, "That whatever opinions might be entertained abroad, he knew his maſter would as ſoon part with his kingdom, as with his right of inveſtitures." The pope, who was then in full conſiſtory, could not bear this freedom. He liſtened very attentively to the beginning of Warelwaſt's harangue; but now interrupted the ambaſſador, crying out in a vehement manner, "Your maſter will part with his kingdom, as ſoon as with the right of inveſtitures! Know then, that while Paſcal is pope, he ſhall never quietly enjoy them." All the cardinals preſent, applauded this reſolute anſwer, which greatly diſconcerted Warelwaſt, who relied principally upon their friendſhip. Anſelm himſelf did not ſpeak a ſingle word on this occaſion. He was too well pleaſed with the manner of proceeding, to offer any thing to mitigate the pope's indignation. At laſt, both the prelate and ambaſſador had leave to return, after the pope had given ſentence in the moſt expreſs terms againſt lay-inveſtitures, and charged Anſelm with letters to Henry for that purpoſe.

Warelwaſt now perceived, that any further application would be in vain, and therefore ſet out with Anſelm, whom he accompanied to Lyons. On their arrival in that city, Warelwaſt took an opportunity of hinting to the primate, that unleſs he would conſent to give up his claim to inveſtitures, he could not return with honour and ſafety to England. Anſelm was himſelf of the ſame opinion, and therefore contented himſelf with ſending Henry an account of the ſucceſs of his commiſſion, with the pope's determination, intimating, that he could not return to England, but upon the terms he himſelf had propoſed, ſince the pontiff had now paſſed a ſtricter ſentence than before.

Perceiving the firmneſs of the two prelates of Rome and Canterbury, Henry proceeded with equal reſolution. He ſeized all the revenues of the vacant biſhoprics and abbeys, and cauſed the rents of the archbiſhopric to be collected by two of Anſelm's tenants. This reſolute behaviour daunted his holineſs, notwithſtanding his late ſhow of reſolution. Henry had taken care to put both England and Normandy in ſuch a ſtate of defence, that he had nothing to fear from any foreign enemy. The archbiſhop was ſtill in exile; nor could all the negotiations of the Roman pontiff procure his return, till the holy father agreed to reſign, for the preſent, his right of granting inveſtitures, and to allow the biſhops and abbots to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges.

A. D. 1108. While Henry was thus making himſelf powerful at home, a ſtorm was gathering, which threatened to break upon his foreign domnions. Philip being dead, was ſucceeded by Lewis le Groſs, or the fat. This prince, jealous of Henry's greatneſs, by his annexing Normandy to the crown of England, made preparations for invading the former.

We have already obſerved, that Henry had committed William, his nephew, the ſon of duke Robert, to Helie, a perſon of unblemiſhed character. But the king ſoon repented of his choice; for, being deſirous of recovering the poſſeſſion of William's perſon, Helie withdrew with his pupil to the court of Fulk, count of Anjou, who gave him protection. In proportion as the young prince grew up to man's eſtate, he diſcovered virtues ſuitable to his birth; and wandering thro' different courts of Europe, excited the friendly compaſſion of ſeveral princes, and raiſed a general indignation againſt his uncle, who had ſo unjuſtly deprived him of his inheritance.

Henry, who ſoon perceived the hoſtile intentions of the French monarch, grew apprehenſive, leſt he ſhould gain this young prince over to his intereſt, and prompt him to attempt a recovery of his father's dominions. Henry, therefore, paſſed over into Normandy, and made uſe of every method, to get the prince once more into his own power, but could not ſucceed. His activity, however, prevented any attempts from being made in favour of William.

A. D. 1110. Henry having thus ſettled his affairs in Normandy, he returned to England, and, in order to break the confederacy that had been formed againſt him between the king of France, and the counts of Anjou and Flanders, he contracted his eldeſt ſon William to the daughter of Fulk, by which means, he detached that prince from the alliance, and obliged the others to ſign a treaty of peace

About this time, Henry gave a proof of his conſummate knowledge in the affairs of government: he had obſerved the ill ſucceſs that always attended his brother in his wars with the Welſh, and found, by fatal experience, the keeping of that unquiet race of people in ſubjection, was conſtantly attended with great expence to his crown, beſides the lives of many of his ſubjects. Great part of the ſea-coaſts of Flanders having been, for ſome time paſt, ruined by an inundation of the ſea; vaſt numbers of the Flemings had repaired to England during the two laſt reigns. At firſt they were ſent to the moſt unfertile parts of the northern provinces; but their numbers now greatly increaſing, Henry conceived the deſign of forming them into a kind of colony, and of planting them upon the frontiers of Wales, as a barrier to his dominions. This project was attended with a ſucceſs equal to the policy with which it had been formed. The

Flemings

Flemings, who, in language and manners, differed from the Engliſh, and ſtill more from the Welſh, were now collected from the different ſpots where they had been placed in various parts of England, and conveyed into a diſtrict of Pembrokeſhire, where a new colony was ſettled, and long continued an excellent barrier againſt the Welſh, tho' in its infancy, incaple of preventing their incurſions, which were ſtill carried on with great cruelty. Henry, therefore, reſolved to change the method of making war upon that people, and, if poſſible, diſable them from giving him any further diſturbance.

A. D. 1112. He had been for ſome time ſol licited to this by the earl of Cheſter, and Gilbert Strongbow, to whom Henry had given the county of Cardigan. The eſtates of theſe noblemen had greatly ſuffered by the incurſions of the Welſh; and Alexander the fierce king of Scotland, happening at this time to viſit Henry, he was engaged to furniſh his quota of forces, and to head them himſelf in this expedition. The Welſh who were moſt active againſt the Engliſh were Owen ap Cadogan, a nobleman of South Wales, Griffith, the prince of North Wales, who refuſed all ſubjection to Henry, Meredith ap Blethy, and Owen ap Edwin, two noblemen of South Wales, together with Griffith ap Conan, another prince of North Wales.

Henry, wearied by the miſcarriages of his brother in his wars againſt the Welſh, wiſely depended upon the king of Scots, whoſe ſoldiers, accuſtomed to rude fatigues, were better able to attack a people like themſelves, inhabiting a rough and hardly acceſſible country. As the chief ſcene of the war was likely to lie in North Wales, Alexander and the earl of Cheſter, at the head of the Scots, and inhabitants of the northern provinces of England, undertook to penetrate into the Welſh territories. Gilbert Strongbow led another diviſion of the army, conſiſting of the weſtern Engliſh into South Wales; while Henry himſelf, at the head of the main body, propoſed to finiſh the conqueſt, and ſuccour the other diviſions as occaſion ſhould require.

Gilbert Strongbow had no ſooner entered South Wales, then Meredith ap Blethyn came and threw himſelf on Henry's mercy; but Owen ap Edwin retired and joined Griffith ap Conan. Upon this the king of the Scots purſued him as far as Penant Bachwy; but though he reduced the enemy to the greateſt difficulties, yet he was not able to complete his conqueſt, nor even to perſuade ap Edwin to abandon his alliance with Griffith.

But Henry himſelf was not ſo ſucceſsful as Alexander; for having penetrated as far as Marcaſtle, he found his troops ſo embaraſſed by the fatigue of their march, the ruggedneſs of the country, and the difficulty of the paſſes, that they were unable to proceed. In the mean time the inhabitants, who had previouſly carried off all their effects and proviſions, attacked the ſtruggling parties, as well as the rear of the army with ſo much fury, that Henry loſt a great number of his men by the ſword and famine. He was therefore obliged to have recourſe to artifice, in order to divide thoſe, whom, when connected, he could not ſubdue. Accordingly the earl of Cheſter and ap Blethyn, had directions to tamper with Owen ap Edwin, and prince Griffith, and to hint to each ſeparately, that the other was making his peace either with Henry or the king of the Scots. They immediately departed, and executed their commiſſion with ſo much ſucceſs, that Owen, on receiving a civil letter from Henry, came and threw himſelf at his feet, and was readily pardoned, and reinſtated in all his poſſeſſions without paying any tribute. Henry had more difficulty to bring over Griffith, who having taken ſuch precautions that he could not be forced, inſiſted upon pretty high terms, and the payment of a large ſum of money. Henry was, however, obliged to accept of his propoſals, and a peace was accordingly concluded.

A. D. 1116. Lewis king of France ſtill jealous of Henry's growing power, had for ſome time renewed his engagements with prince William ſon to duke Robert. Several of the French princes alſo joined in the alliance, and the dutchy of Normandy was again threatened with an invaſion; but Henry found means to diſappoint the intentions of his enemies, though they made ſeveral attacks upon ſome places ſituated on the frontiers of that dutchy.

A. D. 1117. But though the attempts of the enemy had been rendered abortive, the alliance was ſo far from being broken, that it received continually new acceſſions of ſtrength. Freſh claims were made every day againſt Henry, ſo that the confederacy againſt him became almoſt general. Almeric de Montfort, reviving his claim to the earldom of Evereux, had that city delivered into his hands, by Pointel its governor. This ſucceſs encouraged other princes and great men, who had not yet ventured to declare themſelves, to eſpouſe openly the part of William ſon to duke Robert. Stephen, earl of Albermarle, and Robert de Gourney were of this number; and Henry found himſelf, on a ſudden, attacked from all quarters. Could he have depended on the fidelity of the Normans, he would have had nothing to fear from his enemies; but he found the ſpirit of diſaffection to his government ſo ſtrong among them, that he was obliged to garriſon ſome of the moſt important towns, with Engliſh.

In the mean time Baldwin, earl of Flanders, attacked Normandy, with ſo much vigour, that he over-ran a part of the country, and burnt ſeveral towns in ſight of the king, who fearing the loyalty of his Normans, did not chuſe to give him battle. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he ventured to beſiege Bures, a ſtrong town, defended by the Engliſh. But the garriſon made a noble defence, and, in a vigorous ſally, cut great numbers of the beſiegers to pieces, and mortally wounded the earl himſelf. In the mean time the king of France, and the earl of Anjou, were carrying fire and ſword into the other parts of Normandy, where duke Robert's party, or rather that of his ſon, became ſo ſtrong, that every day brought Henry accounts of ſome great nobleman's revolting from his intereſt.

In this diſtreſsful ſituation of affairs, he ſummoned a council of his ſtates at Rouen, in order to conſult about reſtoring the peace of the country. It was the beginning of October when the aſſembly met, but nothing material was tranſacted, tho' many ſchemes were propoſed in the aſſembly; all which were found inſufficient for the purpoſe. But the death of Baldwin, who now died of his wounds, gave ſome reſpite to Henry, and enabled him to carry on the war with more advantage againſt his enemies.

A. D. 1118. Lewis finding himſelf unable to wreſt Normandy out of the hands of the Engliſh monarch by force of arms, had recourſe to the dangerous

gerous expedient of applying to the ſpiritual power, and of affording the eccleſiaſtics a pretence to interpoſe in the temporal intereſts of princes. He carried young William to a general council, which was aſſembled at Rheims by pope Calixtus II. preſented the Norman prince to them, complained of the manifeſt uſurpation and injuſtice of Henry, craved the aſſiſtance of the church for reinſtating the true heir in his dominions, repreſented the enormity of detaining in priſon ſo brave a prince as Robert, one of the moſt eminent champions of the croſs, and who, by that very quality was placed under the immediate protection of the holy ſee. Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with dexterity. He had ſent over the Engliſh biſhops to this ſynod; but at the ſame time had warned them, that, if any further claims were ſtarted either by the pope, or any other eccleſiaſtic, he was determined to adhere to the laws and cuſtoms of England, and maintain the prerogatives tranſmitted to him by his anceſtors. "Go," added he, "ſalute the pope in my name, and hear his apoſto-"lical precepts; but take care not to bring any of "his new inventions into my kingdom." Finding, however, that it would be much eaſier for him to elude than oppoſe the efforts of Calixtus, he gave his ambaſſadors orders to gain the pope and his favourites by liberal preſents and promiſes. This had the deſired effect, the complaints of the Norman prince were heard with great coldneſs by the council; and Calixtus confeſſed, after a conference, which he held the ſame ſummer with Henry, that, of all men, whom he had ever yet been acquainted with, the Engliſh monarch was, beyond compariſon, the moſt eloquent and perſuaſive.

In the mean time the war between Henry and Lewis continued to rage. The Normans began now to perceive, that, inſtead of England becoming an acceſſion to Normandy the latter was, in fact, become an acceſſion to the former. For though the Engliſh themſelves bled, yet Normandy received no relief, her miſeries being increaſed in proportion as Henry was ſupported by his regal dominions.

A. D. 1119. Both parties ſeemed now determined to exert all their ſtrength. The Normans who continued ſtill faithful to Henry, were ſuch as enjoyed large eſtates in England, or were under ties of perſonal obligation. Theſe, though but few in number, were firm and powerful. They had but one point in view, which was the ſupporting their own intereſt, and therefore their ſtrength was concentrated, and conſequently conſiderable. On the other hand, the Norman party, tho' numerous, was divided. The French intereſt was viſibly ſuperior in the councils of the depoſed princes; and the duke of Anjou, dreading more the power of France than that of Henry, began to liſten to the advances of the latter. About the ſame time Charles, ſon to the king of Denmark, having ſucceeded to the earldom of Flanders, on the death of Baldwin his uncle, liſtened to the propoſals of Henry, and left the camp of the allies.

He was followed by Fulk, earl of Anjou, whoſe late ſucceſſes in the county of Maine, had rendered him leſs dependent on the court of France than before. He therefore gave Henry to underſtand, that he was ready to conclude a peace with him, on the former conditions, namely, that William, prince royal of England, came over immediately into Normandy, in order to eſpouſe his daughter. This offer was accepted, and, upon the prince's arrival, the earl ſent to acquaint Henry, that he was ready to give him the laſt proof of his friendſhip; and all affairs being adjuſted, the marriage was accordingly celebrated, in preſence of the king and earl, on the twelfth of June.

The defection of the earls of Flanders and Anjou, from the allies, totally changed the face of affairs. Henry had, for ſome time paſt, been contented to act on the defenſive; but he now took the field, carrying fire and ſword into the caſtles and poſſeſſions of his enemies. His firſt fury ſpent itſelf on the more inconſiderable barons, who had joined his enemies in the war. Theſe he ſeverely chaſtiſed, or effectually ruined. He next laid ſiege to the caſtle of Evereux, then in the hands of Almeric, the moſt implacable of all his foes. He, however, ſoon took the caſtle, and reduced the whole to aſhes, even the edifices dedicated to religion, not eſcaping the flames.

This progreſs alarmed the court of France. Lewis, who certainly knew little of Henry's character, imputed his late conduct to either weakneſs or cowardice, and dropped ſome inſolent expreſſions, intimating, that he ſhould have been pleaſed to have met his brother of England in the open field. But Henry, of all mankind, was the moſt inſenſible of that glory, which muſt be purchaſed by an equal venture. In contempt, therefore, of the romantic humour of the age, he even bore the reproaches of his friends, and coldly anſwered, That he had learned a maxim from his father, which was, to ſuffer the French to ſpend their firſt fury, and then they might be eaſily conquered.

It was not long before Lewis was convinced of the truth of this maxim; the king of England determined to give him battle, that he might have an opportunity of diſplaying his military abilities. The Engliſh army was divided into three bodies; the van conſiſted of the chief nobility, who ſerved on horſeback, with their military tenants; the main body was led by Henry in perſon, at the head of his guards and houſhold troops. And the rear, on which his chief dependence lay, was compoſed of Engliſh infantry, led by two of his own natural ſons.

Lewis, that he might retain the Normans in his intereſt, affected to ſhew great regard for their young prince. He gave him the ſecond command in his army, and ordered him to advance towards Andely on the river Seine; he himſelf propoſing to ſupport him with the main body, and to come up time enough to join him in caſe of a battle. William accordingly moved forward at the head of a large detachment, when he heard that his uncle had marched his army into the plain of Brenville, in order to give him battle. He immediately ſent an account of this intelligence to the king of France, who advanced without delay, and diſpoſed every thing for a general engagement. The French army was divided into two lines; the firſt was commanded by the prince of Normandy, and conſiſted of the flower of the Norman and French nobility, who all ſerved on horſeback; the ſecond line was headed by Lewis himſelf, and contained the French infantry, together with that of his allies.

The prince of Normandy began the charge at the head of the French ſquadrons, with ſo much fury, that he broke thro' the firſt line of Henry's army. This diviſion, conſiſting wholly of cavalry, the diſ-

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order was communicated to the ſecond line, where Henry himſelf commanded in perſon; and the French ſtill purſuing their advantage, the king was oppreſſed both by his friends and foes. Henry, however, maintained his poſt with great intrepidity, and rallied his men, but was in the utmoſt danger of loſing his own life; for when the engagement became cloſe, the French had the advantage, and William de Criſpin, a nobleman of Normandy, in the intereſt of Robert, cut his way even to the ſpot, where Henry was giving his orders. Perſuaded that the king's death would finiſh the diſpute, he attacked him with ſo much reſolution, that Henry owed his life to the temper of his helmet; for Criſpin ſtruck him twice upon the head, with ſo much force, that tho' he could not pierce the helmet, yet he bruiſed it ſo greatly, that the blood poured down the king's face. Henry, however, preſerved his uſual coolneſs, and, taking the advantage of an unguarded ſtroke, he aimed a blow at Criſpin ſo happily, that he fell, together with his horſe, at the monarch's feet, and Criſpin was immediately taken priſoner.

The third line of Henry's army, conſiſting wholly of Engliſh, was drawn up at too great a diſtance, to aſſiſt the reſt of the army during the furious attack of the French cavalry; and Lewis marching up immediately with his ſecond line, ſo well ſupported the ſucceſs of the Norman prince, that the firſt line of Henry's army was very roughly handled, and on the point of yielding to the enemy. In this deſperate ſtate of the battle, the Engliſh flew to the relief of their ſovereign. The French, till then, ſure of the victory, had now a new battle to fight, with inferior numbers, but with men, who would not ſubmit to be vanquiſhed. The fortune of the day was changed, and the French totally routed, without ſo much as daring to ſtand the firſt charge of the Engliſh. A great number of priſoners were taken in the purſuit, among whom were many noblemen, and Henry returned to Rouen in triumph. Among other ſpoils of the day, was Lewis's ſtandard, which Henry redeemed from one of his own knights, who had taken it, for twenty marks. The Norman prince behaved with the greateſt intrepidity during the whole action. On the firſt appearance of the rout, he diſmounted and fought on foot; by which means his fine horſe, with his rich furniture, fell into the hands of Henry, who, when the battle was over, ſent it back to the young Norman, together with a noble preſent, by his ſon, the prince royal of England.

A. D. 1120. Both parties were now heartily weary of the war, ſo that there was little difficulty in bringing about an accommodation between them, which was ſoon after effected by the mediation of the pope; but the intereſts of young William were entirely neglected. Soon after the peace was concluded, the prince royal of England did homage to Lewis, king of France, for the dutchy of Normandy, and received the proper inveſtitures.

But this public proſperity of Henry was ſoon over-balanced by a domeſtic calamity. Henry had ordered a numerous fleet to rendezvous at Barfleur, where he ſet ſail in a kind of triumph for England, and was ſoon carried out of ſight of land. The prince was detained by ſome accident; and his ſailors, as well as their captain, Thomas Fitz-Stephen, having ſpent the interval in drinking, were ſo fluſtered, that being in a hurry to follow the king, they ran the ſhip upon a ſunken rock, where ſhe immediately foundered. The prince was put into the long-boat, and had got clear of the ſhip, when hearing the cries of his natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Perche, he ordered the ſeamen to row back, in hopes of ſaving her: but the boat no ſooner came to the ſide of the ſhip, than the imminence of the danger, which had deſtroyed all reſpect to perſons, prompted every individual to take care of his own ſafety, and ſuch numbers crowded into the boat, that ſhe immediately ſunk, and the prince, with all his retinue, periſhed. Above an hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families in England and Normandy, were loſt on this occaſion. A butcher of Rouen was the only perſon on board who eſcaped: he clung to the maſt, and was taken up the next morning by ſome fiſhermen. Fitz-Stephen, the captain, took hold alſo of the maſt, but being informed by the butcher, that prince William had periſhed, he declared he would not ſurvive the diſaſter, and accordingly threw himſelf headlong into the ſea. Henry entertained hopes for three days, that his ſon had put into ſome diſtant port of England: but on receiving certain advice of the diſmal calamity, he fainted away; and it was remarked, that he never after was ſeen to ſmile, nor ever recovered his former chearfulneſs. The Engliſh, however, did not greatly lament the death of this prince, who entertained at once, a high contempt and hatred for the whole race; and he was often heard to threaten, that, when he ſhould be king, he would make the Engliſh draw their ploughs like oxen.

A. D. 1121. The prince left no children, nor had the king now any legitimate iſſue, except Matilda, or Maud, who was betrothed in the year eleven hundred and ten, when only eight years of age, to the emperor Charles V. and ſent over to be educated in Germany. Henry, therefore, fearing her abſence from the kingdom, and her marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the ſucceſſion, reſolved to enter into a ſecond marriage, his queen Matilda having been dead ſome years. Accordingly he made his addreſſes to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lovaine, and niece to pope Calixtus, a young princeſs of a very amiable diſpoſition, and beautiful perſon. Deputies were accordingly ſent to the court of Lovaine, and the young queen ſoon after arrived in England, where ſhe was crowned by Ralph, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the famous Anſelm having, ſome time ſince, paid the debt of nature.

Soon after the ceremony of the coronation was over, the earl of Anjou ſent to re-demand his daughter, the conſort of the late prince royal. She had fortunately come over with the king, and by that means eſcaped the fate of her huſband. Henry complied with the demand, and ſent her back to her father, who was juſt returned from an expedition to the Holy Land.

A. D. 1122. Very little happened during the courſe of this year, except the death of Ralph, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man of an excellent character, except in matters where he fancied his prerogative was concerned. He was ſucceeded in the archiepiſcopal ſee by William Corboil, abbot of St. Bennet's.

A. D. 1123. The troubles of Normandy now began to revive. The earl of Anjou being diſappointed of his ambitious expectations, by the death of his ſon-in-

law, ſent over to England to demand back his daughter's portion, as the marriage between her and prince William had never been conſummated. Perhaps Henry would have readily agreed to this demand, had he not been convinced, that it was made only to furniſh a pretence for further commotions. He had diſcovered, that the natural inconſtancy of the Normans, had again induced them to join with his enemies, and that a powerful confederacy was now already formed by the intrigues of the court of France. This confederacy conſiſted of ſome of the firſt perſons among the Norman nobility, who, from Henry's having no children, revived the claim of William, ſon to duke Robert. Theſe noblemen were ſupported by Fulk, earl of Anjou, who now gave his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the prince of Normandy, and with her the dutchy of Maine: aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that he would aſſiſt him with all his forces, to recover his paternal inheritance. Henry, not being in a condition of paſſing over into Normandy this ſeaſon, diſpatched thither his natural ſon Robert, and Ranulph earl of Cheſter, with what forces they could get together, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels. They accordingly croſſed the ſea, and were joined by all the king's troops in that dutchy; but the inſurgents, not having committed any act of hoſtility, they contented themſelves with viſiting all the fortified places, and putting them in the beſt poſture of defence.

During theſe tranſactions, cardinal de Crema was ſent by pope Calixtus into England, with a legantine commiſſion, in order to reform ſeveral abuſes that had crept in among the clergy. The legate was received in the moſt pompous manner, but at the ſame time given to underſtand, that he muſt not attempt to make innovations in the kingdom, or do any thing prejudicial to the royal prerogative. A ſynod was, however, called at London, where, among other canons, a vote paſſed, enacting ſevere penalties on the marriage of the clergy; and the cardinal, in a public harrangue, declared it to be an unpardonable enormity, that a prieſt ſhould dare to conſecrate and touch the body of Chriſt, immediately after he had riſen from the ſide of a ſtrumpet, the decent appellation he beſtowed upon the wives of the clergy. But it happened, that the very next night, the officers of juſtice, breaking into a diſorderly houſe, found the cardinal in bed with a courtezan; an incident, which threw ſuch a ridicule on his legantine character, that he immediately ſtole out of the kingdom: the ſynod broke up abruptly, and the canons againſt the marriage of clergymen, were executed with more remiſsneſs than before.

In order to prevent all diſputes with the holy ſee, for the future, Henry ſent William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to remonſtrate with the court of Rome, againſt theſe legantine commiſſions, and to aſſert the liberties of the Engliſh churches. It was a uſual maxim with every pope, when he found he could not prevail in any pretenſion, to grant princes or ſtates a power which they had always exerciſed, to reſume, at a more proper ſeaſon, the claim which appeared to be reſigned, and to pretend, that the civil magiſtrate had poſſeſſed the authority only from a ſpecial indulgence of the Roman pontiff. After this manner, the pope, finding that the French nation would not admit his claim of granting inveſtitures, had paſſed a bull, giving the king that authority; and he now practiſed a like invention to elude the complaints of the Engliſh monarch. He conſtituted the archbiſhop of Canterbury his legate, renewed his commiſſion from time to time, and ſtill pretended, that the rights which that prelate had always exerciſed as metropolitan, were entirely derived from the indulgence of the holy ſee. The Engliſh princes, and Henry in particular, who were glad to avoid any preſent conteſt of ſo dangerous a nature, commonly acquieſced by their ſilence in theſe pretenſions of the Roman court.

A. D. 1124. While Robert, and the earl of Cheſter, were augmenting and repairing the fortifications in Normandy, Henry was providing both money and troops in England; and, about the middle of the ſummer, landed at Rouen, where he ordered a general rendezvous of his army. But no action of conſequence happened during the whole courſe of the campaign: both parties employing themſelves in ſtrengthening their reſpective intereſts with the people and nobles. In the mean time, the king of France ſupplied the conſpirators with all kinds of neceſſaries, tho' he had not yet declared himſelf in their favour. Henry, therefore, thinking it more for his intereſt, to have an open than a ſecret enemy, declared war againſt France, and both parties made preparations for taking the field early in the ſpring.

A. D. 1125. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of March, the army of the inſurgents advanced from Belmont to Watteville, with a deſign of penetrating into Henry's Norman dominions; but were met by the royal army, which had been increaſed by draughts from all the neighbouring garriſons, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. William, earl of Tankerville, who commanded Henry's army, concealed the greater part of his men in a bottom, where they could not be ſeen by the enemy. Having formed this ſtratagem, he charged the inſurgents, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, near the village of Teroud, about eight miles diſtant from Rouen. The French vivacity, at firſt, bore down all oppoſition, and Tankerville retreated with very little loſs, towards the place where his men were planted in ambuſh, where the conſpirators ſoon found themſelves ſurrounded, without being able to form themſelves properly for making reſiſtance. The rout was general, and the number of priſoners more than double that of the ſlain.

Henry took particular care to improve this victory, and accordingly marched againſt all the caſtles and forts belonging to the conſpirators, which geneally ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, or, at leaſt, after a very feeble reſiſtance. Additional works were alſo raiſed round Rouen, and the fortifications of many other important places repaired and augmented. But notwithſtanding all his ſucceſs and precautions, Henry found it impracticable to conquer the averſion which the Normans ever retained to his title.

While Henry continued in Normandy, Alexander the fierce, king of Scotland, paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded in the throne by his brother David, earl of Huntingdon, who, with the crown of Scotland, inherited large poſſeſſions in England.

A. D. 1126. Henry having thus terminated the rebellion in Normandy, paſſed over into England, where

where he found the people in general very diſcontented, on account of the enormous taxes that had been impoſed upon them, for ſupplying the exigencies of the campaigns in Normandy; while the miſeries ſuffered by the populace, had almoſt driven them to deſpair. The perſons intruſted with the government during his abſence, had almoſt totally neglected the executive part of juſtice, by which means robberies, thefts, and murders, were become ſo frequent, and perpetrated in ſo daring and open a manner, throughout the whole kingdom, that neither the life nor property of any perſon was ſecure. Henry, therefore, made it his firſt care to reform theſe abuſes, and enacted ſeveral ſevere laws againſt all diſturbers of the public peace: at the ſame time, he cauſed forty-four criminals, who had been convicted of enormous crimes, to be executed, and puniſhed others in a very exemplary manner.

While Henry was employed in reſtoring juſtice, and protecting his people from violence, the emperor Charles V. died without iſſue, leaving Maud, the daughter of Henry, a young widow and the greateſt fortune in Europe. This princeſs, as ſoon as the laſt duties were paid to the remains of her huſband, came over to England, when Henry, who had now no proſpect of children by his conſort, aſſemblembled the ſtates of the kingdom at Windſor, where it was propoſed, that an oath ſhould be taken by all preſent, to receive the empreſs Maud as queen of England, in caſe the king ſhould die without male iſſue. The propoſal, after a ſolemn debate, was unanimouſly agreed to, and the oath accordingly taken.

A. D. 1127. But tho' Henry flattered himſelf with having now ſecured the peace of his dominions, yet a few months convinced him, that his hopes were deſtitute of foundation. Freſh diſturbances ſoon broke out in Normandy, which called for his preſence. A little reflection, indeed, will be ſufficient to convince us, that any long ſeries of tranquillity was not to be expected in that dutchy. Henry's treatment of his brother Robert was, at once, unjuſt and inhuman. His conduct with regard to France, had ſo thoroughly diſguſted that court, that a ſincere reconciliation could hardly be expected; and the French lying more contiguous to the princes who were capable of giving Henry diſturbance, it was much eaſier for them to raiſe, than for him to quell any commotions raiſed in his dominions. Lewis had now a favourable opportunity for diſtreſſing Henry. Charles, earl of Flanders, who had long been a firm and uſeful ally to the latter, fell in a conſpiracy of his nobles, while he was at his devotions in the church of Bruges. The right of inveſtiture of this province belonged to France, and the earldom was claimed by William, duke of Normandy, in right of his grandmother Matilda, queen to William the conqueror. Perhaps the French court would have paid little regard to William's right, had it not been ſubſervient to their own intereſts. But on William's reſigning into the hands of Lewis, all the territories he before poſſeſſed in France, together with thoſe given him as a portion with his wife, he received from the French monarch the inveſtiture of the earldom of Flanders.

This tranſaction greatly alarmed Henry, fearing, that this acceſſion of power might render the young prince formidable to him in Normandy. He therefore reſolved to detach the count of Anjou from his alliance, by forming with him a nearer connexion than ever, and one more material to the intereſt of his family. Accordingly, he propoſed a marriage between his daughter the empreſs Maud, and Geoffrey Plantagenet, the eldeſt ſon of Fulk, count of Anjou. This offer was readily accepted, and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated by the archbiſhop of Rouen, the king himſelf aſſiſting at the ceremony in perſon.

He had flattered himſelf that the choice of this huſband, would be more agreeable to all his ſubjects, than that of the emperor, as it ſecured them from the fears of falling under the dominion of a great and diſtant potentate, who might bring them into ſubjection, and reduce their country to the rank of a province: but the barons were diſpleaſed, that a ſtep ſo material to the intereſt of the nation, had been taken without conſulting them; and Henry had too ſenſibly experienced the turbulency of their diſpoſition, not to dread the effects of their reſentment.

A. D. 1128. Lewis of France now openly declared his intention of putting William in poſſeſſion of the dukedom of his depoſed father. And Henry, in order to prevent his deſigns from being carried into execution, invaded the French king's territories, at the head of a powerful army, having previouſly excited the Flemings to a revolt againſt their new earl, in favour of Thierry, landgrave of Alſace, who alſo pretended a title to that province. Henry advanced as far as Eſpargne, where he offered Lewis battle for eight days ſucceſſively; but the French monarch, ſenſible that his army was greatly inferior to the Engliſh, declined an engagement, and exerted all his abilities to put himſelf in ſuch a poſture of defence, as would render it impoſſible for the enemy to force him to fight on unequal terms.

During this ſituation of the two armies, the earl of Flanders was making prodigious efforts for recovering the town of Aloſt, which had revolted to his rival, the landgrave of Alſace. He had reduced the town to great extremities, when Thierry, at the head of an army, much ſuperior to that of William, came to its its relief. A battle enſued, in which the landgrave was defeated, and forced to fly into Aloſt for ſuccour. William immediately returned to the ſiege, and would certainly have taken the place, and his rival priſoner, had he not been wounded in the ball of his thumb, by the thruſt of a lance, during a ſally made by the beſieged. The wound, tho' at firſt conſidered as of little conſequence, ſoon after mortified, and he died in a few days.

This unhappy accident, together with the great ſuperiority of Henry's army, induced Lewis to conclude a peace with the king of England, who was now left the undoubted heir to the dutchy of Normandy.

A. D. 1129. Henry having ſurmounted all oppoſition, began to taſte the ſweets of eaſe and tranquillity. He now ſuffered the milder ſentiments of mercy and forgiveneſs to ſucceed thoſe of fury and reſentment, which had ſo long ruled predominant in his breaſt. He extended his pardon to all who implored it, and attached ſeveral perſons of great credit and influence to his intereſt, by acts of generoſity and kindneſs: he releaſed many of the late conſpirators, and among the reſt Mellent and Fitzgervas, whom he reſtored to their Norman poſſeſſions. Theſe acts of mercy greatly increaſed his reputation both at home and abroad; and his ſituation

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with his neighbours, was ſuch as promiſed, that his life, which had hitherto been tempeſtuous and cloudy, would cloſe in ſerenity.

A. D. 1133. Every thing in England continuing in the utmoſt tranquillity, Henry took the opportunity of viſiting Normandy, to which he was invited, as well by his affection for that country, as by his tenderneſs for his daughter, the empreſs Maud, who was always his favourite. Some time after, that princeſs was delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Henry; and the king, in order to inſure her ſucceſſion ſtill farther, prevailed upon all the nobility of England and Normandy, to renew the oath of fealty, which they had already ſworn to her.

A. D. 1134. While Henry was enjoying his eaſe in Normandy, his brother Robert, whom he had, for ſome years, treated with great cruelty, paid the debt of nature in the caſtle of Cardiff, after being confined twenty-ſeven years, and was buried in the cathedral of Glouceſter.

A. D. 1135. The ſatisfaction Henry enjoyed in the company of his daughter, rendered his reſidence in Normandy very agreeable to him; and he ſeemed determined to ſpend the reſt of his days in that country, when an incurſion of the Welſh obliged him to think of returning to England. He was accordingly preparing for the journey, when he was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at St. Dennis le Froment, from eating too plentifully of lamprys, a food which always agreed better with his palate than his conſtitution.

Henry ſoon found his diſeaſe was attended with mortal ſymptoms, and became ſenſible, that his diſſolution was approaching. He therefore ſent for Hugh, archbiſhop of Rouen, his natural ſon Robert, earl of Glouceſter, William de Warenne, and ſeveral other noblemen, then in Normandy, to receive his laſt commands. He recommended to them, in the moſt pathetic manner, the intereſts of the empreſs, without mentioning her huſband Geoffrey, with whom he was highly diſpleaſed; declaring her, and her children, by lawful ſucceſſion, to be the heirs of all his dominions, both in England and on the continent. He then ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſpoſed of in charitable uſes, and gave above ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling among his domeſtics. He ordered that all his debts ſhould be diſcharged; that all forfeitures and mulcts, lately fallen to the crown, to be remitted; that the exiles ſhould be reſtored to their country; and that all, who had been unjuſtly deprived of their eſtates, ſhould be reſtored to them, and ſuffered to enjoy them in peace and ſafety. Having thus ſettled his temporal concerns, he reſigned himſelf up to the care of the clergy, and expired on Sunday, the firſt of December, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

His body was carried the next day to Rouen, attended by a prodigious throng of people; and being there embalmed, was conveyed to Caen, and thence to England, where it was buried in a monaſtery, founded by himſelf at Reading, in Berkſhire.

Henry had many amiable qualities, both of mind and perſon. He was at once a warrior, a politician and a ſcholar. His ſuperior eloquence and judgment, would have given him an aſcendant, had he even been born in a private ſtation; and his perſonal bravery would have procured him reſpect, even tho' it had been leſs ſupported by art and policy.

By his great progreſs in literature, he acquired the name of Beau-clerc, or the ſcholar; but his application to theſe ſedentary purſuits, abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government. He was a tender huſband, an affectionate parent, and a generous maſter. He knew the true intereſts of his people, better than any prince of his time; and tho' England ſuffered many oppreſſions under his government, yet it alſo enjoyed many advantages. The uninterrupted courſe of tranquillity, except from the incurſions of the Welſh, invited over great numbers of foreigners, eſpecially manufacturers, who diſſeminated their arts thro' the kingdom, and laid the foundations of a more extenſive commerce. At the ſame time, theſe virtues were ſullied by cruelty and avarice. The inhuman treatment of his brother, affords a ſufficient inſtance of the former, and the groans of an oppreſſed and impoveriſhed people of the latter. Had he poſſeſſed leſs power, or, could he have been perſuaded to reſign part of what he had acquired, he might have enjoyed the remainder in peace and tranquillity. But his conduct ſufficiently demonſtrated, that he was too much diſpoſed to ſacrifice all the maxims of juſtice and equity to his ambition.

Henry was of a middle ſtature; his hair black, and towards his forehead buſhy; his eyes clear and ſweet; his cheſt broad and full. The affability of his addreſs encouraged thoſe who might be overawed by the ſenſe of his dignity or his wiſdom; and tho' he often indulged his facetious humour, he knew how to temper it with diſcretion, and always kept at a diſtance from all indecent familiarities with his courtiers. He was ſo greatly addicted to women, that hiſtorians mention no leſs than ſeven illegimate ſons, and ſix daughters

STEPHEN

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STEPHEN.

A. D. 1135. PERHAPS the vanity of human foreſight, was never more powerfully exemplified, than in the meaſures taken by Henry I. to ſecure the ſucceſſion to his daughter; nor was it in the power of human prudence to take more effectual precautions for that purpoſe. But heaven was pleaſed to diſappoint his foreſight; and the crimes of ambition, uſurpation, oppreſſion, and breach of promiſe, too common in his family, were ſoon repaid upon his poſterity, by a ſimilar inſtrument of divine juſtice.

Adela, daughter to William the conqueror, had been married to Stephen, count of Blois, and had bore him ſeveral ſons; among whom Stephen and Henry, the two youngeſt had been invited over to England by the late king, and had received, from the zealous friendſhip of that monarch, great honours, riches, and preferment. Henry, the youngeſt, who had devoted himſelf to the offices of religion, was created abbot of Glaſtonbury, and biſhop of Wincheſter. But Stephen obtained, from the liberality of his uncle, eſtabliſhments ſtill more ſolid and durable than thoſe of his brother. The king had married him to Matilda, daughter and heir to Euſtace, count of Boulogne, and who brought him, beſides that feudal ſovereignty in France, an immenſe property in England, which, in the diſtribution of lands, had been conferred by the conqueror on the Boulogne family. By this marriage, Stephen alſo acquired a new connexion with the royal family of England: Mary, his wife's mother, being ſiſter to David, the reigning king of Scotland, and to Matilda, the firſt wife of Henry, and mother to the empreſs. Imagining that he was ſtrengthening the intereſts of his own family, by the aggrandiſement of Stephen, Henry took a pleaſure in enriching him, by the grant of new poſſeſſions; and accordingly conferred on him the great eſtate forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and that forfeited by the earl of Montaigne in Normandy. Stephen, in return, profeſſed a great attachment to his uncle, and appeared ſo zealous for the ſucceſſion of Maud, that when the barons ſwore fealty to that princeſs, he contended with Robert earl of Glouceſter, the king's natural ſon, who ſhould firſt be admitted to give her this teſtimony of devoted zeal and fidelity. But, in the mean time, he continued to cultivate, by every act of popularity, the friendſhip and affection of the Engliſh nation, and the many virtues with which he appeared to be endowed, favoured the ſucceſs of his intentions. By his bravery, activity, and vigour, he acquired the eſteem of the barons: by his generoſity, added to an affable and familiar addreſs, ſo unuſual among men of quality in that age, he obtained the affections of the people, particularly the Londoners. And tho' he dared not to take any ſteps toward his farther grandeur, leſt he might expoſe himſelf to the jealouſy of ſo penetrating a prince as Henry; he ſtill hoped, that, by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might, ſome time or other, be able to open his way to the Engliſh throne.

At the ſame time, the ſpirit of the empreſs Maud ſurpaſſed even her birth and condition. She had been bred up in the arbitrary maxims of her family; ſhe poſſeſſed the Norman dominions of her father; ſhe was married to a foreign prince, a ſtranger to the cuſtoms and conſtitution of England; ſo that the clergy and people of that kingdom, had no proſpect from her government, but a continuance of the miſery and contempt they had experienced under that of her father.

Henry had ſcarcely paid the great debt of nature, than Stephen, inſenſible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, and blind to every danger, haſtened over to England. And tho' the inhabitants of Dover and Canterbury ſhut their gates againſt him, he poſted to London, where his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and other noblemen of his party, had been ſo aſſiduous in their intrigues, that he was ſaluted king. His next point was, to acquire the good will of the clergy, without which, he well knew, it would be impoſſible to wear the crown of England, either with pleaſure to himſelf, or advantage to the kingdom. His brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, had great weight with William archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Roger, biſhop of Saliſbury, who was rich and powerful even to envy, was the profeſſed enemy of the empreſs and her party. Her ambition, her education, her principles, and her deſpotic ſpirit, were repreſented, on all occaſions, in the moſt aggravating terms; and it was every where inculcated, that it was mean and ſcandalous, for ſo many brave men, to be ſubject to the commands of a woman, and a child. But ſomething more than mere invective and ſurmiſe was wanting to induce thoſe who had ſworn fealty to the empreſs and her family, to break their oaths. It was therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to ſome other artifice, to produce the deſired effect; and, accordingly, an expedient was found, tho' equally diſhonourable with the other ſteps with which this great revolution was effected. Hugh Bigod, ſteward of the houſhold, came before the primate, and voluntarily made oath, that Henry, on his deathbed, had expreſſed his concern for the ſettlement he had made of his crown; and, at the ſame time, declared his intentions of ſetting aſide the empreſs Maud and her children, if he ever ſurvived his ſickneſs. This depoſition, together with the perſuaſion of the biſhop of Wincheſter and others, ſo effectally prevailed on the credulous archbiſhop, that he readily embraced the intereſt of Stephen. A great council of the ſtates was immediately ſummoned, in which the party of Stephen appearing the moſt numerous, it was reſolved to exclude the empreſs and her children from the ſucceſſion, and ſet Stephen on the Engliſh throne. The archbiſhop accordingly anointed him, and placed the crown upon his head, and he was allowed to proceed to the exerciſe of ſovereign authority.

But Stephen well knew, that great oppoſition would ſoon be made by the empreſs and her party; he, therefore, the better to ſecure his tottering

throne, paſſed a charter, in which he made liberal promiſes to all orders of men. He aſſured the clergy, that he would ſpeedily fill all the vacant benefices, and would never receive the rents of any of them during the interval: he promiſed the nobility, that they ſhould not be proſecuted for hunting in their own foreſts; and the people, that he would remit the tax of Danegelt, and reſtore the laws of king Edward.

Satisfied with theſe conceſſions, the Engliſh flattered themſelves with enjoying all their liberties under the government of Stephen, who now repaired to Wincheſter, where he ſeized upwards of one hundred thouſand pounds, which had been amaſſed by Henry, for the uſe of his daughter. By means of this treaſure, the uſurper inſured the compliance, tho' not the attachment of the principal clergy and nobility. But not truſting to this frail ſecurity, he invited over from the continent, particularly from Britany and Flanders, great numbers of theſe ſoldiers of fortune, who are always ready for any deſperate enterprize, and who, under Henry, had found no employment. With theſe, and the Engliſh mercenaries, he formed a powerful army, which guarded his throne by the terror of the ſword, and ſeemed to deſtroy every hope of Maud's party in England.

A. D. 1136. This rapid ſucceſs of Stephen, aſtoniſhed the noblemen who ſtill adhered to the empreſs; and being unable to reſiſt the torrent of popular favour, retired to Scotland, where they were kindly received by David, who then filled the throne of that kingdom.

In the mean time Robert, earl of Glouceſter, natural ſon to the late king, and a perſon of ſtrict honour and great abilities, was embarraſſed with regard to the meaſures proper for him to purſue in this difficult emergency. To ſwear allegiance to the uſurper appeared to him very diſhonourable, and a breach of the oath he had taken in favour of the empreſs: to refuſe giving this pledge of his fidelity was to baniſh himſelf from England, which muſt render him totally incapable of ſerving the royal family, or contributing to their reſtoration. He therefore reſolved to take the oath of allegiance to Stephen, but with ſuch expreſs conditions as he was perſuaded the uſurper would not long obſerve.

Determined on having recourſe to this expedient, he came over to England, and offered to ſwear fealty to Stephen on this expreſs condition, that the king ſhould maintain all his ſtipulations, and never invade any of Robert's rights and dignities. Stephen, though ſenſible this reſerve, ſo unuſual in itſelf, and ſo unbecoming the duty of a ſubject, was intended only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the firſt favourable opportunity, was, notwithſtanding, obliged, by the numerous friends and retainers of that popular nobleman, to receive the earl of Glouceſter on his own terms.

In the mean time the empreſs and her huſband Geoffrey were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. The Norman nobility, moved by an hereditary animoſity againſt the Angevins, firſt applied to Theobald, count of Blois, Stephen's elder brother, for protection and aſſiſtance; but hearing afterwards that Stephen had taken poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, and having many of them the ſame reaſons as formerly for deſiring a continuance of their union with that kingdom, they transferred their allegiance to Stephen and put him in poſſeſſion of their government. Lewis the younger, then king of France, accepted of the homage of Euſtace, Stephen's eldeſt ſon, for the dutchy; and the farther to corroborate his connexions with that family, betrothed his ſiſter Conſtantia, to the young prince. The count of Blois reſigned all his pretenſions, and received inſtead of them a penſion of two thouſand marks; and even Geoffrey himſelf was obliged at laſt to conclude a truce for two years with Stephen, on condition of the king's paying him annually, during that time, a penſion of five thouſand pounds.

But though Stephen had thus acquired the dominions of Henry both in England and Normandy, ſeveral of the great nobility were very uneaſy, and determined to make ſome attempt in favour of the empreſs. Among theſe was Baldwin de Redveriis, earl of Devon, and lord of the Iſle of Wight. He had received many favours from the family of Henry I. and always refuſed to recognize Stephen's title to the crown. But not content with refuſing to take the oath of allegiance, he fortified the caſtle of Exeter, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the citizens, who were in Stephen's intereſt, and had applied to him for aſſiſtance. Stephen loſt no time in protecting his friends; he marched at the head of all the forces he could collect, and beſieged the caſtle: but the place being ſtrongly fortified, the garriſon held out for three months, when they were obliged to capitulate for want of water, on condition of marching out with their baggage. In the mean time the earl, who was not in the caſtle, repaired to the Iſle of Wight, whither he was purſued by Stephen, who drove him from thence into France, and ſeized all his eſtates in England.

Nor was this the only inteſtine commotion that now happened in England. Robert de Bathenton, a nobleman of a very debauched life, revolted, and fortified his caſtle. Stephen immediately made preparations for reducing him, and Robert, dreading the conſequence of a defeat, offered to deliver the caſtle into the hands of the king's officers. Accordingly a party was detached for that purpoſe; but Robert found means to intoxicate them with liquor, and then retired back into his caſtle, which he now determined to defend againſt Stephen. Exaſperated at this behaviour, the king marched againſt Robert in perſon; and Bathenton, endeavouring to eſcape over the caſtle wall by means of a rope, was taken priſoner; when Stephen, contrary to his uſual diſpoſition, ordered him to be hanged up in ſight of his garriſon. The ſentence was accordingly executed, and ſo intimidated the beſieged, that they ſurrendered the place immediately.

Theſe diſturbances, added to the ambitious diſpoſitions ofthe barons, induced moſt of the noblemen in England to fortify their reſpective caſtles, and to garriſon them with their own vaſſals, or with ſoldiers of fortune, who flocked to them from all quarters. But as the barons could not procure them ſubſiſtence, they had recourſe to rapine, ſo that England ſoon became a ſcene of violence and devaſtation. Stephen, finding that the laws were incapable of curbing his licentious nobility, determined to make his own power the meaſure of his conduct; and to violate all thoſe conceſſions, which he himſelf had made on his acceſſion to the throne, as well as the ancient and eſtabliſhed privileges of his ſubjects. The mercenary ſoldiers, who chiefly ſupported his authority, having exhauſted the royal treaſure, ſubſiſted

ſiſted by depredations; and every corner of the kingdom was filled with juſt complaints againſt the government. The earl of Glouceſter could not ſee the miſeries of his country without emotion, and determined to attempt a revolution. Accordingly he ſettled with his friends the meaſures neceſſary to be taken in forming a powerful inſurrection, retired to the continent, ſent the king a defiance, renounced his allegiance, and upbraided him with the breach of thoſe conditions, which he had annexed to the oath of fealty ſworn by that nobleman.

A D. 1138, The earl of Glouceſter had no ſooner left the kingdom, than David, king of Scotland, entered England at the head of a powerful army, in defence of his neice's title to the throne, and penetrated into Yorkſhire, committing the moſt horrid devaſtations in all the country through which he paſſed. The fury of his maſſacres and ravages enraged the northern nobility, who otherwiſe would, in all probability, have joined his forces. The chief of theſe barons were, William, earl of Albermarle, William Piercy, Robert de Bruce, Roger Mowbray, Ilbert Lacy, and Walter d'Eſpee, all powerful noblemen, who determined to aſſemble their followers, and repel the army of thoſe cruel invaders. But the king of the Scots was no ſooner informed of this reſolution, than he retreated with his army, and beſieged Norham, a caſtle belonging to the biſhop of Durham. After a ſhort ſiege the caſtle was taken, and the biſhop refuſing to renounce his allegiance to Stephen, the Scottiſh monarch levelled it with the ground.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, David detached William, his grand nephew, at the head of a conſiderable army, into Yorkſhire, in order to attack the van of the Engliſh army, which was advanced to Clithero in Lancaſhire. William was ſo ſucceſsful, that he ſurprized this body of the Engliſh forces, cut great numbers of them to pieces, and took many priſoners.

In the mean time David laid ſiege to the caſtle of Wark, the garriſon of which had carried off his proviſions, and routed ſeveral of his parties; but the fortreſs proving too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, and hearing of the ſucceſs of his arms at Clithero, he left ſome of his officers to continue the ſiege, and advanced at the head of his army to York, intending to give the enemy battle, as ſoon as he was joined by the detachment under William.

Accordingly, he entered the biſhopric of Durham, and laid the whole country waſte with fire and ſword; and being now joined by all his forces, found himſelf at the head of an army of ſix and twenty thouſand men.

The Engliſh, tho' they had, ſince their late misfortune, been reinforced by a ſtrong body of horſe, ſent by the king, under the command of Bernard de Baliol, were far inferior to the Scots in numbers, and therefore continued to act on the defenſive. They were ſoon after joined by ſeveral noblemen from the counties of Nottingham and Derby, and continued their march as far as Northallerton, where all the aſſociated barons agreed to ſtand and fall by one another; and in confirmation of this reſolution, they raiſed the famous ſtandard, which conſiſted of the maſt of a ſmall veſſel, erected on a wheel-carriage, and having on the top of it a ſilver crucifix, while the pole was decorated with the banners of St. Peter, St. John, of Beverley, and St. Wilfred.

Around this ſacred enſign, the Engliſh were drawn up in a firm compacted body, the front being compoſed of pikemen and archers intermixed, to receive the firſt ſhock of the enemy. The Scotch army was alſo drawn up in order of battle, and the Galloway-men, who were deſcended from the ancient Britons, placed in the front line. The ſecond line, compoſed of a body of knights and archers, together with the militia of Cumberland and Tweedale, was commanded by the prince of Scotland; and the third, which conſiſted of Scotch Highlanders, and the forces of Lothian and Murray, was headed by the king in perſon.

The Galloway-men began the charge in their uſual manner, falling with the utmoſt fury on the ſecond line of the Engliſh, who at firſt gave way to their impetuoſity; but being ſupported by the firmneſs of the reſt of their body, and deriving great advantages from their armour in a cloſe engagement, they galled the enemy with continual flights of arrows, in ſo terrible a manner, that having loſt their two leaders, Ulgric and Donald, they were broken, and fled in great confuſion.

The prince of Scotland then marched up to the attack, at the head of the ſecond line, and fell upon the enemy with ſo much fury, that he pierced to the rear of the Engliſh army, but met with ſuch reſiſtance, by the cloſing of the ſeparated troops on every ſide, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he retreated. A total route of the Scottiſh forces now enſued; and the king of Scotland, with his ſon, were left to maintain their ground, attended only by their own guards. They made, however, a reſiſtance worthy of themſelves, and maintained the field for ſome time, againſt the united efforts of the enemy. But finding it in vain any longer to reſiſt the victorious Engliſh, the king made the beſt diſpoſition he could of his few remaining followers, and retired to Carliſle, where he continued for ſome days inconſolable, imagining he had left his ſon dead on the field of battle; but that prince, after breaking thro' a large body of the Engliſh, made his eſcape, and ſoon after repaired to his father at Carliſle. Near ten thouſand Scots fell in this engagement, beſides thoſe who were ſlain in the different counties, thro' which they endeavoured to force their way to Scotland.

Stephen was ſo well pleaſed with this victory, and with the conduct of his generals, that he conferred on William, earl of Albermarle, the additional title of earl of Yorkſhire, and beſtowed the earldom of Derby on Robert de Terriers, theſe two noblemen having greatly ſignalized themſelves in the late action.

In the mean time, the king of Scotland renewed his incurſions, and took the caſtle of Wark, after an obſtinate defence made by the garriſon. But the miſeries ſuffered by the inhabitants of the northern counties, induced Albert, biſhop of Oſtia, the pope's legate, to interpoſe his good offices for bringing about a peace between the two kingdoms: but all he could obtain was a truce for a few months, during which interval, a definitive treaty of peace was concluded.

The affairs of the north being thus ſettled, Stephen had more leiſure to attend to the tranſactions in Normandy, where the friends of the empreſs, encou-

encouraged by the late commotions, had taken up arms, and were making great preparations for invading England. Stephen, therefore, found it neceſſary to ſend a body of troops over to Normandy, under the command of the earl of Mellent, and William de Ypres; but the two generals ſoon found that the enemy was too ſtrong for them to hope for ſucceſs, if they came to extremities. The defection, indeed, was ſo general, that the city of Rouen was almoſt the only place of conſequence left in the hands of the Engliſh monarch.

A. D. 1139. Stephen, about the beginning of his reign, had granted liberty to all his ſubjects to build and fortify caſtles on their own eſtates. The great barons, particularly the biſhops, together with all thoſe who were ſecretly in the intereſt of the empreſs, made uſe of this indulgence, to multiply their caſtles to ſuch a degree, that Stephen found they had, in a manner, garriſoned the kingdom againſt himſelf. The king now ſaw his error, and had recourſe to unpopular meaſures to correct it. He reſolved to begin with deſtroying the caſtles of the clergy, who, by their function, ſeemed leſs entitled than the barons, to ſuch military ſecurities. The biſhop of Saliſbury had built two ſtrong caſtles, one at Sherborne, another at the Devizes, and had laid the foundation of a third at Malmſbury. The biſhop of Lincoln, nephew to the biſhop of Saliſbury, had alſo raiſed a ſtrong fortreſs at Newark.

Stephen did not wait long for a favourable opportunity of carrying his reſolution into execution. A quarrel happened between the followers of the biſhop of Saliſbury, and thoſe of the earl of Britany, in which ſome of the latter were killed: In conſequence of this, the prelate was ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for the riotous behaviour of his men, who had been the aggreſſors. The biſhop obeyed the ſummons, and repaired to the council, attended by his two nephews, Alexander biſhop of Lincoln, and Nigel biſhop of Ely. On their appearance, the king inſiſted on their making ſatisfaction for a breach of the peace, within the verge of his own court. The biſhops abſolutely refuſed to comply; upon which the king ordered them to deliver up their caſtles, as a ſecurity for their future behaviour, and ordered their perſons to be taken into ſafe cuſtody. The biſhop of Ely had, however, the good fortune to eſcape, and immediately repaired to the caſtle of the Devizes, which he determined to defend till the laſt extremity. But William de Ypres, being ſent againſt the fortreſs, at the head of a powerful army, carried with him the two other biſhops. On his arrival before the caſtle, he cauſed a gallows to be erected in ſight of the garriſon, threatening to hang up both the prelates, unleſs the caſtle was immediately ſurrendered. This menace had the deſired effect; the fortreſs was ſurrendered, and the prelates were obliged to purchaſe their liberties, by delivering their other caſtles into the hands of Stephen.

Proceedings of this nature could not fail of alarming the whole body of the clergy. The great ſecurity of that order, the privilege enjoyed by prelates, of not being tried in the king's courts, was attacked. But the perſon who reſented it moſt was, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, the king's brother, now armed with a legantine commiſſion, and thence conceived himſelf an eccleſiaſtical ſovereign, equally powerful with the civil. He aſſembled a ſynod at Wincheſter, in order to vindicate the privileges of the church, which he pretended were now openly violated. In this aſſembly, the prelate, forgetting the ties of blood, which connected him with the king, complained of the impiety of Stephen's meaſures, who had employed violence againſt the dignitaries of the church, inſtead of waiting for the ſentence of a ſpiritual court, by whom alone, he affirmed, they could lawfully be tried and condemned, if their conduct had merited cenſure or puniſhment. The charge being thus exhibited, the ſynod ſent a ſummons to the king, requiring him to appear before them, and juſtify his conduct. Stephen, well knowing the conſequences of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, ſent Aubray de Vere, to plead his cauſe before that aſſembly. That nobleman enlarged upon the inſolence and offences of the biſhop of Saliſbury, and the ſuſpicions he lay under of favouring the enemies of the crown. He gave ſeveral inſtances of his diſaffection, which, he ſaid, amounted to more than ſuſpicion: nor was his contempt of the great nobility forgotten. Aubray alſo revived the famous diſtinction made by the conqueror, who ſeized Odo, as a peer of the court, not as a prelate of the church. But the ſynod refuſed to try the cauſe, or examine their conduct, till thoſe caſtles, of which they had been diſpoſſeſſed, were reſtored to them. Aubray replied, that the biſhops were not allowed caſtles by the canons of the church; that they were repugnant to their functions, as the preachers of peace, and could be conſidered only as the ſanctuaries of diſloyalty, and the aſylums of rebellion. This ſpirited anſwer, ſo exaſperated the clergy, that they ſeemed determined to pronounce an eccleſiaſtical anathema againſt the king and his adherents; and the biſhop of Saliſbury appealed to the pope. But Aubray, who came prepared for all events, reſolutely declared, that the firſt perſon who ſhould preſume to pronounce any ſpiritual interdict againſt his ſovereign, ſhould never live to behold the fruits of his inſolence; and that whoever dared to carry any appeal to the pope, ſhould never again enter the kingdom. This ſpirited anſwer intimidated the aſſembly, who now began to reflect on the conſequences of laying a powerful kingdom under a ſpiritual interdict, without the knowledge of the pope: they were well acquainted with Stephen's reſolute ſpirit, and therefore dreaded, that their perſeverance might ſo highly exaſperate him, as to render both their functions and perſons unſafe. Theſe conſiderations prevented affairs from coming to extremity between the crown and the mitre; and the ſynod was diſſolved, without effecting any of the purpoſes for which it had been convened.

But tho' no eccleſiaſtical cenſures were pronounced by the ſynod, yet this difference with the biſhops had fatal effects upon Stephen's government. He principally owed the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown to them; and the great barons, who eſpouſed the intereſt of the empreſs, were now encouraged into more open declarations of their deſigns; while the diſcontents of the people were greatly increaſed by this quarrel, added to many other grievances.

Invited by this opportunity, and ſecretly encouraged by the legate himſelf, the empreſs landed in England, with Robert earl of Glouceſter, and a retinue of an hundred and forty knights. She took up

up her reſidence in Arundel-caſtle, whoſe gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen dowager, now married to William de Albini, earl of Suſſex. The empreſs had hitherto made no public declaration, either of her own or her ſon's demands, upon the crown of England; but as her pretenſions were no ſecret, Stephen uſed every precaution in his power to prevent her intentions from being executed. He inſtantly marched with his army againſt the caſtle of Arundel. But the queen dowager, diſconcerted at his expedition, and being in no condition to ſuſtain a ſiege, ſent a meſſage to the king, aſſuring him, that ſhe was in no reſpect acceſſary to the landing of the empreſs, and that ſhe only entertained her from a reſpect to her birth and quality, augmented by a friendſhip long ſubſiſting between them. Stephen readily accepted the queen's apology; and ordered, that the empreſs ſhould be ſafely conducted to any place in his dominions ſhe might chuſe for her reſidence. Briſtol was named on the part of the empreſs; and the king accordingly ſent his own brother, and Walleran earl of Mellent, to conduct her ſafely to that city, with an eſcort ſuitable to her quality. The earl attended her to Colne, in Wiltſhire, and the biſhop continued with her till ſhe was received by Robert, earl of Glouceſter, at the head of a body of forces.

As ſoon as ſhe reached Briſtol, ſhe openly declared her title, and aſſerted her claim to the crown of England, requiring all her ſubjects to come and pay their allegiance. This produced the deſired effect; the people flocked to her from every quarter, and ſeemed to vie with each other in duty and affection. But what was ſtill of more conſequence to her intereſt, was the acquiſition of Miles, high conſtable of England, who abandoned the party of Stephen, and declared for the empreſs. This nobleman, who was then in poſſeſſion of the caſtle and city of Glouceſter, one of the moſt important fortreſſes in the kingdom, as it commanded all the adjacent country to the borders of Wales. He had alſo great intereſt with many powerful noblemen, and was poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, which he freely gave the empreſs, for the ſupport of her intereſt and family. His example was ſoon after followed by Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, William Fitz-John, William Fitz-Alan, Paganell, and many other barons; by which means, the party of the empreſs was ſoon able to contend with Stephen for the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown.

It would be of little uſe to the reader, were we to mention all the military events that happened at this period, as they were of little conſequence in themſelves, and are related in ſo confuſed a manner, both with regard to time and place, by cotemporary hiſtorians, that they afford neither inſtruction nor entertainment. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the war was ſpread in every quarter of the kingdom, and that thoſe turbulent barons, who had already, in a great meaſure, ſhaken off the reſtraint of government, having now obtained the pretence of a public cauſe, carried on their devaſtations with redoubled fury, exerciſed the moſt implacable vengeance on each other, and ſet no bounds to their oppreſſions over the people. The caſtles of the nobility were become receptacles of licenſed robbers, who ſallying forth day and night, committed the moſt cruel ravages on the open country, the villages, and, even on many of the cities; put their captives to the torture, in order to make them diſcover their treaſures; ſold their perſons into ſlavery, and ſet fire to their houſes, after pillaging them of every thing valuable. But the fierceneſs of their diſpoſition, leading them to commit wanton deſtruction, their rapacity was fruſtrated of its purpoſe, and the property and perſons, even of the eccleſiaſtics, generally ſo highly revered, were, at laſt, from neceſſity, ſubject to the ſame outrages, which had laid waſte the reſt of the kingdom. The land was left untilled, the implements of huſbandry deſtroyed or abandoned, and a dreadful famine, the natural conſequence of theſe diſorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the inhuman ſpoilers, as well as the defenceleſs people, to the unrelenting attacks of hunger and want.

A. D. 1140. In this ſhocking exigence, recourſe was had to negotiation, and treaties between the contending parties were frequently made, and as frequently broken. But theſe attempts never interrupted thoſe deſtructive hoſtilities which had already filled the whole kingdom with blood and ſlaughter. At laſt an event happened, which ſeemed to promiſe the reſtoration of tranquillity. Ralph, earl of Cheſter, who had lately married the daughter of the earl of Glouceſter, was now firmly attached to the empreſs. This nobleman, aſſiſted by his half brother, William de Roumara, ſurprized the caſtle of Lincoln: upon which the citizens, who adhered to Stephen, invited the king to aſſiſt them in retaking the fortreſs. This meſſage had the deſired effect, and Stephen advanced in order to beſiege the caſtle.

In the mean time, the earl of Cheſter, apprized of the king's deſign, and finding himſelf in no condition to maintain a ſiege, left his counteſs in the caſtle, and repaired to his eſtate on the borders of Wales, in order to ſollicit aſſiſtance from the Welſh princes. He alſo applied to the duke of Glouceſter, and it was determined in the council of the empreſs, to come to a deciſive battle with Stephen, who was now carrying on the ſiege of Lincoln-caſtle with great vigour.

A. D. 1141. The king received early intelligence of the enemy's intentions, and determined to meet the forces of the empreſs in the open field. Accordingly he raiſed the ſiege of the caſtle, which he knew muſt fall into the hands of the victorious party. The king's army was inferior in number to that of the empreſs, who depended chiefly on the Welſh, a people deſpiſed by Stephen.

The army of the empreſs was divided into four bodies. The firſt was compoſed of Welſh, and headed by two of their princes; the earl of Cheſter led the ſecond, which was compoſed of his own tenants; the third conſiſted wholly of perſons whom Stephen had outlawed, and ſeized on their eſtates; and the fourth, compoſed of foreign mercenaries, and Engliſh forces, who had joined the empreſs, was led by the earl of Glouceſter. Stephen alſo divided his army into four bodies; the earl of Mellent, was at the head of the cavalry; while he himſelf, William de Ypres, and Allen, duke of Britany, commanded the other three.

The battle was begun by William de Ypres, who attacked the Welſh at the head of his diviſion, with ſuch vigour, that they were ſoon thrown into diſorder. But at the ſame time, the diviſion of the outlaws, fell with equal fury on the diviſion commanded by the duke of Britany, who, though ſupported by the earl of Mellent and his cavalry, was totally routed. In the mean time, the earl of Cheſ-

ter, obſerving the diſorder of the Welſh, detached a body of forces to their relief. This aſſiſtance entirely changed the fortune of the day in favour of the empreſs. A total rout of the cavalry and the diviſion under de Ypres enſued; and that able general himſelf, together with the brave Albermarle, earl of Yorkſhire, who had alſo a poſt in the ſame diviſion, was obliged to abandon the field of battle. The fortune of the day now entirely depended on Stephen's own diviſion, which ſtill continued unbroken, and animated by his preſence and example, oppoſed the repeated attacks of the enemy. Armed with a battle-axe, and fearleſs of danger, he led them on, and performed wonders in his own perſon. Alone he was irreſiſtable, and excited admiration even in his enemies; but borne down by numbers, which preſſed him on every ſide, he was at length taken priſoner.

The earl of Glouceſter, to whom Stephen delivered his ſword, had too great a ſoul to treat his priſoner with diſreſpect; he paid him every honour due to the character of royalty, while he continued in his cuſtody. But being afterwards delivered up to the empreſs, he was ſoon after thrown into priſon, and loaded with irons.

Stephen's party was entirely broke by the captivity of their leader; and Maud muſt have remained the ſole, and undiſputed miſtreſs of the Engliſh crown, had not her good fortune been blaſted by that impotence of mind which proſperity alone diſcovers. Tho' patient under misfortunes, her temper was froward and peeviſh, and her diſpoſition tyrannical. She arrived at power, that ſhe might be arbitrary; and ſought the crown that ſhe might exerciſe an uncontrouled and deſpotic authority. She was, however, convinced that it was neceſſary to gain the confidence of the clergy, in order to ſecure ſucceſs, and therefore neceſſary for her to ſubmit, in appearance, before ſhe could gain the ſceptre of royalty. The conduct of the legate had been, for ſome time, very ambiguous, and ſhewed that his intentions were rather to humble than ruin his brother. She therefore treated him with the greateſt reſpect, and had recourſe to every art to fix him in her intereſt. She held a conference with him in an open plain near Wincheſter; where ſhe promiſed upon oath, that if he would acknowledge her for his ſovereign, recognize her title as the ſole deſcendant from the late king, and return to the allegiance which both himſelf and the reſt of the clergy had ſworn to her, he ſhould, in return, be ſole miniſter, and diſpoſe of all vacant biſhoprics, and abbies, at his own pleaſure. Earl Robert her brother, Brian Fitz-Count, Miles, earl of Hereford, and ſeveral other great men became guarantees for her obſervance of theſe engagements. Theſe offers were too powerful to be rejected by the ambitious legate; he promiſed the empreſs his allegiance, but upon expreſs conditions, that ſhe ſhould, on her part, fulfil her promiſes.

The next day the empreſs was conducted to the cathedral church of Wincheſter in ſolemn proceſſion, the legate leading her by the right, and the biſhop of St. David's by the left hand, attended by a long train of nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal. The empreſs being ſeated, the legate denounced curſes againſt all her enemies, and poured out bleſſings upon her friends; granted abſolutions to all that were obedient to her, and excommunicated ſuch as were rebellious.

The gaining of the legate was one principal point ſecured; but there was another of great conſequence ſtill remaining to be ſettled; this was to prevail upon Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to recognize Maud's title. This prelate, from a conſcientious ſcruple relative to the legality of ſwearing fealty to two competitors for the crown, had abſented himſelf from the conference held between Maud and Henry. This behaviour of the primate could not fail of giving uneaſineſs to Maud's party, and it was determined to gain the archbiſhop over to their intereſt. Accordingly, the court removed to the monaſtery of Wilton, where the legate required the attendance of Theobald, aſſuring him that ſuch arguments would be offered, as could not fail of removing effectually all his preſent ſcruples. The archbiſhop obeyed the ſummons of the legate; but when he was deſired to acknowledge the empreſs Maud as ſovereign of England, he declared that his conſcience would not permit him to comply, until Stephen, the ſovereign to whom he had already ſworn allegiance, ſhould abſolve him from his oath, and leave him at liberty to follow his own inclinations. He therefore requeſted permiſſion to viſit the unfortunate Stephen, in order to receive from his own mouth the anſwer that was to regulate his future proceedings. This requeſt was very readily complied with, and the prelate, attended by moſt of the clergy, and a great number of the laity, repaired to Briſtol, where they found the monarch ingloriouſly fettered like a common malefactor. Oppreſſed with the weight of his misfortunes, and knowing the conſequence of a refuſal in his preſent condition muſt be fatal, Stephen conſented to diſpenſe with the primate's fealty, and gave both him and the nobles who attended him, free liberty to comply with the neceſſities of the times. This conceſſion, which the exigence of his circumſtances forced from Stephen, was conſidered as an act of free-will, and the archbiſhop, on his return, joined with the legate, and promiſed allegiance to the empreſs.

During theſe tranſactions the royal party was greatly weakened, and all the hopes of the diſtreſſed Stephen depended upon the diſobliging imprudence and haughtineſs of the empreſs, which ſoon after gave her enemies advantages they could never have expected, either from their arms or their councils. She was, however, ſo deſirous of inſuring the attachment of the clergy, that ſhe was willing to receive the crown from their hands: and inſiſted of aſſembling the ſtates of the kingdom, as the conſtitution required, ſhe was contented that the legate ſhould ſummon an eccleſiaſtical council, and that her title to the crown ſhould be there recognized and acknowledged.

The legate, accordingly, called a general aſſembly of the clergy; and well knowing that their importance would be greatly diminiſhed if they did not act unanimouſly, omitted nothing in his power to bring them over to the party of the empreſs. The night before the aſſembly met, the legate applied to ſeveral of the members, who were the moſt likely to make the greateſt oppoſition, and had the addreſs to perſuade them to avail themſelves of the preſent juncture.

Every thing being thus previouſly ſettled, the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the legate, who, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, told them, that in the abſence of the empreſs, Stephen, his brother, had

had been permitted to reign, and, previouſly to his aſcending the throne, had ſeduced them by many fair promiſes, of honouring and exalting the church, of maintaining the laws, and of reforming abuſes: that it grieved him to obſerve how much that prince had been, in every particular, wanting to his engagements; public peace was interrupted, crimes were daily committed with impunity, biſhops were thrown into priſon, and forced to ſurrender their poſſeſſions, abbies were put to ſale, churches were pillaged, and the moſt enormous diſorders prevailed in the adminiſtration: that he himſelf, in order to procure a redreſs of thoſe grievances, had formerly ſummoned the king before a council of biſhops; but inſtead of inducing him to amend his conduct, he had rather offended him by that expedient: that however miſguided that prince might be, he was ſtill his brother, and the object of his affections; but he could not help regarding his intereſts as much ſubordinate to thoſe of his heavenly father, who had now rejected him, and delivered him into the hands of his enemies: that it principally belonged to the clergy to elect and ordain king's; he had therefore ſummoned them together for that purpoſe; and having invoked the divine aſſiſtance, he now pronounced Matilda or Maud, the only deſcendant of Henry, their late ſovereign, queen of England.

This ſpeech was received very differently by the ſeveral members of the aſſembly, ſome expreſſing their approbation by a loud applauſe, while others continued ſilent; but none had the boldneſs to appoſe what they could not approve. The legate then acquainted the aſſembly that he had taken care to ſummon the city of London, whoſe influence on public affairs was, at leaſt, equal to that of the greateſt nobleman, to ſend deputies to the council, and had furniſhed them with paſſports for that purpoſe: that he expected them the next day, and that it was therefore proper to ſuſpend the buſineſs till their arrival.

The city of London ſeems to have been at this time the place in which all public ſpirit centered, and was alone capable of checking the preſumption of this aſſembly. Stephen had endeared himſelf to the citizens, by the openneſs of his conduct, by his royal qualities, and the virtues of his queen Matilda. On their entering the council, they were required not to give their opinion, but to ſubmit to the decrees of the ſynod, The deputies, however, were not ſo paſſive: they inſiſted that their king ſhould be releaſed out of priſon. The legate anſwered, with all the contempt of pontifical arrogance, that it did not become the Londoners, who were regarded as noblemen in England, to take part with thoſe barons, who had baſely forſaken their maſter in battle; with thoſe by whoſe advice he had diſhonoured the holy church, and who joined the citizens only to defraud them of their money. The deputies finding all their oppoſition would be vain, left the aſſembly, after declaring that they would report faithfully to their principals the ſucceſs of their deputation.

The city of London, notwithſtanding its great power, and its attachment to Stephen, was however obliged to comply with the neceſſities of the times, and ſubmit to the empreſs, whoſe authority, by the prudent conduct of earl Robert, ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed over the whole kingdom: but affairs did not continue long in this ſituation. That princeſs knew not how to temper with affability the harſhneſs of a refuſal. Stephen's queen, ſeconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her huſband; and offered, if her requeſt was granted, that he ſhould renounce the crown and retire into a convent. The legate deſired that his nephew, prince Euſtace, might inherit Boulogne, with the other patrimonial eſtates of his father: and the Londoners applied for the eſtabliſhment of king Edward's laws, inſtead of thoſe of king Henry, which they conſidered as grievous and oppreſſive. But all theſe petitions were rejected by the empreſs in the moſt haughty and peremptory manner.

This refuſal ſo highly exaſperated the haughty prelate, who had probably never been ſincere in complying with Maud's government, that, availing himſelf of the ill humour excited by this imperious conduct, he ſecretly inſtigated the Londoners to a revolt; and a conſpiracy was accordingly formed for ſeizing the perſon of the empreſs. But this deſign was not kept ſo ſecret but the empreſs obtained ſome intelligence of it, on which ſhe retired haſtily to Glouceſter, in order to have recourſe to the counſel of the earl of Hereford, being diſguſted with her brother the earl of Glouceſter, who had adviſed her to purſue conciliating meaſures, contrary to her arbitrary inclinations. She, however, ſoon after repaired to Oxford, where ſhe ordered a general rendezvous of her troops and party.

In the mean time the earl of Glouceſter repaired to Wincheſter, with a view of bringing about a reconciliation between the legate and his ſiſter; but all his endeavours proving abortive, he returned to Oxford, where he found the empreſs preparing to ſet out at the head of her army, with a deſign of reducing the legate to reaſon. She was attended by the earl of Hereford, and expected the arrival of the earl of Cheſter, who had promiſed to march to her aſſiſtance; but he had privately made his peace with the legate and the royal party. She, however, repaired with her army to Wincheſter; but the biſhop found means to eſcape, and having aſſembled all his followers, he joined his force to that of the Londoners, and Stephen's mercenary troops, who had not yet evacuated the kingdom. With theſe reinforcements he marched againſt the empreſs, took the city of Wincheſter, and beſieged Maud in the caſtle, Before he reached that fortreſs he had been joined by the earl of Cheſter, who now openly declared in favour of Stephen. The ſiege of the caſtle was preſſed with remarkable vigour, and the empreſs ſoon reduced to great extremities. But as nothing but famine could force her army to ſurrender, her generals applied their whole attention to ſecure a communication with the adjacent country. For this purpoſe they detached a ſtrong party to ſeize and fortify the monaſtery of Warwell, which lay about ſix miles from Wincheſter. But William de Ypres, who had continued faithfully attached to Stephen's fortune, advancing at the head of a body of troops drove them from the monaſtery into the church, where, refuſing to ſurrender, they all periſhed with the ſtructure, which that general reduced to aſhes.

Proviſions now began to grow very ſcarce in the caſtle; and the generals of the empreſs, fearing the conſequence, thought no time was to be loſt in making the beſt retreat in their power. The diſpoſition was made by the earl of Glouceſter, whoſe chief care was the preſervation of his ſiſter's perſon. Accordingly he drew up her forces, and ſent off the

the empreſs with the main body under the command of earl Reginald his brother; while he himſelf, at the head of no more than two hundred choſen followers, engaged to make good their retreat, and give the empreſs ſufficient time for reaching ſome place of ſafety.

Stephen's army ſoon perceived the flight of the empreſs, and attacked the rear of her army, where the earl commanded in perſon; and it was chiefly owing to the courage and example of this nobleman, aſſiſted by the king of Scotland, who ſerved under him as a volunteer, that ſo ſmall a body of men made a vigorous reſiſtance till the empreſs had time to reach the caſtle of Luggerſhal in Wiltſhire, when each was obliged to take care of his own ſafety. The Scot eſcaped by the fidelity of David Oliphant; but the earl of Glouceſter was taken priſoner near Stowbridge.

In the mean time the empreſs reached the caſtle of Luggerſhal, but finding it incapable of making any reſiſtance, ſhe was obliged to dreſs herſelf in the habit of a countryman, and fly on horſeback to the caſtle of the Devizes. But the legate was no ſooner informed of this flight, than he diſpatched thither a body of horſe to ſcour the adjacent country, and prevent her eſcape, till the main body of the army ſhould arrive to beſiege the caſtle. The empreſs was now reduced to the moſt dangerous ſituation, and in order to avoid being taken priſoner ſhe was obliged to continue her flight to Glouceſter, where ſhe was joined by Miles, earl of Hereford, who had long ſerved her with great fidelity.

The earl of Glouceſter was carried back to Wincheſter, and preſented to Matilda, Stephen's conſort, who from the noble principles of generoſity and gratitude, treated him with all the reſpect due to his rank and merit; at the ſame time ſhe had recourſe to every method in her power to bring him over to Stephen's party; but the earl continuing inflexible to the cauſe he had embraced, was, at laſt, ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Rocheſter, where he retained the ſame ſerenity of mind, as in the moſt fortunate proſperity.

This nobleman tho' only a ſubject, was as much the life and ſoul of his own party as Stephen was of the other: and the empreſs, ſenſible of his merit, conſented to exchange the priſoners upon equal terms. The earl was accordingly brought to Wincheſter, to which city the king alſo repaired on his obtaining his liberty. Stephen was a ſtranger to that jealouſy ſo common to thoſe who diſpute for empire, and therefore held a familiar and friendly diſcourſe with the earl; after which they took leave of each other, and Robert repaired to his ſiſter at Glouceſter.

A. D. 1142. The ſeaſon for action was no ſooner arrived, than both parties prepared to carry on the civil war with greater vigour than ever: but it was eaſily foreſeen, that while the empreſs, by whoſe proud and arbitrary conduct, all the advantages gained by her friends had been loſt, continued at the head of her party in England, they could never hope for ſucceſs. A general meeting of her adherents was therefore ſummoned, to meet at the Devizes, where it was agreed, that Geoffrey Plantagenet, huſband to the empreſs, ſhould be requeſted to ſend over the young prince Henry, that he might appear at the head of his partizans in England. The earl of Glouceſter accordingly went over to Normandy, which, during Stephen's captivity, had ſubmitted to the earl of Anjou. The earl ſucceeded in his commiſſion, and accordingly brought the young prince over with him into England.

In the mean time Stephen had ſurprized the caſtle of Wareham in Dorſetſhire, taken the city of Oxford, and beſieged the caſtle, whither the empreſs had retired for ſafety. But on the landing of the earl of Glouceſter, affairs put on a more pleaſing aſpect; he again reduced the caſtle of Wareham, took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Purbeck, and advanced at the head of an army to raiſe the ſiege of Oxford caſtle. Stephen had for ſome time preſſed the ſiege with the greateſt vigour, but the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the winter being now far advanced, had ſo reduced his army, that he had not troops ſufficient to ſurround the place. The empreſs took the advantage of this and eſcaped to Wallingford, where ſhe was ſoon after joined by the earl of Glouceſter; and Stephen, having reduced the caſtle of Oxford retired to London.

A. D. 1143. The war was now carried on between the parties with various ſucceſs, without any thing deciſive happening: and the empreſs, tho' of a maſculine ſpirit, yet being haraſſed with a ſtrange variety of good and bad fortune, and alarmed with continual dangers to her perſon and family, at laſt retired with her ſon into Normandy, leaving the ſole management of her affairs in England to her brother.

A. D. 1146. But not long after her departure that faithful nobleman paid the great debt of nature. He died of a fever at Glouceſter, and was buried at Briſtol. The ſteadineſs of this nobleman during the late reign of Henry; his great ſucceſs and abilities in war, and, what was more uncommon in that age, his patronage of men of genius and learning, rendered him reſpectable even to his enemies. He was an unſhaken friend to the cauſe he had embraced, and indefatigable in ſupporting it; ſo that his loſs was an irreparable misfortune to the party of the empreſs; and would doubtleſs have proved fatal to her intereſts had not ſome unforeſeen events happened which checked the courſe of Stephen's proſperity.

A. D. 1147. That prince finding, that the caſtles erected by the noblemen of his own party encouraged the ſpirit of independence, and were almoſt equally dangerous with thoſe remaining in the hands of the enemy, endeavoured to prevail on the barons to whom theſe fortreſſes belonged, to ſurrender them up, in order to ſettle the peace of the kingdom. But this equitable requeſt, inſtead of being received with applauſe, rouzed the ambitious ſpirit of many of theſe noblemen, and alienated their affections from Stephen.

But this was not the greateſt misfortune that attended this unfortunate monarch: the artillery of the church, which his brother had brought over to his party, had, after ſome interval, joined the enemy. Eugenius III. had mounted the papal throne, and deprived the biſhop of Wincheſter of the legantine commiſſion, conferring it on Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the enemy and rival of the former legate.

Eugenius having ſummoned a general council at Rheims in Champagne, inſtead of allowing the church of England, as had been uſual, to elect its own deputies, nominated five Engliſh biſhops to repreſent that church, and required their preſence in the council. Stephen, who, notwithſtanding his

preſent

preſent difficulties, was jealous of the rights of his crown, refuſed them permiſſion to attend; and the pope, ſenſible of his advantage in conteſting with a prince whoſe title was diſputed, laid all Stephen's party under an interdict. By this ſentence, which was now firſt known in England, divine ſervice was prohibited, and all the functions of religion ceaſed, except the baptiſm of infants, and the abſolution of dying perſons. The diſcontents of the royaliſts, at this ſituation, were augmented by a compariſon with Maud's party, who enjoyed all the benefits of the ſacred ordinances: and Stephen was at laſt obliged to remove this reproach from his party, by making proper ſubmiſſions to the ſee of Rome

A. D. 1148. Both parties being now ſufficiently weakened, a tacit ceſſation of arms enſued, when the preaching of St. Barnard, abbot of Clareville, revived the frenzy of cruſades, notwithſtanding all the diſappointments and misfortunes which had attended all the former religious expeditions of this nature: and many of the Engliſh nobility, particularly Roger de Mowbray and William de Warrenne, finding no opportunity to exert their military ardour at home, engaged in this romantic expedition. But an event ſoon after happened which threatened a revival of hoſtilities in England. Prince Henry, who had now reached his ſeventeenth year, was deſirous of receiving the honour of knighthood; a ceremony which every gentleman in that age paſſed through before he was admitted to the uſe of arms, and which was even conſidered as requiſite for the greateſt princes. At the ſame time the young prince propoſed to receive his admiſſion from his great-uncle David king of Scotland; and for that purpoſe paſſed through England with a large retinue, attended by the moſt conſiderable of his partizans. He ſtaid ſome time with the king of Scotland; made ſome incurſions into England; and by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exerciſes; by his valour in war, and his prudent conduct in every occurrence of life, he rouzed the hopes of his party, and gave indications of thoſe great qualities which he afterwards diſplayed when he aſcended the throne of England.

A. D. 1150. His father Geoffrey dying ſoon after Henry's return from Scotland, he was inveſted, by the conſent of his mother, with the dutchy of Normandy, and alſo took poſſeſſion of the provinces of Anjou and Maine. About the ſame time he contracted a marriage, by which he acquired a great acceſſion of power, and became very formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heireſs of William duke of Guienne, and earl of Poictou, had been married ſixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a cruſade, which that monarch commanded againſt the infidels: but having there loſt the affections of her huſband, and even fallen under ſome ſuſpicions of gallantry with a handſome Saracen, Lewis, more delicate than politic, procured a divorce from her, and even reſtored to her thoſe rich provinces, which ſhe had annexed, by her marriage, to the crown of France. Young Henry, neither diſcouraged by the inequality of years, nor by the reports of Eleanor's gallantry, made his addreſſes to that princeſs, and married her in ſix weeks after her divorce, by which he attained poſſeſſion of all her dominions as her dowry.

A. D. 1152. This acquiſition of power had ſuch effects on his party in England, that they formed themſelves into confederacies, and determined to exert themſelves in defence of the lawful heir to the Engliſh crown. Stephen, not imagining that this ſpirit of party could have any effect on his intereſt, and deſirous of inſuring the crown to Euſtace his eldeſt ſon, required the archbiſhop of Canterbury to anoint that prince as his ſucceſſor. But the primate, to the aſtoniſhment of the king, refuſed to comply, and to avoid the violence and revenge of Stephen, made his eſcape to the continent.

A. D. 1153. This refuſal animated ſtill more the party of Henry, and meſſages were ſent to that prince, requeſting his preſence in England. Henry readily liſtened to theſe importunities, and, attended by a ſmall number of troops, he embarked for that kingdom, where his forces were ſoon increaſed to a very conſiderable army. The great reputation he had already acquired on the continent, ſtrengthened his claim of right; and all who had appeared in arms for the empreſs, were now ready to join her ſon. His firſt attempt was upon the caſtle of Malmſbury, which he reduced before Stephen had any information of its being beſieged. This ſucceſs animated the partizans of Henry, whoſe army increaſed every day by additional ſuccours from all parts. In the mean time, Stephen aſſembled a powerful body of troops and marched againſt Henry, and the two parties met in the plain near Wallingford.

A deciſive action was now every moment expected: when the great men on both ſides, terrified with the proſpect of farther bloodſhed and confuſion, interpoſed with their good offices, and ſet on foot a negotiation between them. A ceſſation of arms was ſoon after proclaimed at the head of both armies, and all hoſtile thoughts were forgot in mutual embraces.

Euſtace alone appeared dejected on this occaſion. He eaſily foreſaw that there could be no agreement between his father and a prince of Henry's ambitious temper, but what muſt be greatly to his prejudice. His late and near proſpect of being raiſed to the throne, embittered his reflections. He warmly expoſtulated with his father, who was far from being wanting in parental affection, but in vain: Stephen was obliged to give way to the neceſſities of the times. Filled with rage and deſpair, Euſtace left the army and retired into Cambridgeſhire, where he took the field at the head of an independent body of troops, reſolving to lay the whole country waſte, without even ſparing the moſt ſacred edifices. But he did not long continue to exerciſe theſe acts of cruelty; for he died ſoon after at St. Edmundſbury, and was buried at Feverſham, near his mother, the excellent Matilda, who had paid the great debt of nature about three months before.

The death of this prince greatly facilitated the negotiation ſtill carrying on between Stephen and Henry. The biſhop of Wincheſter was alſo now deſirous of concluding a peace between the two princes. That pragmatical prelate, the flame of whoſe ambition had lighted up the torch of war that had ſo long deſolated the kingdom, ſeeing no proſpect of the ſceptre's continuing in his family, began now to cheriſh pacific ſentiments. Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was now returned to England, and reinſtated in all his former dignities and poſſeſſions, laboured alſo with great earneſtneſs to accompliſh the deſirable work of peace, which was at laſt adjuſted. The articles being drawn up,

it was agreed to call a general council of the nobility at Wincheſter, where the whole was to be ratified.

The council being met, the accommodation was accordingly ratified, and contained the following conditions:

"That Stephen ſhould poſſeſs the crown during his life-time; that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in his name, even in the provinces which had ſubmitted to Henry; and that the latter ſhould, on Stephen's death, ſucceed to the kingdom.

"That William, Stephen's ſon, ſhould enjoy all the lands poſſeſſed by his father, both in England and Normandy, before his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne."

The treaty being thus concluded, the barons did homage to Henry, as lawful heir to the crown, and the two princes repaired to London, that Henry might receive the fealty of the citizens. They were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy by the people, who now hoped they ſaw a final period to all their miſeries. Henry ſoon after embarked for Normandy, and Stephen employed the leiſure hours of reſtored tranquillity, in making a progreſs through his kingdom; reforming all abuſes, and iſſuing ſeveral edicts in favour of his diſtreſſed people.

A. D. 1154. But Stephen did not long enjoy this proſperity, nor his country the aſſiſtance of a very able ſtateſman. He died of the illiac paſſion on the twenty-fifth of October, in the fiftieth year of his age; and was buried in the abbey church of Feverſham, which he himſelf had founded.

Stephen was a prince of great courage, fortitude, and activity: and might have ſwayed the ſceptre with the approbation of his people, had he ſucceeded to the throne by a juſt title. He was undoubtedly the moſt amiable, both in his perſon and qualities, of all the Norman princes who had enjoyed the crown of England. He poſſeſſed, in a very remarkable manner, the talents of gaining mens affections; and, notwithſtanding his precarious ſituation, never indulged himſelf in the exerciſe of any cruelty or revenge. His advancement to the throne, procured him neither tranquillity nor happineſs; and though the ſituation of England prevented the neighbouring ſtates from taking any durable advantage of her confuſions, her inteſtine wars and diſorders were, to the laſt degree, ruinous and deſtructive. The court of Rome alſo was permitted, during theſe diſorders, to make farther advances in her uſurpations; and appeals to the pope, which had been always ſtrictly prohibited by the Engliſh laws, became now common in every eccleſiaſtical controverſy. So true is it, that one diſorder in a ſtate, is generally the parent of another.

BOOK VII.

From the Acceſſion of Henry II. *when the* Saxon *line was reſtored, to the death of* Richard II.

HENRY II.

THE miſeries ſo long endured by the Engliſh, rendered even a partial tranquillity ſo very agreeable, that perſons of all ranks, parties and profeſſions, vied with each other in demonſtrating their affection for Henry, who therefore came to the crown with the two greateſt advantages that can attend any prince, an indiſputed title, and a great reputation. At the ſame time, he was maſter, in right of his father, of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; in that of his mother of Normandy; in that of his wife, Guienne, Poictou, Xantonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumais, and Limouſin. He ſoon after annexed Britany to his other ſtates, and was already poſſeſſed of the ſuperiority over that province, which, on the firſt ceſſion of Normandy to Rollo the Dane, had, by Charles the ſimple, been granted, in vaſſalage, to that formidable ravager. Theſe provinces compoſed above a third of the whole monarchy of France, and were much ſuperior in extent and opulence, to thoſe territories which were ſubjected to the immediate juriſdiction and government of the king. The vaſſal was therefore more powerful than his liege lord: and when England was added to ſo many provinces, the French king had ſufficient reaſon to apprehend, from this conjuncture, ſome great diſaſter to himſelf and his family. But, in reality, this very circumſtance which appeared ſo formidable, ſaved that race of kings from deſtruction; and, by its conſequences, exalted them to that pitch of grandeur they at preſent enjoy.

But as theſe important conſequences could not be foreſeen by human wiſdom, the French king remarked, with terror, the riſing grandeur of the houſe of Anjou; and in order to retard its progreſs, had always maintained a ſtrict union with Stephen, and ſincerely laboured to ſupport the tottering fortunes of that daring uſurper. But when that prince had left the regions of mortality, it was too late to think of oppoſing the ſucceſſion of Henry, or preventing the performance of thoſe ſtipulations, which, with the unanimous conſent of the nation, he had made with his predeceſſor. At the ſame time, the Engliſh, who were acquainted with his noble qualities, were rather pleaſed to ſee the acceſſion of ſo many foreign dominions to the crown of England, than to entertain the leaſt thoughts of reſiſting him.

Senſible of theſe advantages, Henry was in no hurry to embark for England; and being engaged in the ſiege of a caſtle ſituated on the frontiers of Normandy, when he received intelligence of Stephen's death, he made it a point of honour not to abandon his enterprize till he had brought it to an iſſue.

HENRY II.

Wale del *Grignion Sculpt.*

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

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iſſue. But this being accompliſhed, he embarked for England, where he landed on the eighth of December, and was received with the acclamations of all orders, who readily took the oaths of fealty and allegiance.

On the nineteenth of the ſame month he was crowned at Weſtminſter, together with his queen Eleanor, by Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury. After his coronation, he retired to the abbey of Bermondſey, with an intention, as he pretended, to keep his Chriſtmas; but, in reality, to lay the foundation of a ſolid and happy peace to his government, from a perſuaſion that the preſent tranquillity was deceitful.

A. D. 1155. He began with diſmiſſing all thoſe mercenary ſoldiers, who had committed infinite diſorders in the kingdom. Theſe he ſent abroad, together with their leader, William de Ypres, the great friend and confidant of Stephen. He revoked all the grants made by his predeceſſor, and even thoſe which neceſſity had extorted from the empreſs his mother; and that princeſs, who had reſigned her rights in favour of Henry, made no oppoſition to a meaſure ſo neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the crown. He repaired the coin which had been ſhamefully debaſed during the late confuſions, and took proper meaſures for preventing a return of the like abuſes. He was rigorous in the execution of juſtice, and in the ſuppreſſion of robbery and violence; and that he might reſtore authority to the laws, he cauſed all the new erected caſtles to be demoliſhed, which had proved ſo many ſanctuaries to rebels and freebooters. The earl of Albermarle, Hugh Mortimer, and Roger, the ſon of Miles, earl of Hereford, were inclined to make ſome reſiſtance to this ſalutary meaſure; but the king calling a general council of the nation, all their ſchemes were diſconcerted, and they were obliged to ſubmit.

By theſe, and other acts of popularity, Henry ſo endeared himſelf to the people of England, that he found himſelf ſettled on the throne in perfect tranquillity. But his mind was too active to ſink into a ſtate of indolence; he meditated new conqueſts, and ambition ſoon pointed out the kingdom of Ireland. He accordingly obtained a bull for the conqueſt of that iſland, from Adrian IV. who then filled the papal chair. But the expedition was, for ſome time, delayed. Perhaps Henry was deſirous of knowing how the Iriſh themſelves were affected with regard to this intended revolution; for the bull was carried over into Ireland, and publicly read by the biſhop of Saliſbury, in a ſynod held at Waterford; when that prelate alſo produced a ring ſent to Henry by the pope, as an evidence of his having inveſted him with the government of that kingdom.

A. D. 1156. In the mean time Henry embarked for Normandy, in order to oppoſe the attempts of his brother Geoffrey, who, during his abſence, had made an incurſion into Anjou and Maine, and taken poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of theſe provinces, to which he pretended a right. On the king's appearance, the people returned to their allegiance; and Geoffrey, finding it would be in vain to contend with the ſuperior power of his brother, reſigned his claim for an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds. But, at the ſame time, Geoffrey took poſſeſſion of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Noel, their prince, put into his hands.

Having thus ſettled affairs in Normandy, he returned to England, where the reſtleſs Welſh, unterrified at Henry's great ſucceſs, had made ſeveral cruel invaſions. On his return, Cadwallader, brother to Owen, one of the princes of Wales, applied to Henry for protection, and encouraged him to revenge the inſults of the Welſh, by invading their country. Henry accordingly marched at the head of a powerful army to Wincheſter, where he received advice, that Owen had advanced as far as Baſingweark to meet him. Henry immediately reſolved to attack the Welſh prince, and accordingly ſet out, at the head of a detachment, conſiſting of the flower of his army, to give him battle. but in his march through a thick wood, he was attacked by the enemy, and the Engliſh, being pent up on every ſide, by eminences poſſeſſed by the Welſh, were very roughly handled. In the midſt of this confuſion, Henry de Eſſex, hereditary ſtandard-bearer, being ſeized with a panic, let the royal ſtandard drop from his hands, and betook himſelf to flight, exclaiming that the king was ſlain. But Henry ſoon appeared in perſon, rallied his troops, and brought them off with great honour, tho' with conſiderable loſs.

This action, however, produced one good effect, it rendered him more cautious in his proceedings againſt a people, who knew how to make the beſt advantage of their ſituation, and had often baffled the armies of England. Deſpairing, therefore, of forcing his way thro' paſſes guarded by ſuch an army, he attempted to march between Owen and the ſea-ſhore, into the heart of Wales; but the vigilant prince gained a march upon him, and again poſted his troops ſo advantageouſly, that the king was obliged to retreat to Rutland caſtle. Theſe diſappointments diſpoſed Henry to liſten to terms of accommodation propoſed by Owen, and a peace was accordingly concluded between them, on condition of the latter's paying the uſual tribute, and reſtoring his brother to his eſtate.

Soon after the king's return from this expedition, Henry de Eſſex was accuſed of treaſon and cowardice, by Henry de Montfort. As the fact was notorious, the accuſed had no other defence, than that of ſingle combat, in which he was vanquiſhed by his accuſer. The king, however, thought proper to ſave his life, which was now forfeited, but confiſcated his eſtate, and ſhut him up in a monaſtery.

A. D. 1158. Geoffrey, the king's brother, who, as already obſerved, had taken poſſeſſion of Nantz, died ſoon after obtaining this acquiſition; and though he had no other title to that county, than the voluntary ſubmiſſion or election of the inhabitants, Henry laid claim to the territory as devolved to him by hereditary right, and went over to ſupport his pretenſions by force of arms. Conan, duke or earl of Britany, pretended that Nantz had been lately ſeparated by rebellion from his principality, to which of right it belonged; and accordingly, on the death of Geoffrey, took poſſeſſion of the diſputed territory. Henry, in order to prevent Lewis, the French king, from interpoſing in this controverſy, paid him a viſit; and ſo allured him by careſſes and civilities, than an alliance was contracted between the two monarchs, and they agreed that young Henry, heir to the Engliſh crown, ſhould be betrothed to Margaret of France, though the former was only five years of age, and the latter ſtill

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in her cradle. Secure from meeting with any interruption from France, Henry now advanced at the head of his army into Britany; and Conan, deſpairing of ſucceſs againſt ſo powerful an enemy, delivered up the county of Nantz to the Engliſh monarch. But this incident procured Henry ſtill greater advantages than the ſurrender of Nantz. Conan, harraſſed by the turbulent diſpoſition of his ſubjects, was deſirous of procuring the ſupport of ſo powerful a monarch; and accordingly betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third ſon, who was then of the ſame tender years.

A. D. 1159. But even theſe acquiſitions were far from ſatisfying the ambition of Henry; he was now reſolved to carry into execution, his grand project of conquering the city of Tholouſe, with all its dependencies. Philippa, mother to queen Eleanor, was the only iſſue of William IV. count of Tholouſe; and ſhould have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, deſirous of preſerving the ſucceſſion in the male-line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de St. Giles, by a contract of ſale, which, in that age, was regarded as fictitious and illuſory. By this means the county of Tholouſe came to be diſputed between the male and female heirs; and the one or the other, as opportunities favoured their pretenſions, had obtained poſſeſſion. Alphonſo, the ſon of Raymond, was the reigning ſovereign; and on Henry's reviving his wife's claim, had recourſe for protection to the king of France, who was ſo greatly concerned to prevent any farther aggrandiſement of the Engliſh monarch. Lewis himſelf, when married to Eleanor, had aſſerted the juſtice of her claim, and, in conſequence, demanded poſſeſſion of Tholouſe; but his ſentiments changing with his intereſt, he now determined to defend, by his power and authority, the title of Alphonſo. Henry was therefore convinced that nothing but a powerful army could ſupport his pretenſions.

The feudal conſtitution required that each military tenant ſhould attend the prince, with a certain number of his vaſſals. But Henry, convinced from experience, that an army compoſed of ſuch troops was very untractable and undiſciplined, levied upon his vaſſals in Normandy and other provinces, remote from Tholouſe, a ſum of money inſtead of their ſervice; and this commutation, by reaſon of the great diſtance, was ſtill more advantageous for his Engliſh vaſſals. He therefore impoſed a ſeutage of three pounds on every knight's fee, a condition, which though unuſual, perhaps the firſt to be met with in hiſtory, the military tenants willingly paid; and with this money Henry levied an army which was more under his command, and whoſe ſervice was alſo more durable and conſtant.

In the mean time, he had taken care to gain over to his party, Berenger, count of Barcelona, and Trincavel, count of Niſmes. Aſſiſted by theſe princes he invaded the county of Tholouſe; and after taking Verdun, Caſtelnau, and other places, he beſieged the capital of the province, and was likely to ſucceed in his attempt, when Lewis, advancing before the main body of his army, threw himſelf into the place, with a ſmall reinforcement. Henry was urged by ſome of his miniſters, to proſecute the ſiege, take Lewis priſoner, and impoſe his own terms in the pacification; but he either thought it ſo much his intereſt to maintain the feudal principles, by which his ſovereign dominions were ſecured, or bore ſo much reſpect to his ſuperior lord, that he declared he would not attack a place defended by him in perſon. Accordingly he immediately raiſed the ſiege, and marched directly into Normandy to oppoſe his brother the count of Dreux, who, at the inſtigation of Lewis, had made an inroad into that province.

War was now openly declared between the two monarchs, but produced no memorable event, and was ſtopped by a ceſſation of arms, and afterwards terminated by a peace. But this pacification did not reſtore the former confidence and good underſtanding between thoſe two rival princes.

A. D. 1160. The caſtle of Giſors, being part of the dowry ſtipulated to Margaret of France, had been conſigned, by agreement, to the knights templars, on condition, that it ſhould be delivered into Henry's hands, immediately after the celebration of the nuptials. The Engliſh monarch was very deſirous of being maſter of that important fortreſs; and, in order to have a pretence for demanding it, ordered the marriage to be ſolemnized between the prince and princeſs, tho' both were infants; and engaged the maſter of the Templars, by large preſents, to put him in poſſeſſion of Giſors.

An action like this, ſo inconſiſtent with a king or a gentleman, could not fail of exaſperating Lewis to the higheſt degree. His firſt reſentment fell upon the Templars, to whom the cuſtody of the caſtle had been committed, and who were baniſhed from his dominions. Nor would he have ſtopped there, had not pope Alexander the third, who had been driven from Rome by the antipope, Victor the fourth, and then reſided in France, interpoſed his good offices, in order to bring about an accommodation. We may form ſome notion of the authority poſſeſſed by the Roman pontiff, during theſe ages of ſuperſtitious bigotry, by the behaviour of theſe two princes. They had, the year before this tranſaction happened, met the pope at the caſtle of Torci upon the Loir; and paid him ſuch marks of reſpect, that both diſmounted from their horſes to receive him, and holding each of them one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his ſide, and conducted him in that ſubmiſſive manner into the caſtle.

A. D. 1162. Henry had now reſided ſo long in Normandy, that his affairs in England required his preſence. He accordingly embarked, and landed at Southampton, where he was received by all the nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal, with great demonſtrations of joy. Soon after his arrival, he began an enterprize, which occaſioned him infinite diſquietudes. The clergy had, for ſeveral years, been making gradual advances on the prerogative of the crown, and their power was now arrived to ſuch an amazing height, that it became doubtful, whether the king, or the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſhould be conſidered as the head of the kingdom. Henry had, for ſome time, determined to ſtop the rapid courſe of eccleſiaſtical ambition; but the mild character, and advanced age of Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, together with his merit, in refuſing to place the crown on the head of Euſtace, the ſon of Stephen, prevented Henry, during the lifetime of that prelate, from taking any meaſures againſt the multiplied encroachments of that clergy. That obſtacle was, however, now removed, the biſhop having, ſome time ſince, paid the debt

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of nature, and Thomas-a-Becket, the chancellor, placed in the archiepiſcopal ſee.

Becket had been raiſed by Theobald to conſiderable preferments in the church, and on Henry's acceſſion to the crown, was recommended to him by that primate as a perſon worthy of his confidence and favour. Henry accordingly promoted him to ſeveral places of truſt, and ſoon after to that of chancellor, one of the firſt civil offices in the kingdom. After obtaining that high poſt, Becket was made provoſt of Beverly, dean of Haſtings, and conſtable of the Tower: he was put in poſſeſſion of the honours of Eye and Berkham, two large baronies, which had eſcheated to the crown; and, to complete his grandeur, he was entruſted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, and heir apparent to the crown. The pomp of his retinue, the ſumptuouſneſs of his furniture, the luxury of his table, and the munificence of his preſents, were conformable to theſe great preferments, or rather exceeded any thing which England had before ſeen in any ſubject. A great number of knights were retained in his ſervice; the greateſt barons were proud of being received at his table; his houſe was a place of education for the ſons of the chief nobility; and the king himſelf frequently condeſcended to take part of his entertainments. As his way of life was ſplendid and opulent, ſo his amuſements and occupations were gay and ſprightly. He employed himſelf, at leiſure hours, in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horſemanſhip; he expoſed his perſon in ſeveral military actions; he carried over, at his own expence, ſeven hundred knights to attend the king in his wars at Tholouſe; in the ſubſequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, he maintained during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thouſand of their train; and, in an embaſſy to France, with which he was entruſted, he aſtoniſhed that court with the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Theobald, the late archbiſhop of Canterbury, being a ſtranger to ambition, had, like his immediate predeceſſor, lived in a good correſpondence with the ſtate, and all great points of controverſy between the royal and eccleſiaſtical powers, had lain rather dormant than explained. Becket had always behaved ſo little like a churchman, that Henry never imagined he would revive the controverſy, eſpecially as he was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather of confining, within the ancient bounds, all eccleſiaſtical privileges, and had always ſhewed a ready diſpoſition to comply with the monarch in this particular.

But Thomas was no ſooner inveſted with this high dignity, which rendered him, during life, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, with ſome pretenſions of aſpiring to be the firſt, than his demeanor and conduct were both totally altered. He now endeavoured to retrieve the character of ſanctity, which he had, in a great meaſure, loſt, by his buſy and oſtentatious courſe of life. Without conſulting the king, he immediately returned into his hands the commiſſion of chancellor, pretending, that he intended now to detach himſelf entirely from ſecular affairs, and to employ himſelf ſolely in the exerciſe of his ſacred function. He affected the greateſt auſterity, and moſt rigid mortification. He wore ſackcloth next his ſkin, which, by his affected care to conceal, was neceſſarily the more remarked by all the world. His uſual diet was bread, his drink water, which he rendered ſtill farther unpalatable, by an infuſion of bitter herbs. He daily, on his knees, waſhed the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards diſmiſſed with preſents. He gained the affection of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hoſpitals. Every perſon who made profeſſion of ſanctity, was admitted to his converſation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as the piety, and mortification of the holy primate. He ſeemed to be perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures, or in peruſing religious diſcourſes. While his aſpect wore the appearance of ſerioufneſs, mental recollection, and ſecret devotion.

A. D. 1163. Having thus ſecured the applauſe of the people, he did not wait for Henry's commencing thoſe projects, which he well knew that prince had formed againſt the eccleſiaſtical power: he became himſelf the aggreſſor, and endeavoured to intimidate the king, by the intrepidity and boldneſs of his enterprizes. He ſummoned the earl of Clare, a nobleman of great intereſt and reputation, to ſurrender the barony of Tunbridge, which had formerly belonged to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, but had been in the poſſeſſion of the family of that nobleman ever ſince the conqueſt. Becket alledged, that it was not in the power of any of his predeceſſors, to alienate lands in prejudice of the church. But the earl having received his eſtate from the crown, diſregarded the ſummons. The primate went ſtill farther, and claimed, upon the ſame principle, from the king himſelf, the cuſtody of the caſtle and tower of Rocheſter.

He alſo claimed the right of preſenting to all the vacant churches belonging to the tenants who held of the archbiſhopric. In conſequence of this claim, the primate preſented one Lawrence, a prieſt, to the church of Eynesford; but the incumbent was violently expelled by William de Eynesford, a military tenant of the crown, and patron of the living in queſtion. The archbiſhop, who acted both as judge and party, in ſpiritual courts, excommunicated Eynesford, who complained to the king of the injury he had received, without the previous conſent of the ſovereign. The king immediately ſent the primate orders to abſolve the complainant: but received for anſwer, that it did not belong to the king to command him, either to abſolve or excommunicate any perſon. Nor would he ſubmit to obey the royal mandate, till Henry was obliged to have recourſe to menaces.

But the greateſt of all the uſurpations of the clergy, was their having renounced all immediate ſubordination to the civil magiſtrate; inſiſting, that ſpiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences. The late times of confuſion had demoliſhed all diſtinctions; clerks and prieſts were as eminent in wickedneſs as the laity. But holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities, ſo that crimes of the deepeſt dye, robberies, murderers, rapes, and adulteries, were daily committed by eccleſiaſtics with impunity. Henry was determined to put an end to theſe attrocious diſorders, by puniſhing the offenders with the utmoſt ſeverity. An inſtance that happened at this time, gave him an opportunity of attempting to carry this juſt deſign into execution. A clerk in Worceſterſhire, after debauching a gentleman's daughter, had murdered the father. Exaſperated at the

heinouſneſs of the crime, Henry demanded that the clerk ſhould be delivered up, and receive condign puniſhment from the magiſtrate. Becket inſiſted on the privilege of the church; and maintained, that no greater puniſhment than that of degradation could be inflicted on him; though he had himſelf, but a few months before, degraded a prieſt, and afterwards branded him in the face with a red hot iron, for ſtealing a chalice out of a church.

The king determined not to omit ſo favourable an opportunity, of deciding a controverſy, which rendered all laws abortive, ſummoned a council at Weſtminſter, where he ſolemnly demanded of the archbiſhop, and the other prelates, whether they conſented and allowed, that ſuch felons as were clergymen, who were convicted, ſhould be degraded, and immediately upon their degradation, be delivered up to the ſecular power, in order to receive the puniſhment due to their crimes! This demand, which was highly juſt and conſtitutional, was allowed by all the biſhops preſent to be founded on reaſon, except the primate, who alone continued in his opinion, that degradation was a ſufficient puniſhment for any crime committed by a clergyman. It was in vain for the biſhops to remonſtrate upon the imprudence, as well as injuſtice of this doctrine; they even produced ſcripture in ſupport of the rights of the civil magiſtrate: but the archbiſhop's obſtinacy was ſo invincible, that no final reſolution could be taken. Exaſperated at this delay, the king demanded, whether they would obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of his kingdom? The biſhops unanimouſly replied, that they were willing, ſaving their own order: a device by which they hoped to elude the preſent urgency of the king's demand, and yet reſerve to themſelves, on a favourable opportunity, the power of reſuming all their former pretences. The king, ſenſible of the artifice, was provoked to the higheſt indignation: he left the council abruptly, with viſible marks of diſpleaſure in his countenance, and retired to Woodſtock.

The biſhops now began to reflect upon the dangerous part they had to act, with regard to their ſpiritual and temporal capacity. They knew the power of the archbiſhop at the court of Rome, and, at the ſame time, the weight of a king on the throne of England, maſter of large revenues, and at the head of a powerful army; they therefore thought themſelves ſafeſt, in making their intereſt as barons, the meaſure of their obedience as churchmen. Accordingly they repaired to the king at Oxford, and retracted their reſervation. Becket, however, continued inflexible; and nothing but the interpoſition of the pope's legate, Philip, abbot of Eleemoſine, who dreaded a breach with ſo powerful a prince, at ſuch an unſeaſonable juncture, could have prevailed upon him to retract the ſaving clauſe, and give a general and abſolute promiſe of obſerving the ancient cuſtoms.

Henry, however, was far from being ſatisfied with a declaration in general terms. He was determined to define expreſsly thoſe cuſtoms with which he required compliance, in order to put a ſtop to clerical uſurpations, before they were too firmly eſtabliſhed by time; and to define with preciſion the limits of the civil power, in order to oppoſe his legal cuſtoms, to their ordinances, and to determine the exact boundaries of theſe rival juriſdictions.

A. D. 1164. Purſuant to theſe reſolutions, he ſummoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, and ſubmitted to their conſideration this great and important queſtion. In this council, the following laws, generally called the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, were paſſed without oppoſition by the aſſembly.

I. All ſuits with regard to the preſentation and advowſon of churches, between either laity or clergy, ſhall be determined in the king's courts.

II. Churches belonging to the king's fee, cannot be granted in perpetuity without his conſent.

III. Clergymen accuſed of any crime, ſhall be tried in the king's courts.

IV. No clergymen ſhall depart the kingdom, without leave from the king; and, on obtaining licenſe, ſhall give ſecurity, not to aſk, or attempt any thing either in their paſſage, ſtay, or return, to the prejudice of the king or kingdom.

V. Excommunicated perſons ſhall not be bound to give ſecurity for continuing in their preſent place of abode; but only to ſtand to the judgment of the church, in order to their obtaining abſolution.

VI. Laymen ſhall not be accuſed in the ſpiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witneſſes.

VII. No chief tenant of the crown ſhall be excommunicated, nor his lands laid under an interdict, without firſt obtaining the king's conſent.

VIII. All appeals in ſpiritual cauſes ſhall be carried from the archdeacon to the biſhop, from the biſhop to the primate, and from him to the king; nor ſhall they be carried any farther without the king's conſent.

IX. If any law-ſuit ariſe between a layman and an eccleſiaſtic, concerning a tenement, and it be diſputed, whether the land be a lay or an eccleſiaſtical fee, it ſhall firſt be determined before the king's juſticiary, by the verdict of twelve lawful men; and if it be found to be a lay-fee, the ſuit ſhall be decided in the civil court.

X. No inhabitant of a city, caſtle, borough, or demeſne-manor of the king, ſhall be excommunicated for non-appearance in a ſpiritual court, till the chief officer of the place where he reſides, be conſulted, that he may compel him by the civil authority, to make ſatisfaction to the church.

XI. All archbiſhops, biſhops, and other ſpiritual dignitaries, who hold of the king in capite, ſhall be conſidered as barons of the realm; ſhall poſſeſs the privileges, and be ſubject to the burdens belonging to that rank; ſhall be bound to attend the king in his great councils, and to aſſiſt at all trials, till the ſentence either of life, or loſs of members, be pronounced againſt the criminal.

XII. The revenues of all vacant ſees ſhall belong to the king; and when he ſhall think proper to fill up any vacancy, he ſhall ſend his mandate to the chapter, or chief perſons of the church, who ſhall aſſemble in the royal chapel, where the election ſhall be made, with the king's conſent; and the biſhop elect, ſhall, before conſecration, do homage to the crown.

XIII. If any baron, or tenant in capite, ſhall refuſe to ſubmit to the ſpiritual courts, the king ſhall take cognizance of the affair, and oblige him to ſubmit to juſtice. And, if any perſon deny the king his

his rights, and refuſe to ſubmit to the judgment of the court, the archbiſhops, biſhops, and archdeacons, ſhall employ their authority and cenſures, to oblige him to make the king ſatisfaction.

XIV. Goods and chattels forfeited to the king, ſhall not be protected in any church or church-yard, to ſecure them from being ſeized according to law; becauſe they belong to the king wherever they are found, either in the precincts of the church, or elſewhere.

XV. The clergy ſhall no longer pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promiſe, but ſhall leave theſe law ſuits, as well as others, to the determination of the civil courts.

XVI. The ſons of tenants, holding in villainage, ſhall not be ordained, without firſt obtaining conſent of the lord of the manor, on whoſe lands they were known to be born.

Theſe cuſtoms, being thus reduced to writing, and paſſed in a national and civil aſſembly, eſtabliſhed the ſuperiority of the legiſlature, above all papal decrees or civil canons. But Henry well knew, that the biſhops, tho' overawed by the preſent combination of the crown and the barons, would take the firſt opportunity of denying the authority which had enacted theſe conſtitutions; and therefore wiſely reſolved, that they ſhould, every one, ſet their reſpective ſeals to them, and give a promiſe to obſerve them. All the prelates readily obeyed, except Becket, who, tho' urged by the earls of Cornwall and Leiceſter, barons of the greateſt authority in England, obſtinately refuſed his conſent. At laſt Richard de Haſtings, grand prior of the Templars in England, threw himſelf on his knees before him; and with many tears, intreated him, if he paid any regard either to his own ſafety, or that of the church, not to provoke, by a fruitleſs oppoſition, the indignation of a powerful monarch, who was abſolutely determined on his purpoſe, and had ſworn to take ample revenge on every perſon who ſhould dare to oppoſe him; Becket, finding himſelf totally deſerted in his cauſe, even by his own brethren, was at laſt obliged to ſubmit; and accordingly he ſet his ſeal to the conſtitutions, promiſed, "legally, with good faith, and without "fraud and reſerve," to obſerve them, and even took an oath for that purpoſe.

Henry having thus obtained a recognition of his juſt rights, tranſmitted the conſtitutions of Clarendon to the pope, in order to their being approved by the court of Rome; but when they came to be examined in the ſacred college, it was judged that they tended to a total abrogation of the papal power in England, by rendering it abſolute dependent upon the ſtate; and the articles were accordingly condemned. Becket, pleaſed at this determination, and hoping he ſhould now be ſupported in his oppoſition, expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for his conceſſions, and laboured inceſſantly to engage all the other biſhops in a confederacy, to ſupport their eccleſiaſtical privileges, in which he repreſented the honour of God to be ſo greatly concerned. He redoubled his auſterities, in order to puniſh himſelf for his criminal compliance; and even refuſed to exerciſe any part of his archiepiſcopal function, till he ſhould receive abſolution from the pope, which was very readily obtained.

In the mean time, the Roman pontiff, unwilling to puſh affairs to extremity, ſent over the archbiſhop of Rouen, with a legantine commiſſion, to make up the breach between the king and his primate. But Henry, determined to puniſh Becket for his refractory behaviour, refuſed any mediation, unleſs the confirmation of the Clarendon conſtitutions, was made a preliminary, and to leave no means unattempted for effecting this purpoſe, the king ſent over one of his domeſtic chaplains to ſollicit a legantine commiſſion in favour of Roger, archbiſhop of York, a prelate entirely at his devotion. The pope, equally politic with Henry, abſolutely denied the requeſt, but made the king himſelf the compliment of a legantine power, but with a clauſe, which reſtrained it from being exerciſed in prejudice of the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Henry was too wiſe to be caught in the ſnare, and therefore ſent back the commiſſion by the ſame meſſengers who brought it; and at the ſame time took ſuch meaſures, as ſufficiently indicated his intention of proceeding to extremities with the primate. This ſo greatly alarmed Becket, that he twice attempted to eſcape ſecretly out of the kingdom; but was as often detained by contrary winds: and Henry haſtened to make him feel the effects of an obſtinacy, which he conſidered as criminal; and accordingly four impeachments were exhibited by the king againſt the primate.

The firſt was founded on the ſecond article of the conſtitutions of Clarendon, for refuſing to appear in perſon in the king's court, on the cauſe being removed thither from the eccleſiaſtical tribunals, by the complainant. John, mareſchal of the exchequer, had ſued the primate, in the archiepiſcopal court, for ſome lands belonging to the manor of Pagham; and had appealed from thence to the king's court for juſtice. When the day appointed for trying the cauſe came, Becket ſent four knights, to repreſent certain irregularities in John's appeal; and, at the ſame time, to excuſe himſelf on account of ſickneſs, from appearing in perſon. This offence, if indeed it deſerves that name, was magnified into a grievous contempt; the four knights were menaced, and, with difficulty, eſcaped from being ſent to priſon, for daring to offer falſehoods to the court; and Henry, determined to perſecute Becket, to the utmoſt of his power, ſummoned a general council at Northampton, in order to wreak his vengeance on the head of this ſtubborn eccleſiaſtic.

In this council, the barons voted whatever ſentence the king was pleaſed to dictate; and the biſhops themſelves, who were undoubtedly ſecret friends to Becket, and regarded him as the martyr of their privileges, concerned with the reſt, in oppreſſing the primate. The archbiſhop offered every reaſonable plea in his own defence, particularly his being ready to juſtify his cauſe againſt the complaints of the mareſchal, and to ſubmit his conduct to the enquiry and juriſdiction of the council; obſerving, at the ſame time, that he had virtually acknowledged the authority of the king's court, by ſending four knights to excuſe his abſence; and that, ſhouldhe even be found guilty of non-appearance, the laws had affixed a very ſlight penalty to that offence. But all his pleadings were in vain; he was declared guilty of a contempt of the king's court, and as wanting in the fealty he had ſworn to his ſovereign; in conſequence of which, all his goods and chattels

chattels were forfeited. Sentence only now remained to be pronounced; but ſome difficulty aroſe with regard to that particular. Henry, deſirous of completing his triumph over the church, was determined it ſhould be performed by a biſhop. But the prelates very juſtly anſwered, that the ſentence was ſecular, not eccleſiſtical; that they ſat in the council as barons, not as biſhops; and that it ill became them to paſs ſentence upon their own primate. But this remonſtrance, tho' it had great weight with the barons, was over-ruled by the interpoſition of the king, who laid his abſolute commands upon the biſhop of Wincheſter, to pronounce the ſentence. The primate readily ſubmitted to the decree; and all the prelates, except Gilbert, biſhop of London, became his ſureties.

The ſecond charge againſt the archbiſhop, was his not accounting for three hundred pounds, which he had levied on the manors of Eye and Berkham, while they continued in his poſſeſſion. Becket, after premiſing that he was not obliged to anſwer this plea, as not being contained in his ſummons, and that he had expended more than the ſum demanded, in repairing thoſe caſtles, and the royal palace of London; expreſſed his reſolution, not to allow money to be any ground of quarrel between him and his ſovereign; and accordingly gave immediate ſecurity for the payment.

The third charge brought againſt Becket was, for five hundred marks, which the king affirmed he had lent him, during the war of Thouloufe; and alſo for another ſum of the ſame amount, for which he had himſelf given ſecurity for the prelate, to a Jew. In this charge, the primate's plea was overruled, tho' he alledged, that not expecting any demand of this nature, he was not prepared for a defence, adding, that the money in queſtion was a free preſent. But notwithſtanding all this, he was obliged to give ſecurity for the payment.

But the laſt charge was ſtill of much greater importance, and of a more complicated nature. He was required to give in an account of his adminiſtration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the biſhoprics, abbies, and baronies, which had, during that time, been ſubjected to his management. This was a charge that affected the whole body of the clergy. The prelates now ſaw their error; but they had gone too far to retreat. They were, however, greatly alarmed, and ſeemed well diſpoſed to join their archbiſhop. The primate anſwered, that it could not be expected he could come prepared to anſwer a charge of this complicated nature, as he had received no intimation of it in his ſummons; but promiſed to give the king ſatisfaction, if a proper time was allowed him for that purpoſe. The king inſiſted upon ſecurity; and Becket deſired leave to conſult his ſuffragans in a caſe of ſuch importance to the church in general, and to himſelf in particular.

It muſt be owned, that when the king promoted Becket to the ſee of Canterbury, he was well pleaſed with his adminiſtration in the high offices with which he had been intruſted. Two years had ſince elapſed, without any demands being made upon him, till the quarrel aroſe concerning eccleſiaſtical privileges, when the primate, without any previous notice, was required to produce accounts of amazing extent and intricacy, before a tribunal, which had ſhown a determined reſolution to ruin him. It was impoſſible for him to find ſecurity for anſwering a boundleſs and uncertain claim, which, according to the king's eſtimation, amounted to forty-four thouſand marks. He, however, by advice of the biſhop of Wincheſter, offered two thouſand marks, as a general ſatisfaction for all demands, which the king rejected. Puſhed to the utmoſt, and attacked on every ſide, the primate had too much courage to ſink under the weight of accumulated oppreſſion. He determined to defy his enemies, to truſt to the ſacredneſs of his character for protection, to involve his cauſe with that of religion, and to ſupport himſelf, with unſhaken firmneſs, againſt the utmoſt efforts of an incenſed monarch.

Accordingly, after ſpending a few days in deliberation, the primate ſaid maſs in the church, and from thence repaired, arrayed in his ſacred veſtments, to court, where he took the croſs in his own hands, bore it aloft for his protection, and in that poſture walked into the royal apartments. Aſtoniſhed at this parade, which ſeemed to threaten the whole court with the ſentence of excommunication, the king, who was in an inner room, ſent ſome of the biſhops to remonſtrate with him, on his inſolent behaviour. The prelates obſerved, that by ſubſcribing the conſtitutions of Clarendon, they had acknowledged their ſubordination to the civil power; and that it was now too late to ſhake it off. Becket replied, that tho' he had ſubſcribed the conſtitutions, yet the rights of their order, by being connected with the cauſe of God and his church, could never be relinquiſhed by their oaths and engagements, and muſt therefore be conſequently excepted. But ſuppoſing that both he and they had erred in reſigning the privileges annexed by heaven to the eccleſiaſtical function, the beſt, and indeed the only atonement they could now make, was to retract their conſent, which, in ſuch a caſe, could never be obligatory, and to follow the authority of the ſovereign pontiff, who had not only ſolemnly abrogated the conſtitutions of Clarendon, but alſo abſolved them from all oaths they had taken to obſerve them. He added, that it was ſufficiently evident, that he was ſingled out as the deſtined victim, whoſe ruin muſt prepare the way for the abrogation of all ſpiritual immunities: and therefore he ſtrictly inhibited them, who were his ſuffragans, from aſſiſting at any ſuch trial, or giving their ſanction to any ſentence againſt him. He concluded, with ſolemnly putting both himſelf and his ſee under the protection of the ſovereign pontiff, and appealing to him againſt any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict upon him. The prelates, who, perhaps, were not diſpleaſed at this inhibition, alſo appealed to the pope againſt their primate, who promiſed to anſwer their appeal. The archbiſhop of York, however, deſired the primate to remember, that the ſword of incenſed royalty, was a weapon too ſharp to be diſregarded. Becket replied, that he well knew the ſword of kings could kill the body; but the ſword of the church, which was entruſted into his hands, could kill the ſoul, and plunge the diſobedient into infinite and eternal perdition.

Provoked at this evaſive and menacing anſwer, Henry demanded judgment upon the primate; and the earls of Cornwall and Leiceſter, were ſent from the king to read his ſentence. But the archbiſhop, on their approach, diſclaimed their authority, and renewed his appeal to the pope. The lords, diſconcerted by the magiſterial manner in which he treated them, before they had even attempted to read

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

Wale del. Grignion sculp.

Insolent Behaviour of THO.S BECKET before HENRY II
in the Grand Assembly at Northampton

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read the ſentence, returned to the king for freſh inſtructions; and Becket embraced the opportunity of leaving the room, and retiring to the monaſtery of St. Andrews.

Henry, tho' armed with power, and fired with reſentment, did not chuſe to purſue the archbiſhop to his retreat. Perhaps he began to think he had gone too far, and that his conduct might draw upon himſelf two formidable inconveniencies, a breach with the church, and the loſs of the affections of the populace; the former always ſupported by intereſt; and the latter always ſuſceptible of diſtreſs. The archbiſhop ſeems to have been early ſenſible of this, and the king too late; for Henry ſecretly employed ſeveral agents, to terminate this diſpute; but all his offers were rejected by the haughty primate. At laſt Becket thought proper to withdraw privately from Northampton, and after wandering ſome time in diſguiſe, found an opportunity of embarking for the continent, and arrived ſafe at Gravelines.

The people now conſidered Becket's proſecution, as an attempt to deſtroy all religion, and himſelf as a martyr to the privileges of the church. At the ſame time Philip, earl of Flanders, and Lewis, king of France, jealous of the riſing greatneſs of Henry, were pleaſed with an opportunity of diſturbing his government. They pretended to pity the condition of the exiled primate, and the latter even honoured him with a viſit at Soiſſons, where he had invited him to fix his retreat.

Henry, alarmed at the reception Becket had met with on the continent, diſpatched the archbiſhop of York, with the biſhops of London, Worceſter, Chicheſter, and Exeter, two earls, and three of his own chaplains, to accuſe the primate before the court of Rome. But the pope, whoſe intereſts were immediately concerned in ſupporting him, gave a very cold reception to Henry's embaſſy, while he honoured Becket, who had repaired to Sens, where the pontiff then reſided, in order to juſtify his cauſe, with the greateſt marks of diſtinction.

Exaſperated at this behaviour, and determined to make the primate feel the utmoſt effect of his power, Henry ſequeſtered the revenues of Canterbury; and by a conduct highly arbitrary, baniſhed all the archbiſhop's relations and domeſtics, to the number of four hundred, obliging them to ſwear, before their departure, that they would immediately join their patron. But Henry had the mortification to find, that all his endeavours to reduce Becket to neceſſity, loſt their effect: the pope, as ſoon as they arrived on the continent, abſolved them from their oath, and diſtributed them among the convents of France and Flanders; while the primate himſelf was aſſigned a reſidence in the convent of Pontigny, where he lived for ſome years in great magnificence, partly from a penſion granted him out of the revenues of the abbey, and partly from remittances made him by the king of France.

A. D. 1165. About this time the archbiſhop of Cologn, as ambaſſador from Frederic Barbaroſſa, who now laboured under a ſpiritual interdict, by the ſee of Rome, came into England, to demand Matilda, Henry's eldeſt daughter, in marriage for his favourite, the elector of Saxony. The archbiſhop was received with great complaiſance by Henry; but the marriage was deferred on account of the youth of that princeſs, who was then only eleven years of age. Soon after Henry went over to Normandy, and had an interview at Giſors with the king of France, in order to bring about an accommodation with Becket; but he was diſappointed, the prelate remained inflexible, and Henry returned to England.

In the mean time Becket, to ingratiate himſelf ſtill more with pope Alexander, reſigned into his hands the ſee of Canterbury, to which he affirmed, he had been uncanonically elected by the authority of the royal mandate; and Alexander in his turn, beſides inveſting him anew with that dignity, pretended to abrogate by a bull, the ſentence which the great council of England had paſſed againſt him. Henry was not remiſs in making proviſion againſt the conſequences of the breach, which now ſeemed unavoidable between his kingdom and the apoſtolic ſee. He iſſued orders to his juſticiaries, inhibiting under ſevere penalties, all appeals either to the pope or archbiſhop, forbidding any perſon to receive any mandates from them, or apply, in any caſe, to their authority; declaring it treaſonable to bring from either of them, an interdict upon the kingdom, and puniſhable in ſecular clergymen, by the loſs of their eyes, and by caſtration, in regulars, by amputation of their feet, and in laymen, with death; at the ſame time menacing, with ſequeſtration and baniſhment the perſons themſelves, as well as their relations, who ſhould pay the leaſt obedience to any ſuch interdict: and he farther obliged all his ſubjects to ſwear to the obſervance of theſe orders.

It is amazing that a prince, who, as appears by the above orders, perfectly underſtood the intereſt of his kingdom, and entertained a proper regard for the dignity of his crown, ſhould afterwards ſtoop to ſuch meanneſſes as he is known to have done. At this time, his ſpirit ſeemed to promiſe his people nothing leſs than an entire emancipation from eccleſiaſtical tyranny; and a little more firmneſs would doubtleſs have affected it; but Henry was, certainly, in his heart, a ſlave to the church of Rome. The clergy began now to fear the effects of his reſentment, and the archbiſhop had little elſe to truſt to, than the importance of his own character, and the ſupport of his party in England. He therefore wrote ſeveral letters, both to the king and his ſuffragans, full of arrogance and pontifical preſumption. He compared himſelf to Chriſt, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified afreſh in the preſent oppreſſions under which his church laboured: he took it for granted, as a point impoſſible to be conteſted, that his cauſe was the cauſe of God: he aſſumed the character of champion for the patrimony of divinity: he pretended to be the ſpiritual father of the king, and all the people of England: and he even told Henry, that kings reigned ſolely by the authority of the church. The king, that he might employ every weapon of temporal power remaining in his hands, ſuſpended the payment of Peter's pence, made advances towards an alliance with the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, who was then engaged in war againſt pope Alexander; and diſcovered ſome intentions of acknowledging Paſcal III. the preſent antipope, who was protected by that emperor, hoping, by theſe expedients, to terrify the enterprizing, tho' prudent pontiff, from proceeding to extremities againſt him and his kingdom.

A. D. 1166. In this ſituation, affairs continued for ſome time, when the violence of Becket puſhed matters to a deciſion. Inſtigated by revenge, and

animated by the glory attending his exile, he excommunicated the king's principal miniſters by name, and comprehended in the cenſure, all thoſe in general, who either favoured or obeyed the conſtitutions of Clarendon; he abrogated and annulled theſe conſtitutions; he abſolved all perſons from the oaths they had taken to obſerve them; and ſuſpended the ſpiritual thunder over Henry himſelf, only to give him time, by a ſpeedy repentance, to avoid the blow.

Henry, tho' he dreaded the effect of this eccleſiaſtical cenſure, acted with the greateſt appearance of reſolution: he ordered a ſtrict eye to be kept over all the ſea-coaſts, and declared, that the loſs of life or limbs, ſhould be inflicted upon any perſon who ſhould bring letters of interdict into England. At the ſame time, he iſſued ſtrict commands, for all the clergy to reſide upon their reſpective charges, under the pain of baniſhment and deprivation; and for the emaſculation of every prieſt who refuſed to exerciſe the functions of his profeſſion. But this only prevented the effects of Becket's thunder, without removing the danger: the dreadful cenſure ſtill hung over the heads of his miniſters; nor was there any other expedient for ſaving them, than by appealing to the pope himſelf, and having recourſe to that very tribunal, whoſe authority, even in this very article, Henry himſelf had endeavoured to abridge.

It was even impoſſible for this expedient to have been effectual: Becket had obtained from the pope a legantine commiſſion over England; and by virtue of that authority, which admitted of no appeal, he ſummoned the biſhops of London, Saliſbury, and ſeveral others, to attend him; and ordered, under pain of excommunication, the eccleſiaſtics, whoſe revenues had been ſequeſtered on his account, to be reſtored within two months, to the full enjoyment of all their benefices.

But tho' it was impoſſible to prevent Becket from fulmigating his cenſures, John de Oxford, the king's agent at Rome, had addreſs to procure orders for ſuſpending their effects; and by giving the pontiff hopes of a ſpeedy reconciliation between the king and Becket, two legates, William de Pavie, and Otho, were ſent to Normandy, where the king then reſided, in order to find expedients for bringing about ſo deſirable an event. But the pretenſions of both parties were as yet too oppoſite to admit of an accommodation: the king required, that all the conſtitutions of Clarendon ſhould be ratified, previous to any agreement; and Becket inſiſted, that both himſelf and all his adherents, ſhould be reſtored to all their poſſeſſions, as a preliminary to the intended treaty. The negotiation, therefore, ſoon terminated; but cardinal de Pavie, being greatly attached to Henry's intereſt, took care to lengthen the negotiation, to mitigate the pontiff's anger, by the favourable accounts he ſent him of that prince's conduct, and to procure him every poſſible indulgence from the ſee of Rome. And it was by the credit of this cardinal, that Henry now obtained a diſpenſation for the marriage of his third ſon Geoffrey, with the heireſs of Britany; a conceſſion, which, conſidering the king's behaviour towards the church, gave great ſcandal, both to Becket and his patron, the king of France.

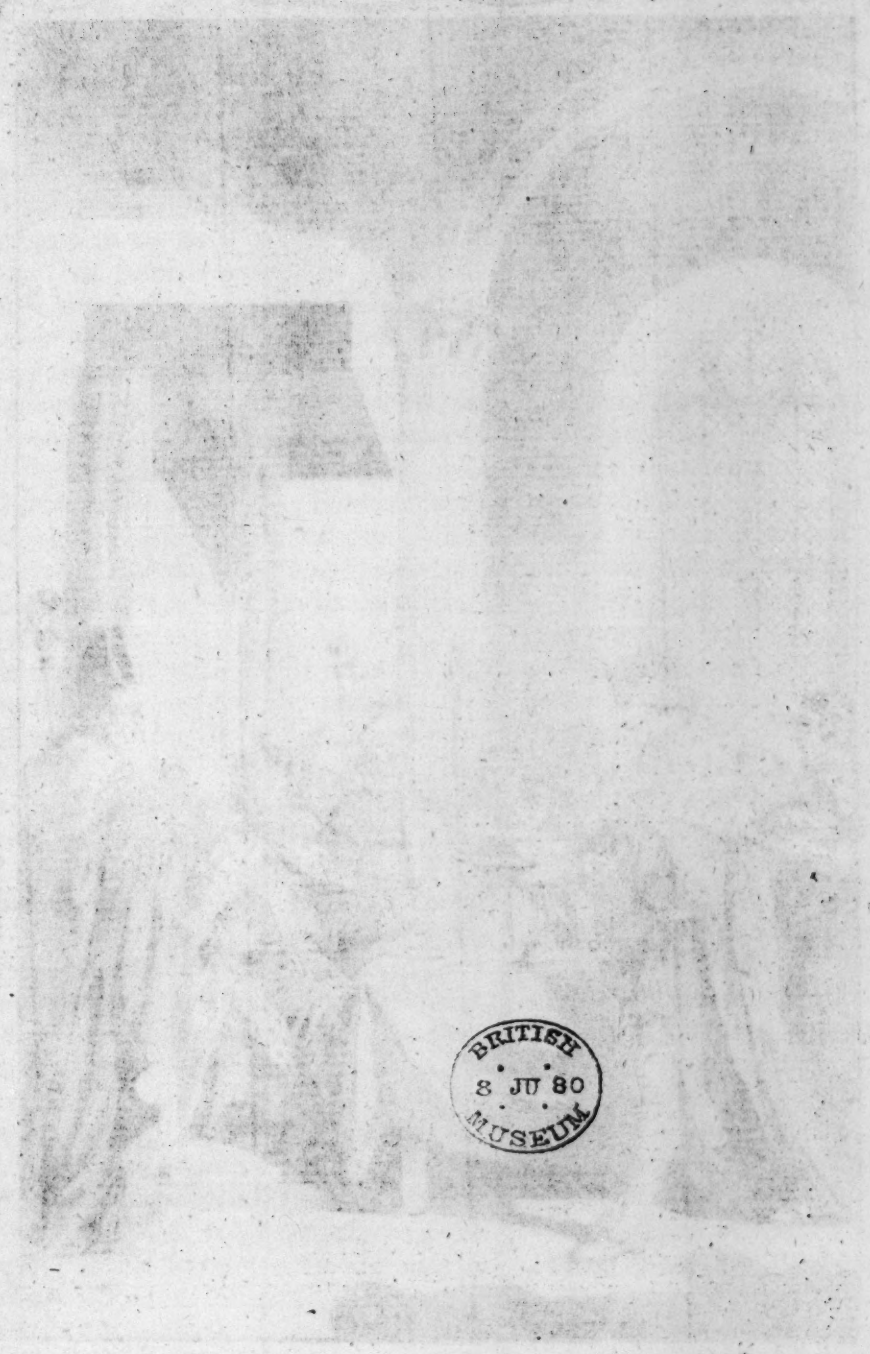
A. D. 1167. Henry was now involved in ſome diſputes with the earl of Auvergne, by eſpouſing the cauſe of that prince's nephew, who, on being diſinherited, had invaded the earldom. But theſe differences were ſoon terminated, both parties referring their diſpute entirely to Henry. But a difference that ſubſiſted between the king and the earl of Boulogne, brother to the earl of Flanders, with regard to the ſubſidies, paid by the former to the latter, threatened more ſerious conſequences. It went ſo far, that the earl propoſed to invade England with a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips, lent him by his brother. Richard de Lucy was then chief juſticiary of the kingdom, and regent in Henry's abſence. The nation was, at that time, but very indifferently provided with ſhipping, ſo that the threats of the earl of Boulogne, ſpread terror thro' great part of the kingdom. But the regent being a very vigilant miniſter, ſoon brought down to the ſea-coaſts, ſo large an army of tenants and militia, that the inhabitants forgot their fears, and the Flemings were ſo intimidated, that they laid aſide all thoughts of an invaſion.

During theſe tranſactions, the pope and Henry began to perceive, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it would be impoſſible for either to obtain a complete victory over the other; and conſequently nothing farther could be done with ſafety, than to bring the diſpute to an amicable deciſion. A meeting was therefore appointed, in which the kings of France and England, and the archbiſhop, were preſent. The latter again offered to ſubmit with the clauſe, ſaving the honour of God, which Henry very wiſely obſerved was an invaſion, that on all occaſions would ſerve his turn, and give occaſion to freſh diſputes whenever the archbiſhop pleaſed; concluding with this remarkable propoſal, which was addreſſed to the king of France: "Sir, there "have been many kings of England of leſs power "than I poſſeſs; there have been many former arch-"biſhops of Canterbury, much greater and holier "men than Thomas-a-Becket; yet I will be ſatisfi-"ed, if he will conſent to make the ſame ſubmiſ-"ſion to me, which the greateſt and moſt holy of "his predeceſſors have made, to the weakeſt and "leaſt powerful of mine." This frank declaration had a great effect upon all preſent; and the king of France ſaw ſo much of Becket's character, that, when the meeting broke up, he departed very much diſſatisfied with the archbiſhop's conduct.

A. D. 1168. But the artful prelate, by diſcovering to the French king, that Henry had broke every article of the late treaty concluded between them, with regard to the provinces of Poictou and Britany, convinced him that he had but an imperfect idea of the king of England's character, which was that of ambition and a thirſt of power. This fortunate ſtratagem raiſed Becket to greater favour than ever with the courts of Rome and France, and excommunications ſucceeded each other, with ſuch amazing rapidity, that the king had hardly a ſervant about his perſon, who was not under an interdict.

A. D. 1169. Theſe thunders, from the eccleſiaſtical tribunal of Rome, ſhook the fortitude of Henry and his miniſters; and ſeveral conferences ſucceeded to each other, in order to terminate this unhappy diſpute. In a fourth treaty, when all the terms were adjuſted, and when the primate expected to be introduced to the king, and to receive the kiſs of peace, which was uſual for princes to give in thoſe times, and which was conſidered as a ſure pledge of forgiveneſs, Henry refuſed him that honour, upon pretence, that during his anger, he had

made



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HENRY II. *Serving the First Dish to his* SON HENRY'S *Table.*

made a raſh vow, never to give the prelate ſuch a teſtimony of his friendſhip. This formality ſerved among ſuch jealous ſpirits to prevent the concluſion of the treaty; and tho' the difficulty was attempted to be removed, by a diſpenſation from the pope, that prince could not be prevailed upon to depart from the reſolution he had taken.

A. D. 1170. But at laſt all difficulties were removed, and a treaty was ſigned between the king and the prelate, who was permitted to return to his ſee on the following conditions. He was not required to give up any of the rights of the church, or reſign any of thoſe pretenſions which had been the ground of the controverſy: all thoſe queſtions were to be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents ſhould, without making farther ſubmiſſions, be reſtored to all their livings, and that even the poſſeſſors of ſuch benefices as depended upon the ſee of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's abſence, ſhould be expelled, and Becket have full liberty to ſupply the vacancies. In return for theſe conceſſions, which intrenched ſo deeply on the honour and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of ſeeing his miniſters abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt them, and of preventing the interdict, which, if theſe hard conditions had not been complied with, was ready to be laid upon all his dominions.

The affairs of England rendering it neceſſary for Henry to return to that kingdom, he endeavoured to guard againſt all accidents on the continent during his abſence; and for this purpoſe viſited the chief caſtles in his dominions, obliging all his ſubjects without exception, who had not yet ſworn fealty and allegiance, to make their ſubmiſſions. This being accompliſhed, he ſet ſail for England about the beginning of March; but happening to be overtaken in his paſſage by a violent ſtorm, was in the moſt imminent danger of his life. He, however, happily eſcaped, but ſeveral of his ſhips were loſt, and between four and five hundred of his retinue periſhed.

Soon after his return, Henry held a great council at Windſor, in order to eſtabliſh a ſcheme he had ſome time ſince formed for increaſing the number of his judges, and eſtabliſhing itenerant juſtices; the reſort to the king's court having been found extremely inconvenient to the ſubject. But Henry had formed a deſign of much greater conſequence, the coronation of his eldeſt ſon, who was now come from Normandy, and had been knighted by his father.

No objection was made to this propoſal of the king; the only difficulty conſiſted with regard to the prelate who was to perform the ceremony. It was underſtood to belong to the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but that prelate being abſent, it fell to the archbiſhop of York, aſſiſted by the prelates of Durham and London. But young Henry appears to have been of an inſolent diſpoſition; ſo that his exaltation ſeems to have been rather owing to an indulgent weakneſs in his father, than to the dictates of true policy; for the latter demeaned himſelf ſo far, that when the coronation was over, he inſiſted upon ſerving up the firſt diſh to his ſon's table. This condeſcenſion being intimated to young Henry, by the archbiſhop of York, that prince inſolently anſwered, That it was no ſuch mighty degradation in his father, who was only the ſon of an earl, to ſerve him, who was the ſon of a king.

This coronation, however, gave great offence to the king of France, becauſe his daughter Margaret, wife to the young king, was not crowned with her huſband. Henry, therefore, promiſed Lewis, that the ceremony ſhould be ſoon repeated, and his daughter receive both the crown and royal unction, together with her huſband.

Becket highly reſented this invaſion of his office; and Henry endeavoured to mollify him by aſſuring him, that beſides receiving the acknowledgements of Roger, archbiſhop of York, and the other prelates, for the ſeeming affront put upon the ſee of Canterbury, he ſhould, as a farther ſatisfaction, recover his rights by officiating in the ſucceeding coronation. But this ſubmiſſion was far from quieting the violent ſpirit of Becket. Elated by the victory he had ſo lately obtained over his ſovereign, he applied to the court of Rome for powers ſufficient to make all his enemies feel the weight of his vengeance.

Henry was now returned to Normandy, and Becket was preparing for his journey to England, in order to take poſſeſſion of his dioceſe, and light up afreſh the torch of civil diſſention in his country. On his arrival in England, he met the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, who were on their journey to the king in Normandy; and immediately notified to the archbiſhop the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, and to the two biſhops that of excommunication, which, at his ſollicitation, the pope had pronounced againſt them. Reginald de Warrenne, and Gervaſe de Cornhill, two itinerant juſticiaries, who were making their circuit in Kent, aſked, on hearing of this bold attempt, whether he meant to bring fire and ſword into the kingdom? But the primate, heedleſs of the reproof, proceeded, in the moſt oſtentatious manner, to take poſſeſſion of his dioceſe. In all the towns through which he paſſed, he was received with the ſhouts and acclamations of the people. The clergy and laity of all ranks came out to meet him, and celebrated his triumphant entrance with hymns of joy. Elated with this triumph, he launched the ſpiritual thunders againſt Robert de Broc, and Nigel de Sackville, with many of the moſt conſiderable prelates and miniſters, who had aſſiſted at the coronation of the young prince, and had been active in the late perſecution of the exiled clergy.

In the mean time, the archbiſhop of York, and the prelates of London and Saliſbury, continued their journey to Normandy, where they threw themſelves at Henry's feet, complaining of the violent proceedings of Becket. Henry was immediately ſenſible that his whole plan of operations was deſtroyed; and perceived, that the dangerous conteſt, between the civil and ſpiritual powers, muſt now come to a ſpeedy and deciſive iſſue, and was thence thrown into very violent commotions. The archbiſhop of York remarked, that while Becket lived, the king could never hope to be in ſafety, nor his kingdom in peace. Upon this Henry gave a looſe to his indignation, and cried out aloud, in all the anguiſh of affronted majeſty; that he had ſo long ſupported ſuch a number of ungrateful indolent cowards, who had not the courage to vindicate his honour from the inſults it ſuffered from one haughty, bigotted prieſt. Four gentlemen of his houſ-

hold,

hold, Rignald Fitz-Urſe, William de Traci, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, conſidered theſe paſſionate expreſſions, to be at once a hint for Becket's death, and a reproach upon themſelves, who had been brought up in the king's ſervice. They immediately communicated their thoughts to each other, bound themſelves ſolemnly by an oath, to perpetrate the primate's deſtruction, and ſecretly withdrew from court. But ſome menacing expreſſions, which they dropped at their departure, gave a ſuſpicion of their deſign, and the king immediately diſpatched a meſſenger after them, with expreſs orders not to attempt any thing againſt the perſon of the primate. Theſe orders, however, arrived too late to prevent the execution of their fatal purpoſe: the four aſſaſſins were ſailed, in different ſhips, landed ſoon after in England, and arrived about the ſame time at Saltwood, near Canterbury. Here they were joined by ſeveral of Henry's ſervants, whom they knew were firmly attached to his intereſt; and their party ſtrengthened by ſeveral perſons, whom the primate had excommunicated, for the moſt frivolous crimes.

In the mean time, the archbiſhop was behaving in a very oſtentatious manner, and affecting every opportunity of increaſing his popularity, by magnificent progreſſes thro' different parts of the country, where he took care to diſplay himſelf as a martyr for the church. Young Henry, who thoroughly hated him, immediately, upon hearing he intended to come to his court, ſent him an expreſs order to reſide at Canterbury; which the prelate, who well knew the diſpoſition of the young prince, and thoſe in the adminiſtration, unwillingly obeyed. But to make the beſt uſe of his retreat, he did not fail, by repeated ſummons, to animate the people againſt his enemies, and to expoſe the dangers which continually ſurrounded him, on account of his ſtrenuous defence of the church.

He had ſoon occaſion for all his patience and fortitude. For the four knights, who had conſpired againſt him, now came with their party to Canterbury, and proceeded to the archiepiſcopal palace, where they earneſtly expoſtulated with the primate, on the ſentence he had pronounced againſt ſeveral prelates and noblemen; at the ſame time requeſting him, in the moſt earneſt manner, to abſolve them, which could not fail of reſtoring peace and tranquillity to their country. But the archbiſhop, deaf to every intreaty, refuſed their requeſt, with all that arrogance and pontifical pride, for which he was ſo remarkable. And truſting entirely to the ſacredneſs of his character, he was ſo incapable of fear, tho' they threw out many menaces againſt him, that he repaired immediately to the church of St. Benedict, to hear veſpers, without uſing any precautions againſt their violence. The aſſaſſins followed him thither, attacked him before the altar, and ſoon put an end to his life.

Thus fell Thomas-a-Becket, a prelate of the moſt lofty, intrepid, and inflexible ſpirit, who was able to conceal from the world, and poſſibly even from himſelf, the enterprizes of pride and ambition, under the diſguiſe of ſanctity, and of zeal for the intereſts of piety and religion. A genius of this extraordinary kind, might have been of the utmoſt ſervice to his country, had it been directed by the ray of genuine knowledge. But the ſpirit of ſuperſtition was then ſo prevalent, that it infallibly caught every careleſs reaſoner, much more every one, whoſe intereſt, honour, and ambition, were engaged to ſupport it. All the wretched learning of the times was inliſted on that ſide: ſome faint glimmerings of common ſenſe might occaſionally pierce thro' the thick cloud of ignorance, or, what was ſtill worſe, the illuſions of perverted ſcience, which had blotted out the ſun, and enveloped the face of nature: but thoſe who preſerved themſelves untainted, from the general contagion, proceeded on no principles which they could pretend to juſtify: they were more obliged to their total want of inſtruction, than to their knowledge, if they ſtill retained ſome ſhare of underſtanding: folly had taken poſſeſſion of all the ſchools, as well as of all the churches, and her votaries aſſumed at once the garb of philoſophers, and the enſigns of ſpiritual dignities.

A. D. 1171. It is very natural to imagine that the death of this famous prelate muſt draw upon Henry the immediate thunder of the Roman ſee, together with all its dreadful conſequences of revolt and rebellion. An archbiſhop of reputed ſanctity, aſſaſſinated before the altar, in the exerciſe of his function, and merely for his zeal in maintaining the privileges of ſacred order, muſt attain the higheſt honours of martyrdom: while his murderer would be ranked among the moſt bloody tyrants that were ever expoſed to the hatred and deteſtation of mankind. The fear of theſe conſequences threw Henry into the utmoſt conſternation; but he wiſely took the only method to avert them. He diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy to Rome to aſſure the pontiff that he had no concern in the prelate's murder, and by that means avert the thunder of the vatican, which was now aimed with double force againſt his dominions. In the mean time, the king of France preſſed the pontiff to unſheath the ſpiritual ſword againſt Henry, and the murderers of a prelate, whoſe ſanctity was vindicated by miracles then wrought at his tomb. The archbiſhop of Sens, and the earl of Blois, joined with the French king, and counſelled him to fulminate immediately his ſpiritual interdicts.

But Henry's ambaſſadors, being abundantly ſupplied with money, that genuine paſſport to all venal courts, found means to ſet on foot a negotiation in behalf of Henry and his regal dominions. And accordingly two cardinals were ſent to Normandy, to receive what Henry could ſay in his own vindication, and to examine into the manner and inſtruments of Becket's death. At the ſame time, the ſuſpended archbiſhop and biſhops, with their excommunicated brethren, applied for abſolution, and after ſome difficulty obtained it.

Henry being now in no immediate danger from the eccleſiſtical ſentence of the pope, embarked for England, where affairs of conſequence required his preſence; and ſoon after undertook an expedition againſt Ireland, poſſibly to recover his credit, which had been ſomewhat tarniſhed by his late tranſactions with the church.

We have already obſerved, that Henry had obtained, from pope Adrian III. a bull for the conqueſt of Ireland. That iſland was, in theſe times, divided into many ſmall tribes; beſides which, there were five principal ſovereignties, Munſter, Leinſter, Meath, Ulſter, and Connaught. The princes of theſe diſtricts were entirely independent in their own territories; but, like the kings during the Saxon heptarchy, ſome prince was generally choſen, as the head of the confederacy, and who, for the time being,

ing, ſeemed to act as monarch of Ireland. Roderic O Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity; but he was ſo very careleſs in the government of his own territories, that his laws were very ill obeyed, and conſequently was incapable of uniting the people in any meaſure, either for the eſtabliſhment of order, or for defending themſelves againſt any attempts of a foreign enemy. It was at this time, that Henry obtained the bull already mentioned; but being detained by buſineſs of more conſequence on the continent, waited a more favourable opportunity for invading the country of a people, who, being always confined to their own iſland, had never given cauſe of complaint to any of their neighbours.

Henry did not long wait for an opportunity to interfere in the affairs of Ireland. Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinſter, had, by his licentious tyranny, rendered himſelf extremely odious to his ſubjects, and had baſely ſeized Omack, the wife of Ororic, king of Meath, during the abſence of her huſband. Provoked at this baſe treatment, Ororic, aſſiſted by Roderic king of Connaught, drove the tyrant from his dominions. The exiled prince had recourſe to Henry for aſſiſtance, and offered, in caſe he reſtored him to his throne, to hold his dominions in vaſſallage to the crown of England. Henry readily accepted the offer, but at that time embarked no farther in the enterprize, than by giving Dermot letters patent, by which he empowered all his ſubjects to aſſiſt the Iriſh prince in the recovery of his dominions. Supported by this authority, Dermot came to Briſtol, where he at laſt formed a treaty with Richard, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, deſcended from the illuſtrious houſe of Clare; but having ſquandered away the greater part of his fortune in expenſive pleaſures, he was ready to embark in any deſperate undertaking, and therefore readily promiſed his aſſiſtance to Dermot, on condition of his giving him his daughter Eva in marriage, and declaring him heir to all his dominions. The treaty being thus concluded, Strongbow applied himſelf to the raiſing of forces, while Dermot went into Wales, where meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, conſtable of Albertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he alſo engaged them in his ſervice, and obtained their promiſe of invading Ireland. Having thus procured aſſurance of aſſiſtance, he repaired privately to his own kingdom, where he prepared every thing for the reception of his Engliſh allies.

Strongbow was not, however, ſo expeditious, or perhaps not ſo fortunate in raiſing troops as the others, who not only landed before him in Ireland, and attacked the unarmed and defenceleſs inhabitants with great advantage, but recovered the dominions of Dermot, and even defeated Roderic, the chief monarch of the iſland in a pitched battle.

Dermot now aſpired to the ſole dominion of Ireland; and accordingly diſpatched a meſſenger to Strongbow, claiming the performance of his promiſe, and diſplaying the mighty advantages that might now be reaped by a ſmall reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Strongbow, not ſatisfied with the general permiſſion given by Henry to all his ſubjects, repaired to that monarch, who was then in Normandy, and having obtained a cold, or perhaps an ambiguous permiſſion, prepared himſelf for his deſigns. He firſt ſent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights, and ſeventy archers, who landing at Waterford, defeated a body of three thouſand Iriſh, who had ventured to attack him. Strongbow himſelf followed immediately after, at the head of two hundred horſe, and an hundred archers. The Engliſh now joined the whole force, and marched to Waterford, and in a few days ſubdued it; thence they proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by aſſault. Exaſperated at ſeeing the rapid progreſs of Dermot and his allies, Roderic cut off the head of Dermot's ſon, who had been left in his hands as an hoſtage; and Strongbow marrying Eva, became ſoon after, on the death of Dermot, maſter of the kingdom of Leinſter, and made preparations for extending his dominion over all Ireland.

Alarmed at the danger which now threatened the whole iſland, Roderic, and the other Iriſh princes entered into a confederacy, for oppoſing the deſigns of the invaders of their country. Their firſt attempt was the ſiege of Dublin, with an army of thirty thouſand men. But Strongbow making a ſudden ſally, at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, put this numerous army to the route, and drove them entirely from the field of battle, and made a prodigious ſlaughter in the purſuit. This advantage, gained by a handful of men, ſtruck the Iriſh with ſuch terror, that they could not, on any conſideration, be again prevailed upon to face the Engliſh.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, when Henry landed from the continent, and determined to invade the iſland in perſon. His ambitious ſoul could not bear the thought of ſeeing a conqueſt, from which he had promiſed himſelf ſo much glory and advantage, anticipated by his own ſubjects. In order to this, he ſent letters to Strongbow, charging him upon his allegiance, to repair to him immediately, and give an account of his conduct in Ireland. The earl, who well knew he was in no condition to diſpute this order, immediately obeyed, and viſited the king at Glouceſter, where he found means to appeaſe his anger, by making him the moſt humble ſubmiſſions, and offering to hold all his acquiſitions in vaſſallage to his crown.

In the mean time, Henry had raiſed almoſt the whole force of England; and, after taking proper precautions for the peace of Wales, embarked at Milford, and landed about eight miles from Waterford, at the head of five hundred knights, beſides other ſoldiers. But there was no need of ſo large a force for ſubduing the Iriſh. Already broken and diſpirited by their late misfortunes, they had laid aſide all thoughts of reſiſtance; ſo that, in the progreſs he made thro' the iſland, he had no other occupation than that of receiving the homages of his new ſubjects. He left moſt of the Iriſh chiefs or princes in poſſeſſion of their antient territories; beſtowed on Strongbow the commiſſion of ſeneſchal of Ireland; and, after a ſtay of a few months, returned in triumph to England.

There was indeed a neceſſity for his return, had not the conqueſt been completed. The two legates, Albert and Thodin, to whom the trial of his conduct, with regard to the murder of Becket, had been committed, were now arrived in Normandy; and being impatient of delay, ſent him frequent letters full of menaces, if he protracted any longer the making his appearance before them. On his arrival in Normandy, the legates commiſſion was opened at Savigny, where their firſt demands were ſo

exhorbitant, that Henry broke off the negotiation, threatened to return to Ireland, and bade defiance to their utmoſt power. But the cardinals, ſenſible that the ſeaſon for taking advantage of the tragical incident was now paſt, which in all probability would, if warmly purſued by interdicts and excommunications, have thrown the whole nation into a flame: but the time which Henry had artfully gained, had greatly contributed to appeaſe the minds of the people. The legates, therefore, were obliged to lower their terms, and Henry was ſo fortunate to conclude an accommodation with them on the following conditions:

I. That he would never forſake pope Alexander, nor his catholic ſucceſſors, while they acknowledged him a catholic king.

II. That he would neither hinder, nor ſuffer to be hindered, any appeals; but that they might be freely made from this kingdom to the pope, in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes; but with this proviſo, however, that if any of the parties were ſuſpected by the king, they ſhould give ſecurity not to do any injury to him or his kingdom.

III. That at Chriſtmas following, he would undertake the cruſade, and go to Jeruſalem for three years, or pay to the Templars ſo much money, as they, in their own judgment, ſhould think ſufficient for maintaining two hundred ſoldiers during one year, for the defence of the kingdom of Jeruſalem.

IV. That he pardoned all perſons, eccleſiaſtical and civil, who were in exile with the late archbiſhop, and granted them free leave to return ſafely and quietly into their own country.

V. That he would reſtore the poſſeſſions of the church of Canterbury, if any had been taken from it, as fully as they were enjoyed the year before the archbiſhop went out of England; and that he would not inſiſt on the obſervance of ſuch cuſtoms, derogatory to eccleſiaſtical privileges, as had been introduced in his own time.

Theſe conceſſions being ſigned, Henry received abſolution from the legates; and was confirmed in the grant pope Adrian had made of Ireland.

Perhaps there is not, in the whole reign of this prince, a ſingle action which more ſtrongly marks the great abilities of Henry, than his extricating himſelf on ſuch eaſy terms, from ſo difficult a ſituation. Henry had always declared, that the laws eſtabliſhed at Clarendon, contained no new claims; they were nothing more than the ancient cuſtoms of the kingdom: nor was he hindered, in the leaſt, by this agreement, from maintaining theſe pretenſions. This treaty, indeed, permitted appeals to the pope, but it alſo permitted the king to exact reaſonable ſecurities from the parties; nor was he limited in this particular, he might ſtretch his demands as far as he pleaſed, and therefore had it in his power to prevent the pope from reaping any advantage from this ſeeming conceſſion. Upon the whole, the conſtitutions of Clarendon remained ſtill the law of the kingdom, tho' the pope and his legates ſeem ſo little to have conceived the king's power, to be confined by any legal limitations; that they were ſatisfied with his making by treaty, conceſſions directly repugnant to one of theſe conſtitutions, without even inſiſting on their being repealed.

Lewis, king of France, ſaw, to his great mortification, Henry triumphing over difficulties, thought, in that bigotted age, abſolutely unſurmountable, and, at the ſame time, adding a vaſt acceſſion to his power by the conqueſt of Ireland. Unable to check the career of this powerful monarch by his arms, he had recourſe to policy, but of the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable kind. Young Henry was married to a princeſs of France, who perceived her huſband ſuſceptible of ambition, and reſentful of poſſeſſing title without power. This artful princeſs, who was no ſtranger to her father's jealouſy of old Henry, whom ſhe herſelf had ſome reaſon to hate, took care to improve the peeviſh diſpoſition of her huſband, by acting in concert with her uncles Hugh de St. Maor, and Ralph de Faye, then at the Engliſh court. The mind of the young king, being thus ſufficiently prepared, the king of France expreſſed an earneſt deſire of ſeeing his ſon-in-law, together with his daughter, whom he had parted with when ſhe was very young. Henry, who had lately concluded a treaty with Lewis, could make no reaſonable objection to this viſit; and they both accordingly repaired to Paris, where they were magnificently entertained by their father. But they had not been long at that court, before Henry required their preſence in Normandy. Young Henry obeyed the ſummons of his father; but before his departure, entered into a treaty with Lewis, who was to demand of Henry the reſignation of either his French or Engliſh dominions; and, in caſe of a refuſal, young Henry was to throw himſelf on the protection of France.

A. D. 1173. A treaty of marriage was at that time on foot, between the daughter of Hubert, earl of Maurienne, now part of Savoy, and John, ſon to king Henry. The earl offered to ſettle his whole eſtate on the young pair, in caſe he died without male-iſſue: and Henry propoſed to give them Chinon, Loudon, and Mirabel, with their dependencies. Young Henry embraced this opportunity of oppoſing the will of his father. He remonſtrated to him the unreaſonableneſs of making any farther alienations from his patrimonial dominions, unleſs he pleaſed to make a ſeparate ſettlement on himſelf or his queen; to which Henry was totally averſe. Unable, therefore, to give the earl of Maurienne any poſitive anſwer at this meeting, which was held at Clermont, the earl returned to his territories, and John, being thus left without proviſion, acquired the name of Lackland.

In the preceding narrative of Henry's reign, we have attended him only as a king on the throne, in the field, or in the cabinet; but it is now neceſſary to conſider him as a man: for, in this view alone, we ſhall be able to diſcover the ſprings of all that unhappineſs which clouded the latter part of his reign.

Henry was fond of his children, but ſtill fonder of power; his regards were paid to his wife, but his affections ſettled on his miſtreſs; and ſeeking, what ſeldom can be found, at once to maintain his dignity, and gratify his pleaſure, he tarniſhed his glory and deſtroyed his quiet. His eldeſt ſon was a king without power; while two other of his ſons were in poſſeſſion of eſtates, without any exerciſe of dominion. Every thing was managed by the father, while the children became more eager after what they were hardly permitted to taſte. There was a great

great diſproportion of age between Henry and his queen Eleanor; who cannot, at this time of life, be ſuppoſed to have retained any charms, except thoſe of the mind. Henry, when diſengaged from the purſuits of ambition, had never found in Eleanor that ſoftneſs of converſation and demeanor which is the ſource of nuptial affection; ſhe preſumed on her great poſſeſſions and great quality; ſo that Henry had always been attached to her rather by reſpect than fondneſs. Coldneſs is ſometimes more irritating than averſion; it inflamed to the higheſt degree, the paſſions of Eleanor, even without offering a remedy. The king's intrigue with the fair Roſamond, who is ſaid to have been daughter to lord Clifford, was no ſecret; and Eleanor, that ſhe might gratify her revenge, trampled upon her duty. During Henry's abſence in Ireland and Normandy, ſhe, had frequent opportunities of concerting matters with her diſcontented ſons; and a plan of operations was laid, much deeper than Henry, with all his penetration, at firſt perceived.

Lewis of France, was not the only prince who began now to be jealous of Henry's growing power; William, king of Scotland, ſaw it, and trembled. Henry had never put him in full poſſeſſion of Northumberland, nor had William laid aſide his claim, though he had diſmiſſed his army. Other great noblemen, both in England and on the continent, had all their cauſes of hopes and fears; and all ſeemed deſirous of concurring to lower the towering ambition of the Engliſh monarch.

The Norman noblemen, who had, from the beginning, ſecretly inſtigated young Henry to oppoſe his father, now aſſiſted him in making his eſcape, notwithſtanding all the vigilance of his father, to the court of France, where he arrived at the very criſis of concerted rebellion. For queen Eleanor, who was then in England, with her two ſons, Richard duke of Acquitain, and Geoffrey earl of Britanny, having early intelligence of the young king's eſcape, ſent over both theſe princes to join in the conſpiracy againſt her huſband. They were followed by William king of Scotland, under pretence of renewing the famous league between his nation and the crown of France. At the ſame time, the earls of Boulogne and Flanders, entered into the conſpiracy, with many other Norman and Engliſh peers.

The defection of the young king was no great ſurprize to Henry the elder. He had taken care to fill the court of his ſon with perſons ſo well devoted to himſelf, that he was in no danger of their joining in the rebellion of their maſter. Accordingly, every one of them, on the young king's eſcape, came and offered their ſervice to his father. But Henry, ſatisfied with this proof of their fidelity, thought they could be of more ſervice to him, by remaining about the perſon of his ſon; and therefore ſent them, with all their equipages to the French court, deſiring them to continue in the ſervice of their former maſter. Lewis, however, was not to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon, and the young monarch accordingly refuſed to entertain any but thoſe who ſwore fealty to ſtand by him againſt his father.

By thus requiring an oath of allegiance againſt his father, young Henry was guilty of an open act of hoſtility againſt the king of England, who had hitherto continued without ſhewing any mark of reſentment. He was not, however, wanting to himſelf: he viſited his frontiers in Normandy, and ordered them all, eſpecially Giſors, to be well victualled and fortified. The like precautions were taken in Anjou and Britany, as well as in his other French dominions: and conſcious of the powerful confederacy that had been formed againſt him, he took into his pay twenty thouſand Brabanders, all veteran ſoldiers of fortune, whom he attached by his liberality, to his perſon and intereſts.

As the confederacy againſt Henry the elder had been formed upon private compact only, it was now thought neceſſary to give it the appearance of a ſolemn ſanction. A great council of the French peers, both ſpiritual and temporal, was accordingly held at Paris, where young Henry, as a peer of France, aſſiſted. Here the ſeveral parties in the confederacy, gave in their terms. William, king of the Scots, demanded all Northumberland, to be held in homage by himſelf; and the earldom of Huntingdom to be held, in like manner, by his brother David. The earl of Flanders demanded the county of Kent, with the caſtles of Dover and Rocheſter, and a thouſand pounds yearly rent in England. The earl of Boulogne, his brother, claimed the earldom of Moreton, with the barony of Haye, and the ſoke or liberty of Kirton in Lincolnſhire. The earl of Blois, claimed, among other things, the caſtle of Amboiſe, with five hundred pounds of Anjouvine money rent. All theſe claims, with many others too tedious to mention here, were granted by the young king, under a new great ſeal, which he had ordered to be made in France; after which all the claimants did him homage and fealty.

The preliminiaries being ſettled, it was propoſed that a general confederacy ſhould be entered into againſt Henry the elder. This being agreed to, the king of France was the firſt who took an oath to aſſiſt young Henry againſt his father, to the utmoſt of his power, till he forced him to reſign the crown of England. He was followed by the reſt of the aſſembly; and young Henry, with his two brothers, ſwore in like manner, that they would never abandon the alliance they had contracted, nor make peace with their father without conſent of the king and court of France.

The confederacy was now public, and all the barons of Normandy, Aquitain, Anjou, and Britany, declared themſelves ready to act in favour of the young king. It was agreed, that the earls of Boulogne and Flanders ſhould march at the head of a powerful army into Normandy, in order to take the places held there by Henry; that the king of France and the young Henry ſhould beſiege Vernuil; that the earl of Cheſter ſhould act in Britany, under prince Geoffrey; prince Richard in Guienne, and William king of Scotland, in the north of England. The earl of Flanders and his brother were ſucceſsful enough to take Albermarle and Rhiencourt, where the latter loſt his life; and the affairs of the conſpiracy ſeemed now ſo promiſing, that the ſituation of the elder Henry, was conſidered as deſperate by all Europe.

Henry himſelf was now only in the flower of his age, and the preſent ſtorm which broke upon him, rouſed his ſpirits, which had for ſome time been loſt in a train of inglorious negotiations. He gave his orders with amazing preſence of mind; and notwithſtanding the general defection againſt him, the enemy found no place unprovided for reſiſtance. He well knew that his queen had been very active

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in forming this conſpiracy, and therefore took care to watch her cloſely; and on her attempting to make her eſcape, in man's apparel to the French court, put her under arreſt.

Reduced to this dangerous and diſagreeable ſituation, Henry had recourſe to the court of Rome; and tho' ſenſible of the danger attending the interpoſition of eccleſiaſtical authority in temporal diſputes, applied to the pope, as his ſuperior lord, to excommunicate his enemies, and by theſe cenſures, to reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found ſuch a reluctance to puniſh by the ſword of the civil magiſtrate. Well pleaſed to exert his power in ſo plauſible a cauſe, Alexander iſſued the bulls required of him: but it was ſoon found, that theſe ſpiritual weapons had not equal force, as when employed in a ſpiritual controverſy; and that the clergy were very negligent in ſupporting a ſentence, which had not the leaſt tendency to promote the immediate intereſt of their order.

Henry did not, however, depend entirely upon the thunder of the vatican: he had collected a very powerful army to ſupport his rights, and maintain the dignity of his crown. The king of France, and young Henry, were puſhing the ſiege of Vernuil, which was bravely defended a whole month, by Hugh Lacy, and Hugh Beaumont. Both the ſiege and defence were obſtinate; but at laſt the garriſon, ſtraitened for want of proviſions, were obliged to capitulate, and they engaged, if not relieved in three days, to ſurrender the town, and retire into the citadel. On the laſt of theſe days, Henry appeared with his army on the heights above Vernuil; and Lewis dreading an aſſault, ſent the archbiſhop of Sens, and the count of Blois to the Engliſh camp, deſiring that the next day might be appointed for a conference, in order to eſtabliſh a general peace, and terminate the differences between Henry and his ſons. The king, who paſſionately deſired this agreement, and ſuſpected no fraud, gave his conſent; but Lewis, that very morning, obliging the garriſon to ſurrender, acccording to the articles of capitulation, ſet fire to the place, and began to retire with his army. Provoked at this artifice, Henry attacked the French rear with ſuch fury, that they were totally routed, great numbers ſlain in the purſuit, and many taken priſoners. The king was now free from any further oppoſition from Lewis, the time of ſervice among his troops being now expired, and they accordingly diſperſed themſelves immediately into the ſeveral provinces.

Henry therefore fell, with the utmoſt rapidity, into Britany, which had, by this time, almoſt totally revolted, the inhabitants being headed by the earl of Cheſter, and Ralph de Faugeres. But the retreat of the French army ſpread a panic among the troops, ſo that they were eaſily defeated in a pitched battle near Dol, where fifteen hundred were killed, and their leaders, the earl of Cheſter and Faugeres, obliged to take ſhelter in the town of Dol. Henry immediately inveſted the place, determined to finiſh the rebellion in Britany at one blow, by taking Dol and all its garriſon. He was not miſtaken; the town ſoon after fell into his hands, and the whole garriſon were made priſoners. This acquiſition, together with the check the two kings had received before Vernuil, gave a mortal blow to the ſchemes of the confederates. At the ſame time, the Brabanders did incredible damage to the eſtates of the rebels; they laid all the open places waſte with fire and ſword. Theſe conſiderations induced the king of France, to labour ſincerely for bringing about a peace with England. Henry, according to his uſual maxim, of always acting by negotiation, rather than arms, readily agreed to a meeting, which was appointed to be held between Giſors and Trie.

At this conference, Henry had the mortification to ſee his three ſons in the retinue of his mortal enemy. Lewis had nothing to aſk for himſelf, nor any other pretence for the war, but that of ſupporting the claims of theſe young princes, who had fooliſhly acted ſo diſobedient a part. Henry, however, deſirous of putting a ſtop to ſo unnatural a conteſt as that of a war with his own family, made the young princes offers which nothing but paternal fondneſs could have dictated. He inſiſted only on retaining the ſovereign authority in all his dominions; but offered young Henry the half of the revenues of England, with ſome places of ſurety in that kingdom; or, if he ſhould rather chuſe to reſide in Normandy, the half of the revenues of that dutchy, with all thoſe of Anjou. He made a like offer to Richard in Guienne; he promiſed to reſign all Britany to Geoffrey: and even if theſe conceſſions were not thought ſufficient, he agreed to add to them whatever the pope's legates, who were preſent, ſhould require of him. The earl of Leiceſter, who was admitted to this negociation, either from the natural impetuoſity of his temper, or from a determined reſolution of breaking off abruptly a conference, which muſt have covered the allies with confuſion, gave vent to the moſt violent reproaches againſt Henry, and even put his hand to his ſword, as if to attempt ſome violence on his perſon. This furious action threw the whole company into confuſion, and put a final period to the treaty.

The king of Scotland now appeared at the head of an army on the borders of that kingdom. The diſappointments which the confederates had met with in France, had not ſuffered them to ſend ſuch ſupplies to their friends in England, as were neceſſary for their taking the field ſo early as they intended. This was a great diſappointment to William, as he was to act wholly in concert with the young king's party. But the French king now found that the only chance for ſucceſs lay in putting William in motion. The earl of Leiceſter was, therefore, embarked at the head of a ſtrong body of Normans and Flemings, to make a diverſion in England. This encouraged the Scot to take the field, and he continued his march into Northumberland. That unhappy country was ſoon filled with deſolation; the hopes of plunder had prevailed with the greater part of the Scots to join in the invaſion, nor was there then in the north of England a force ſufficient to oppoſe the enemy. But the vigilant Richard de Lacy, and Humphry de Bohun, made a powerful diverſion by falling into Scotland, where they amply repaid the ravages committed by theſe northern invaders, and reduced the town of Berwick to aſhes. They would, perhaps, have extended their depredations farther into Scotland, had not neceſſity obliged them to return to the ſouthern parts, on receiving advice that the earl of Leiceſter was landed in Suffolk, where he was joined by Hugh Bigod, a powerful nobleman in theſe parts. The inſurgents were met at Farnham, by Lacey and Bohun, aſſiſted by the earls of Arundel, Glouceſter, and Cornwall, at the head of a leſs numerous, but much

much braver army. The foreigners were broke in an inſtant, ten thouſand of them were put to the ſword, the earl of Leiceſter taken priſoner, and the remainder of the invaders glad to compound for a ſafe retreat into their own country.

A. D. 1174. This defeat did not, however, totally diſhearten the malecontents: they determined ſtill to perſevere in their enterprize, and ſeveral of the moſt powerful noblemen in England declared for the aſſociates; ſo that the guardian of the kingdom, tho' vigorouſly ſupported by Geoffrey, biſhop of Lincoln, the king's natural ſon, by the fair Roſamond, found it difficult to defend himſelf on all quarters, from ſo many open and concealed enemies. To augment this confuſion, the king of Scotland broke afreſh into the northern provinces, at the head of an army of eighty thouſand men. This large force, tho' principally compoſed of diſorderly undiſciplined perſons, and therefore much better adapted for committing devaſtations, than for executing any military enterprize, was become dangerous to the crown, merely from the factious and turbulent ſpirit of the nobility.

In the mean time, Henry had baffled all his enemies in France, and put his frontiers in a ſtate of defence, ſo that he was at leiſure to attend particularly to the tranſactions in England, where affairs now demanded his preſence. He accordingly landed at Southampton, and well knowing the influence of ſuperſtition over the minds of the people, he haſtened to Canterbury, in order to make an atonement to the aſhes of Thomas-a-Becket. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the cathedral, which contained the body of this pretended ſaint, he alighted from his horſe, walked barefooted to the tomb of his dead enemy, proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of Becket, continued, during the whole day, in faſting and prayer, and even watched all night the holy reliques. And what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, this powerful monarch, ſo far demeaned himſelf, that after aſſembling a chapter of the monks, he diſrobed himſelf before them, put into each of their hands, a ſcourge of diſcipline, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the laſhes, which theſe eccleſiaſtics inflicted upon him.

During theſe tranſactions, William, king of the Scots, was ravaging the northern borders of England. He had indeed been repulſed before the caſtle of Prudhaw, and other fortified places, but ſtill continued to commit the moſt horrible depredations on the open parts of the country. At laſt Ralph de Glanville, the famous lawyer and juſticiary, ſeconded by Bernard de Baliol, Robert de Stuteville, Odonel de Umfreville, William de Veſci, and other northern barons, together with the gallant biſhop of Lincoln, approached towards the Scottiſh army, in order to give them battle; on which William thought proper to retreat nearer his own country, and took up his head-quarters at Alnwick. Here he lay, at leaſt, as he imagined, abſolutely ſafe from any attack of the enemy, and ſent out numerous detachments, in order to extend his ravages. But Glanville, being informed of his ſituation, made a haſty and fatiguing march to Newcaſtle; and allowing his ſoldiers only a ſmall interval for refreſhment, he immediately ſet out towards evening for Alnwick. He marched that night above thirty miles, arrived in the morning, under cover of a miſt, near the Scottiſh camp; and regardleſs of the great numbers of the enemy, he began the attack with his ſmall, but determined body of cavalry. William was living in ſuch ſupine ſecurity, that he took the Engliſh at firſt for a body of his own ravagers, who were returning to the camp: but the ſight of their banners convincing him of his miſtake, he entered on the action with no more than a body of an hundred horſe, in confidence that the numerous army which ſurrounded him, would ſoon haſten to his relief; but he was miſtaken: he was diſmounted on the firſt ſhock, and taken priſoner, while his troops, hearing of this diſaſter, fled on all ſides with the utmoſt precipitation, making the beſt of their way to their own country.

The news of this important victory, which proved deciſive in favour of Henry, arrived at London, a few days after that prince had performed his penance at the ſhrine of Thomas-a-Becket; and accordingly the whole ſucceſs was attributed to the interceſſion of that new ſaint, now thoroughly reconciled to Henry's perſon and honour: the king was conſidered as under the immediate protection of heaven, and that therefore, nothing but the height of impiety itſelf, could any longer reſiſt a prince ſo remarkably favoured.

The rebels now plainly ſaw, that they muſt entirely depend upon the clemency of Henry. Accordingly the biſhop of Durham, who was preparing to revolt, made his ſubmiſſion; Hugh Bigod was obliged to ſurrender all his caſtles, and throw himſelf entirely on Henry's mercy. Nor was any other reſource left to the earl of Ferrers, and Roger de Mowbray: and the inferior inſurgents, imitating the example of their principals, all England was, in a few weeks reſtored to perfect tranquillity.

This prodigious career of ſucceſs, rendered it impracticable to purſue the deſigned invaſion from Graveline, where the younger Henry was ready to embark with the earl of Flanders, and a ſtrong army. The king of France was therefore obliged to diſpenſe with the oath taken by the earl of Flanders, on condition that the latter aſſiſted him, in order to carry on the war with vigour in Normandy. Accordingly the earl joined his forces with thoſe of Lewis, and the combined army formed the ſiege of Rouen. But great numbers of the Normans, who were well affected to the elder Henry's intereſt, threw themſelves into that important city, and declared their reſolution of defending it to the laſt extremity.

During theſe tranſactions in Normandy, Henry formed an alliance with the Welſh, their prince having lately married Emma, the king's natural ſiſter. A thouſand of the Welſhmen were taken into Henry's pay, who now embarked for France, carrying with him his Welſh mercenaries. Their firſt action, after their landing in Normandy, was the interception of forty waggons, loaded with wine and proviſions for the French camp. This action, which was executed with great caution and intrepidity, gave Lewis a very favourable opinion of their addreſs in arms, and rendered him very greatly on his guard for the future.

In the mean time the garriſon of Rouen continued to defend themſelves with amazing vigour; and Lewis deſpairing of ſucceſs by open force, had recourſe to a ſtratagem, which, in that age of ſuperſtition, was conſidered as diſhonourable. He proclaimed in his own camp a ceſſation of arms, on pretence of celebrating the feſtival of St. Laurence; and when the citizens, ſuppoſing themſelves in ſafe-

ty, were ſo imprudent as to remit their guard, he propoſed to take advantage of their ſecurity. Perhaps his ſtratagem might have taken effect, but was happily prevented by ſome prieſts, who, from mere curioſity, had mounted the ſteeple, in which the alarm bell hung, and obſerving the French camp in motion, they immediately rang the bell, and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran directly to their reſpective ſtations. The French, who, on hearing the bell, hurried to the aſſault, had already mounted the walls in ſeveral places; but being repulſed by the enraged Normans, were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs.

The next day Henry, who had haſtened to the defence of his Norman capital, paſſed over the bridge in triumph, at the head of a powerful reinforcement; and entered Rouen in ſight of the French army. This additional force rendered the place abſolutely ſafe; and accordingly the king commanded the gates, which had been walled up, to be opened, and made preparations for puſhing his advantages againſt the enemy to the utmoſt. Lewis, dreading the conſequence of a battle with Henry, at the hea l of a veteran army, had again recourſe to deception. He once more propoſed a conference for bringing about a general peace, an offer which he knew Henry would readily embrace. He was not miſtaken; but while the Engliſh monarch truſted to the execution of his promiſe, he took care to retreat with his army into France.

Both ſides were, however, ſufficiently tired of the war; tho' the impetuous Richard, ſecond ſon to Henry, was ſtill in arms in Poictou, committing acts of hoſtility on all the inhabitants who favoured the intereſt of his father, and refuſed to come to any accommodation but upon his own terms. Exaſperated at his obſtinacy, the younger Henry, with the king of France, gave him up to the reſentment of his father, to whom they ſwore, not to give any diſturbance, while he reduced this ſtubborn youth to reaſon. Richard, depending upon the ſupport of the French king and his brother, was amazed, when he found himſelf deſerted by both. Reduced to this dangerous ſituation, he delivered up all the caſtles he had taken, and fell immediately at his father's feet. He had no reaſon to repent of the ſtep he had taken: his father received him with the ſame parental affection as if he had never offended.

A conference was now agreed to be held between Tours and Amboiſe, where all the three ſons made ample ſubmiſſions to their father, who pardoned them, together with all their adherents. The following are the heads of the agreement, which conſiſted of thirteen articles, and finally terminated this unnatural war.

By the firſt, the ſons of Henry renounced all the engagements they had entered into againſt their father.

By the ſecond, they releaſed all their tenants and barons from the oaths they had entered into againſt Henry the elder, and gave them liberty to return to their allegiance.

By the third, all the elder Henry's tenants and barons were to re-enter upon thoſe eſtates they held fifteen days before the rupture: the ſame proviſion was made for the barons, and others who had aſſiſted the princes againſt their father.

The fourth article contained an abſolute pardon, without reſerve of ill-will and malice, on the parts of all the contracting parties, to all perſons who had taken up arms, upon their future good behaviour.

By the fifth, the elder Henry gave to the king, his ſon, two convenient caſtles in Normandy, and fifteen thouſand Anjouvine pounds. To Richard, two convenient caſtles in Poictou, to be held in ſuch a manner, that no damage might thereby accrue to his father, with half the revenue of Poictou. To his ſon Geoffrey, half the revenues of Britany; and on conſummating his marriage with the daughter of the earl of Britany, the whole.

By the ſixth, a proviſion was ſettled for the priſoners; but the Scottiſh king, the earls Leiceſter and Cheſter, and Ralph de Fougeres, were expreſsly excluded. And it was alſo provided, that Henry the elder ſhould be at liberty to exact pledges from as many of them as he thought proper, provided they were able to give ſuch pledges: while the others were to ſwear fealty to him anew.

By the ſeventh, all caſtles fortified during the time of the war, were to be reduced to the ſame ſtate they were in, fifteen days before the rupture.

By the eighth, the younger Henry promiſed to execute faithfully all his father's charitable and other donations.

By the ninth, the young king promiſed faithfully to obſerve his father's will, in the proviſion he had made for his ſon John, viz. one thouſand pounds yearly, out of his eſtates in England, with the caſtle and earldom of Nottingham, and their dependencies, and the caſtle of Marlborough, with its dependencies; and out of Normandy two caſtles, ſuch as his father ſhould appoint, with one thouſand pounds of Anjouvine money; out of the eſtates belonging to the late earl of Anjou, one thouſand pounds of Anjouvine money, with one caſtle; another caſtle in Maine, and a third in Tourain.

By the tenth, all forfeitures were pardoned, incurred in conſequence of any ſubject's leaving the kingdom; and were not to be accountable for any effects they might have carried off; but, in all capital caſes, and breaches of the peace, they were to give ſureties for ſtanding their trials, according to the laws of the land. All forfeitures, likewiſe incurred before the war broke out, were recoverable, and all pleas and ſuits commenced before the rupture, were to remain in ſtatu quo.

The like proviſion was made by the eleventh, with regard to thoſe who enjoyed offices in courts of juſtice before the war, and had gone off to join the young king.

By the twelfth, king Henry the younger, together with both his brothers, promiſed an exact obſervance of the above articles, declaring, at the ſame time, that they would never attempt to extort by violence, any other conditions than were expreſſed in this treaty; and never again to withdraw their allegiance from their father and lord, the king.

By the laſt article, the two princes, Richard and Geoffrey, become the king their father's liegemen.

Such were the articles of agreement between Henry and his ſons, by which it abundantly appears, that the conqueſt over them was full and complete, every thing being ſtipulated ſo much for his dignity and advantage. No mention is made of the king of France, and therefore it is reaſonable to think, that a ſeparate treaty was concluded between that prince and Henry the elder.

But

But of all the parties that embraced the cauſe of the young princes, William king of Scotland was the greateſt ſufferer, by that invidious and unjuſt enterprize. Henry the elder delivered from confinement, without exacting any ranſom, above nine hundred knights, whom he had taken priſoners; but it coſt William the ancient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty. He ſtipulated to do homage to Henry, as his liege lord, for Scotland, and all his other dominions: he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom ſhould alſo do homage; that the biſhops ſhould ſwear fealty; that both ſhould ſwear to adhere to the king of England againſt their native prince, if the latter ſhould break his engagements; and that the fortreſſes of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxborough and Jedborough, ſhould be delivered into Henry's hands till the performance of the articles.

A. D. 1175. Nor was the leaſt mitigation allowed to take place: this ſevere and humiliating treaty was executed in its full rigour. That prince being releaſed from his confinement, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots; and they all did homage to Henry in the cathedral church of York, and acknowledged him and his ſucceſſors for their ſuperior lord. Nor did the Engliſh monarch reſt ſatisfied even with this. He engaged the king and the ſtates of Scotland to make a perpetual ceſſion of the fortreſſes of Berwick and Roxborough, and to allow the caſtle of Edinburgh itſelf to remain for a limited time in his hands. This was the firſt great aſcendant which England obtained over Scotland, and indeed the firſt important event, which had paſſed between theſe kingdoms.

A. D. 1176. Every thing being thus ſettled, and Henry at perfect peace in every part of his dominions, he applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice, in carrying the preſent laws into execution, and enacting others againſt crimes which were daily practiſed almoſt with impunity. He ordered robbery, murder, falſe coining, burning houſes, &c. to be puniſhed by the amputation of the right-hand and right-foot of the offender; puniſhments then conſidered as more ſevere than death itſelf, as the miſerable offender was condemned to ſpend the remainder of his life in poverty and want, and deprived even of pity and compaſſion. At the ſame time he demoliſhed, in a great meaſure, the ſuperſtitious trial by ordeal; for Henry ordained that any perſon accuſed of murder or any heinous felony by the oath of legal knights of the county, ſhould, though even acquitted by the ordeal, be obliged to abjure the realm. He was alſo deſirous of aboliſhing that abſurd cuſtom of appealing to ſingle combat; but this had taken too firm root among the nobility and gentry: He therefore contented himſelf with admitting either of the parties to challenge a trial by an aſſize or jury of twelve freeholders. This method of trial was very ancient in England, and eſtabliſhed by the laws of king Alfred: But the barbarous and violent genius of the age had of late given more credit to the trial by ſingle combat, which had for ſome time been the general method of deciding all important controverſies.

Henry was always deſirous of enforcing the conſtitutions of Clarendon, ſo far as they related to civil affairs; and he thought the preſent opportunity very favourable to his deſign. Accordingly he called a parliament at Northampton, where the kingdom was divided into ſix parts, each of which had three itinerant juſtices aſſigned it. Theſe judges were ordered to ſwear that they would cauſe the ſtatutes enacted at Clarendon, and renewed by the preſent aſſembly at Northampton, to be obſerved. This regulation was, in effect, the firſt which reduced the civil plan of policy in England to any certain method of adminiſtering juſtice to the common and inferior claſs of people, after the conqueſt. England, therefore, owes more to Henry for this regulation, than to all the ſhining advantages he gained over his enemies. Theſe intinerant juſtices were either prelates or ſome of the firſt nobility: ſo that the king's commiſſion which they bore, together with the dignity of their own character, gave weight and credit to the laws; ſo that they were able to protect the inferior gentry and common people in their property againſt the oppreſſion of the barons.

There was ſomething extremely ſtrange in this age with regard to the difference which ſubſiſted be- the clergy and laity, concerning the laws. If a clergyman was guilty of murder, his only puniſhment was degradation. If he was murdered, the criminal was liable only to excommunication and eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and by repentance and ſubmiſſion abſolution was obtained. Even the aſſaſſins of Thomas-a-Becket himſelf, though guilty of the moſt atrocious wickedneſs, and the moſt repugnant to the ſentiments of that age, lived ſecurely in their own houſes, without being called to account by Henry himſelf, who was ſo much concerned both in honour and intereſt, to puniſh that crime, and who profeſſed, or at leaſt affected, to treat it, on all occaſions, with the utmoſt abhorrence. Nor did they even attempt to procure a repeal of the ſentence till they found themſelves ſhunned by all the world, as excommunicated perſons; when they repaired to Rome, threw themſelves at the pope's feet, and ſubmitted to the penances impoſed upon them: after which they continued to poſſeſs, without moleſtation, their honours and fortunes; and ſeem even to have recovered the countenance and good opinion of the public. Henry was deſirous of removing this ſtrange peculiarity, which ſeemed totally incompatible with a civilized, and indeed with any government. Clergymen were, by one of the conſtitutions of Clarendon, ſubjected to a trial by the civil magiſtrate, and it ſeemed but juſt to give them the protection of that power, to which they were ſubjected; accordingly it was now enacted, that the murderers of clergymen ſhould be tried before the juſticiary, in the preſence of the biſhop, or his official; and beſides the uſual puniſhment for murder, ſhould be ſubjected to a forfeiture of their eſtates, and a confiſcation of their goods and chattels.

A. D. 1177. By employing his time in actions like theſe Henry became the favourite of his people. All Europe from hating and dreading, now began to admire and revere him. His abilities were ſuperior to envy; his power was guarded beyond inſult; and his clemency now made more conqueſts in peace, than his arms had ever done in war. England now knew what it was to be governed by Engliſh councils; her laws were continually acquiring a new degree of duration, through the acceſſion of ſtrength they received, by having once more for their foundation, the plan laid by the old Saxons.

Henry's two ſons Richard and Geoffrey were enlarging his dominions in France, which Philip could not obſerve without dreading the conſequence. He

therefore

therefore endeavoured to contract an important alliance with the earl of Flanders, from whom he demanded his two neices, daughters to his brother Matthew late earl of Boulogne, in marriage, one for his ſon Philip, and the other for the earl of Blois. Great as theſe propoſals were, the uncle did not think it prudent to conclude a matter of ſo much importance, without previouſly conſulting Henry. He therefore ſent over ambaſſadors, who found Henry holding a parliament at Northampton, where they laid their maſter's commiſſion before him and his peers. But Henry had before entered into engagements of an intereſting nature, with this politic earl and his deceaſed brother; and his ambaſſadors inſiſted on his performing both at the ſame time. But Henry, unwilling either to break with, or to gratify the earl in performing obligations, which had been forced upon him, during the time of his diſtreſs, returned an evaſive anſwer, giving the earl to underſtand, that he was willing to perform all his engagements, even beyond what he had promiſed, provided the earl did not diſpoſe of his nieces in marriage againſt his conſent. Henry ſoon after ſent two ambaſſadors, Walter de Conſtance, and Ranulph de Glanville, to treat farther with the earl, who now ſwore, that he would never diſpoſe of his nieces in marriage, without firſt obtaining Henry's approbation.

An affair of a very extraordinary nature now came before Henry, as the ſole arbiter. His ſon-in-law Alphonſo, king of Caſtile, and Sancho, king of Navarre, had been long at variance. But ſo great was the reputation of Henry's wiſdom and juſtice, that his relation with the king of Arragon, was no objection to Sancho's receiving him as the final judge of their differences. Accordingly a compromiſe had, for ſome time, been entered into by both thoſe princes, by which each pledged ſome caſtles as ſureties for ſtanding to Henry's award in the differences between them. Henry was informed by Petrus Bleſenſis, that the ambaſſadors of both princes were preparing to ſet out; and therefore, that he might receive them with the greater pomp and magnificence, immediatly adjourned his parliament to Windſor. The ambaſſadors ſoon after arrived; their retinues were numerous, and they were attended both by literary and warlike champions; not knowing whether the court of England might not chuſe to refer the queſtion to a deciſion by ſingle combat.

Having laid before Henry their credentials, and the compromiſe entered into by their principals, he, not chuſing to take upon himſelf alone, the determination of any matter of importance, ſummoned a full meeting of his parliament, from all parts of his dominions, to be held in Weſtminſter-hall, on the firſt Sunday of Lent. The appearance was very auguſt, and the aſſembly remarkably numerous. Henry himſelf preſided, and after the advocates had given in their reſpective claims in Latin, Henry ordered the ambaſſadors, on both ſides, to be ſolemnly ſworn, that their maſters ſhould ſtand to his judgment, as well with regard to the terms as to the truce; and, if they ſhould not, that then the ſaid ambaſſadors were to ſurrender their own perſons into Henry's hands. Some days being ſpent in ſtating the facts, and examining evidences, the parliament at laſt gave judgment, which was exemplified by way of charter, under Henry's ſeal, and addreſſed to both kings; the ſubſtance was as follows:

"That he had conſidered, by the advice and "counſel of his parliament, the allegations of both "parties, and thence it was decreed, that ſince neither party could contradict the allegations of the "other, with regard to the caſtles and territories "which each had ſeized, therefore Sancho, king "of Navarre, ſhould reſtore to the king of Caſtile, all the caſtles which the former had ſeized "during the minority of the latter: in like man- "that the latter ſhould reſtore to the king of Navarre, the three caſtles which he had taken by "way of reprifal. Farther, that the king of Caſtile ſhould pay to the king of Navarre, three "thouſand morobitteens for ten years; and that "the truce ſhould continue between them for ſeven "years."

This inſtrument was ſigned by a great number of the Engliſh nobility, gentry, and clergy; and affords a glorious proof how well Henry knew how to reign, by eſtabliſhing his throne upon a conſtitutional foundation, and proceeding according to the advice, and by the direction of his parliament. This famous tranſaction was finiſhed in eight days from the opening of the ſeſſions.

Henry's next undertaking was well worthy of ſo great a man and a king. The Norman nobility, who had ſerved abroad, had practiſed enormous acts of inſolence upon the perſons of the Engliſh, particularly the Londoners, whom they conſidered as a ſpecies of beings inferior to themſelves. Great privileges were alſo, in thoſe days, annexed to the enjoyment of public offices in that city; and the chief magiſtrates were generally ſome of the firſt nobility. Riotous thro' the power of their fathers and relations, the ſons and kinſmen of the principal magiſtrates, had proceeded to acts of inhumanity, murder, and rapine, which were perpetrated chiefly in the night. Henry had before endeavoured to check theſe diſorders, by hanging one of the moſt notorious ringleaders, though he offered five hundred marks for the ranſom of his life, and even gave in a liſt of his accomplices, many of whom were ſeized and brought to juſtice. About this time a young nobleman, of the family of Ferrers, was killed in a nocturnal encounter. This incident determined Henry to curb effectually ſuch extravagances for the future; and accordingly he proceeded with ſo wholſome a vigour, that the city, in a great meaſure, recovered her former quiet.

Having thus prepared for the peace of his capital, Henry repaired to Oxford, where he nominated his ſon John king of Ireland. Strongbow was now dead, and Henry was deſirous of making the acquiſition of that kingdom, a ſolid advantage to his other territories. Accordingly, he now diſtributed the property of Ireland among thoſe who were moſt likely to reduce it to a thorough obedience to his crown and family. Robert Fitz-Stephens, and Miles Cogan were now rewarded proportionally to their great merits; they had in property, for the ſervice of ſixty knights, all the kingdom of Cork, except the city of that name and its adjoining hundred. Philip le Breuſe, had the kingdom of Limeric; and the earl of Cheſter had all his eſtates reſtored, excepting a few dangerous caſtles which

Henry

Henry kept in his own hands, on condition of his going over and aſſiſting in the entire reduction of that kingdom.

A marriage had ſome time ſince been negotiated and agreed upon between Richard, Henry's ſecond ſon, and Alice, daughter to the king of France. The young lady had, for ſome time, been in England; and the elder Henry, captivated both by her beauty and merit, entered into a correſpondence with her, which in time produced the fruits of a criminal, and almoſt inceſtuous converſation. The king of France grew uneaſy at the frivolous pretences made uſe of for delaying the conſummation of the marriage, and upon the firſt ſurmiſe of the amour, had engaged the pope to interpoſe the thunder of the vatican, ſhould Henry any longer refuſe to give up the young lady to his ſon. But Henry, by advice of his clergy, appealed to the pope himſelf, and at laſt triumphed over his own and the young lady's honour.

A. D. 1179. Lewis, king of France, now worn out with years, was deſirous of reſigning his crown to Philip his ſon; but that young prince falling ill, on the day appointed for his coronation, his father, contrary to the advice of his council, undertook a pilgrimage for his recovery to the ſhrine of Thomas-a-Becket. Perhaps other motives, beſides thoſe of mere religion, had ſome ſhare in this journey. But however that be, he was very cloſely watched, during his ſtay in England, by Henry the elder, who, out of ſeeming reſpect, ſcarcely ever left his perſon; and after ſtaying four days at Canterbury, and paying moſt religiouſly his devotions to ſaint Thomas, Lewis returned to his own country. The monks, ſenſible that their ſaint's honour was concerned, did not fail to publiſh, that the prayers of Lewis were anſwered, and that the young prince was, by the interceſſion of Becket, reſtored to health.

While Lewis was ſettling his ſucceſſion, Henry the elder was regulating his government. He had for ſome time made it a rule, to be directed by the advice of his parliament, and felt the good effects of this conduct in the proſperous condition, both of his own revenue, and the circumſtances of his people. For England was, at this time, in perfect tranquillity; the people were well affected to the government, becauſe the government was directed by law. Henry ſaw, that the troubles of his predeceſſors had been occaſioned by a contrary conduct; and was ſoon ſenſible, that a king of England, directed by his people, in the conſtitutional acts of government, can aſk nothing for the advancement of his glory and power, which will not be granted. Richard de Lacy had been long his firſt miniſter; not diſtinguiſhed by his power, but his authority; not by the affections of his maſter, but by the veneration of the people; not by pre-eminence in dignity, but by painfulneſs in office. He had always the courage to remonſtrate ſeverely, when the king aimed at any arbitrary act of government; and Henry had ever the virtue to continue the miniſter, however his pride or paſſion might have been diſguſted with the man. He found the effects of his ſalutary counſels, and that the eaſieſt and ſureſt method to preſerve his own power, was to ſecure the people's rights. But Lacy was now ſtooping under the weight of years and fatigue, and therefore choſe to retire, as a canon regular, into an abbey at Lewes, of his own founding. Henry, upon the reſignation of this able miniſter, held a great council of his ſtates at Windſor, where he made a new partition of the judges circuits all over England, dividing the whole into four parts, and aſſigning proper judges to each.

A. D. 1179. Lewis, king of France, was now ſtruck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his judgment; and Philip, tho' only a youth of fifteen, took upon himſelf the adminiſtration till the death of his father, which happened ſoon after, and opened his way to the throne. He proved the ableſt and greateſt monarch who had governed that kingdom, ſince the age of Charlemagne. The ſuperior years, however, added to the great experience of Henry, while they moderated his ambition, gave him ſuch an aſcendant over this prince, that no dangerous rivalſhip, for a long time, aroſe between them. The Engliſh monarch, inſtead of taking advantage of his ſituation, rather employed his good offices to compoſe the quarrels which aroſe in the royal family of France; and he was ſucceſsful in mediating a reconciliation between Philip and his mother and uncles. Theſe good offices, however, were but ill repaid by Philip, who, when he came to man's eſtate, fomented all the domeſtic diſcords in the royal family of England, and encouraged Henry's ſons in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards their father.

A. D. 1180. Henry now applied himſelf to the due adminiſtration of juſtice in England, by appointing Ralph de Glanville, who had been ſo uſeful an aſſiſtant to Richard de Lacy, both in war and peace, to be chief juſticiary of all England. This celebrated lawyer adhered ſtrictly to the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, as they were collected in the reign of William the firſt. To this great man, is likewiſe attributed a treatiſe upon the laws and cuſtoms of England, ſo celebrated among our lawyers. But however that be, it muſt be owned, that the Engliſh government never made ſo noble a figure as it did now; the courts of juſtice began to proceed by forms favourable to the ſubject, without being inconvenient for the government, and too ſtrong to be broken thro', even by the hand of power itſelf. The public money, which had been remarkably adulterated, was now recoined; and the laws ſtrictly put in execution againſt all falſifiers, or debaſers of the current ſpecies, which was put under the inſpection of Philip Amayri, a native of Tours.

A. D. 1182 The younger Henry was now with his queen at the court of France, where jealouſies and uneaſineſs at their father's conduct, broke out afreſh; but, by the prudent conceſſions of Henry the elder, they were for ſome time removed, and the young king took a farther oath of duty to his father. This was, however, only a temporary relief: the ambition and filial diſreſpect of Henry's ſons increaſed with their years. The moſt untractable of them all was Richard; and the elder Henry was deſirous of ſeparating him from his brothers, by giving them all different appanages, well knowing, that when ſeparate, they were not formidable. Henry the younger had already entered into concert with the noblemen of Acquitain, who were in arms againſt Richard's government; that prince having ſeized the caſtle of Clerville, part of the younger Henry's patrimonial eſtate in Anjou. The elder Henry had made his will while he continued in England, by which, among other pious donations, he aſſigned a large ſum of money to the religious

houſes at Jeruſalem, but made no mention of the ſettlement of his dominions; this he deſigned ſhould take place in his own lifetime. With this view, he went over to France about the latter end of the year, and kept his Chriſtmas with great ſplendor at Caen, attended by his ſons, the younger Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, his daughter, the dutcheſs of Saxony, and her huſband. He was no ſtranger to the variance between his two elder ſons, and took this opportunity of either compoſing all differences, or of reducing the refractory to their duty. He accordingly firſt ordered his ſon Geoffrey to do homage, in the terms of the former dukes of Britany, for that dutchy, to his eldeſt brother, as duke of Normandy; and this was accordingly performed without any difficulty. Richard was next ordered to pay homage to his eldeſt brother for the dutchy of Acquitain; but the latter, without refuſing to accept the homage, told his father, that he ſhould not, by accepting of this homage, think himſelf abſolved from his engagements with the barons of Acquitain, who were in arms againſt the oppreſſions of his brother, whom, as his ſuperior, he had a right to chaſtiſe. This incenſed the haughty ſpirit of Richard to the higheſt degree, and he broke out into very paſſionate expreſſions, which exaſperated his father.

Richard did not, however, continue to maintain the diſpute; he retired immediately from court, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence. The elder Henry then ordered his two ſons to advance with an army againſt Richard; and the younger Henry entered into a correſpondence with the governor of the ſtrong caſtle of Limoges. A ſtrict confederacy was next begun between Geoffrey, the barons of Acquitain, and the younger Henry, which was to be kept a profound ſecret from their father, till their affairs were ripe for action. Thus was this unhappy family divided into three parts, that of the old king, that of Richard, and that of his elder and third ſons, the two latter only agreeing in the unnatural part they now meditated againſt their king and father. For Henry and Geoffrey, being too ſtrong for Richard, compelled him to throw himſelf into the arms of his father, to whom he delivered up the diſputed caſtle of Clerville. Upon this the elder Henry, not ſuſpecting the duty of his other two ſons, ſummoned them all to meet at Mirabel, that a general reconciliation might paſs between them. The princes obeyed, but the younger Henry, ſtill inſiſting on ſatisfaction to the barons of Acquitain, whom he could not in honour give up, without procuring them adequate terms, and who otherwiſe refuſed to be parties at the agreement; Geoffrey was ſent to them from his father, promiſing they ſhould have all imaginable juſtice done them.

A. D. 1183. Geoffrey finding that their engagement was now advancing to a criſis, could diſſemble no longer: he openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the diſaffected barons, and took into his pay a party of Brabantines, or Brabaſons, who had before ſerved under his father. The younger Henry, knowing how dangerous it would be for him to continue about his father's court, found means to procure an interview with his brother, under pretence of being able to bring him to reaſon; and the elder Henry, unwilling to hinder his labouring in ſo pleaſing a cauſe, conſented. But he had no ſooner left Caen, than he entered with Geoffrey, his brother, the caſtle of Limoges, and ſhuting the gates, declared againſt their father. Henry, not crediting the report of ſuch unnatural behaviour, repaired, in a peaceable manner, attended by his ſon Richard, and ſummoned the caſtle. A ſhower of arrows ſhot at once from the garriſon, ſeveral of which narrowly miſſed his heart, convinced him that the report was too true, and that his children had once more turned their arms againſt their father.

There is, however, ſome reaſon to believe, that the heart of young Henry was good in the main, however prevented by wicked counſellors. His judgment was indeed weak, and thence his paſſions commanded his reaſon; but as theſe paſſions were of the tender kind, pity, prompted by nature, ſoon brought him to his duty. He again and again threw himſelf at his father's feet, and was as often pardoned. But the ſenſe of the deep engagements he had entered into with the barons, together with the inflexibility of his father, in every thing that regarded his power or prerogative, as often made him ſwerve from his promiſes. The truth is, neither of thoſe two princes can be entirely vindicated. Henry the elder ſtill kept in his own hands the caſtle of Clerville, and ſtill continued deaf to all the terms offered by the barons; he inſiſted they ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. This, the younger Henry, at laſt ſoftened into a promiſe of pardon on their delivering hoſtages. But the barons demanded redreſs, not pardon; they held out for right, not mercy. They diſdained the terms; they killed the meſſengers ſent to receive the hoſtages; and they called upon the younger Henry to fulfil his ſolemn engagements. The latter, irreſolute and aſhamed of his weakneſs, in ſo often changing ſides, at firſt vowed to take up the croſs, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of his father to the contrary; but the ſhame of abandoning his party, again got the better of the young prince, and he again revolted from his duty. Geoffrey, in the mean time, behaved with great diſſimulation. While his brother continued firm to his engagements, he refuſed to liſten to any terms, but afterwards, on the rumour of a conference with his brother, ſided with the other party. In the mean time, the younger Henry procured leave from his father to go into Limoges, where he ſtripped a ſhrine of its riches, in order to pay his ſoldiers. But the elder Henry continuing invariably attached to his own intereſt as a king, ſuffered many pangs as a father. In this fluctuation, between nature and honour, the younger Henry fell ill of a fever at Martel, a caſtle near Turenne, to which he had retired; and ſeeing the approach of death, he was at laſt ſtruck with remorſe for his undutiful behaviour towards his father. He ſent a meſſenger to the king, who was not far diſtant, expreſſed his contrition for his faults; and intreated the favour of a viſit, that he might at leaſt die with the ſatisfaction of having received his forgiveneſs. Henry, who had ſo often experienced the prince's ingratitude and violence, apprehended that his ſickneſs was entirely a feint, and dared not to truſt himſelf in his ſon's hands: but when he ſoon after received intelligence of young Henry's death, and the proofs he had given of his ſincere repentance, this good prince was afflicted with the deepeſt ſorrow; he thrice fainted away; he accuſed his own obſtinacy in refuſing the dying requeſt of his ſon; and lamented that he had deprived that prince of the laſt opportunity of making atonement for his offences, and of pour-

pouring out his ſoul in the boſom of his reconciled father. This young prince died in the twenty eighth year of his age.

Nor was the behaviour of the reſt of Henry's children ſuch as gave the king the leaſt conſolation for the loſs he had received. Richard, who was now become heir apparent of all his dominions, refuſed to deliver up Guienne in favour of his brother John, purſuant to the requeſt of his father: he fled into that dutchy, and even made preparations for carrying on a war both againſt his father and his brother Geoffrey, who was now put into poſſeſſion of Britany. In order, therefore, to prevent the conſequences of ſuch an unnatural conteſt, Henry ſent for Eleanor, his queen, the heireſs of Guienne, and required Richard to deliver up to her the government of thoſe territories; which that prince, either dreading an inſurrection of the Gaſcons in her favour, or retaining ſome duty towards her, readily performed, and returned peaceably to the court of his father. But this quarrel was hardly accommodated, before Geoffrey, the moſt vicious of all Henry's children, broke out into violence; demanded Anjou to be annexed to his dominions of Britany; and upon meeting with a refuſal, fled to the court of France, and applied himſelf in levying an army againſt his father. He did not, however, long continue in his rebellion: he was killed ſoon after in a tournament at Paris.

A. D. 1185. Some time ſince, Lewis, king of France, and Henry had agreed to join the cruſades in the Holy Land. But the death of Lewis, and the unhappy diſputes that had ariſen in the royal family of England, had ſo engroſſed the mind of Henry that the engagement was almoſt forgotten; and perhaps had never been revived, had not Henry now received a letter, by Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, attended by the grand maſters of the knights templars and hoſpitallers, who came as ambaſſadors from Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem, to invite Henry to take up the croſs, and aſſume the diadem of that unprofitable kingdom. But even this requeſt would not have been ſufficient to engage the attention of Henry, had not advice arrived ſoon after of the wretched ſtate of that unhappy country.

Saladin, a prince of great generoſity, bravery, and conduct, having fixed himſelf upon the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conqueſts over all the eaſt; and finding the ſettlement of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine an invincible obſtacle to the progreſs of his arms, bent the whole force of his policy and valour to ſubdue that ſmall and barren, but important territory.

Taking advantage of the diſſenſions which prevailed among the champions of the croſs, and having ſecretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, over to his intereſt, he invaded the frontiers with a powerful army; and, aided by the treachery of the count, gained at Tiberiade, a complete victory over the Chriſtians, which utterly annihiliated the force of the already languiſhing kingdom of Jeruſalem. The holy city itſelf fell into his hands after a feeble reſiſtance; the kingdom of Antioch was almoſt entirely ſubdued; and except ſome maritime towns, nothing of importance remained of thoſe boaſted conqueſts, which, near a century before, had been acquired by the repeated efforts of all Europe.

A. D. 1187. This diſmal news aſtoniſhed all the Chriſtians of the weſtern parts. Pope Urban III. is ſaid to have died with grief: and his ſucceſſor Gregory VIII. employed the whole time of his ſhort pontificate in rouzing to arms all the Chriſtians who acknowledged his authority. The general cry was, that they were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven, who did not reſcue from the dominion of the Infidels, the inheritance of God on earth, and deliver from ſlavery that country, which had been conſecrated by the footſteps of their Saviour.

A. D. 1188. William, archbiſhop of Tyre, having procured a conference between Henry and Philip near Giſors, enforced all theſe topics; gave a pathetic deſcription of the miſerable ſtate of the eaſtern Chriſtians; and employed every topic to excite the ruling paſſions of the age, ſuperſtition, and jealouſy of military honour. Theſe pathetic remonſtrances had the deſired effect: the two monarchs immediately took the croſs; many of their moſt conſiderable vaſſals imitated their example; and as the emperor Frederic I. engaged in the ſame confederacy, ſome well-grounded hopes of ſucceſs were entertained: and men flattered themſelves that an enterprize which had failed under the conduct of many independent chiefs, or of weak princes, might, at laſt, by the joint efforts of ſuch potent and able monarchs, be brought to a happy concluſion.

A tax was now impoſed by the monarchs of France and England, amounting to the tenth of all the moveable goods of ſuch as remained at home; but as they exempted from this burden moſt of the regular clergy, the ſecular aſpired to the ſame privileges: pretending that it was only their duty to aſſiſt the cruſade with their prayers: nor was it without difficulty they were obliged to deſiſt from an oppoſition, which in them, who had been the chief inſtigators of theſe pious enterprizes, appeared very alarming to the people.

About two or three months after this tranſaction, the greater part of the inhabitants of Poictou roſe up in arms againſt Richard upon a very frivolous occaſion. The chief of the confederacy was Geoffrey of Luſignan, who made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that Richard, ſummoning all his ſtrength, entered his country, and that of the earl of Thouloſe, who had alſo joined the inſurgents, with fire and ſword. The earls immediately applied to the king of France for protection. Philip, who had ſo lately entered into a ſacred engagement with Henry, ſent an ambaſſador to England, to know whether Richard had acted by his authority and under his command. Henry diſclaimed both: upon which Philip entered the county of Berry, which he overran, taking a great many of its principal places, with ſome caſtles, which belonged to Henry. He then burnt Mount Richard, and took ſeveral places in Auvergne.

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, Henry paſſed immediately into Normandy, put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and a ſharp war was, for ſome time, carried on between theſe two powerful monarchs. It was now the common cauſe of Henry and his ſon Richard to check the progreſs of the French arms. The former, therefore, advanced againſt Mante, where Philip had then taken up his quarters; while the latter fell into that part of Berry which belonged to the crown of France, ravaging

ing the whole country through which he paſſed. Philip, who a little before had inſiſted upon Richard's delivering up all Berry and the French Vexine, now agreed to an interview, to be held, as moſt of the former interviews had been, under a beautifully ſpreading elm between Giſors and Trie. But the conference proving ineffectual, Philip, in a rage, cauſed the tree to be cut down, ſwearing that no more interviews ſhould be held there for the future.

By this time the confederate earls were convinced that the two kings only purſued their own advantage, without any regard to their intereſt, and therefore very wiſely declined having any farther to do with either. Upon this Philip again attempted a reconciliation with Henry; but, in the mean time, ſecretly brought over young Richard to his party. He artfully repreſented to this headſtrong prince, the wrong done him by his father, in detaining from him his bride together with her fortune; and ſuggeſted, that Henry's not putting him in the rank as heir apparent to the crown of England, and the dutchy of Normandy, was owing to a ſecret intention he had formed of ſetting him aſide from the ſucceſſion in favour of John his younger brother. Richard, on this occaſion, behaved with a caution uncommon to his impetuous ſpirit: he declined entering into any abſolute engagement with Philip; but as the original of the differences between his father and the French king, regarded his conduct, he expreſſed his readineſs to juſtify himſelf before the court of France.

Another conference was now held between Bon Molines and Salienne, where Philip, who well knew the inflexibility of Henry, offered to reſtore all things to the ſame condition they were before the rupture, provided the princeſs Alice was immediately given in marriage to Richard, and that prince declared heir apparent of Henry's dominions, and permitted to receive the homage and fealty of his ſubjects. This was abſolutely denied by Henry; upon which Richard, furious with paſſion, immediately ſwore fealty and homage to the king of France, without the knowledge or conſent of his father.

A. D. 1189. Soon after this interview the inhabitants of Britany revolted from Henry, and obtained from Philip and Richard written engagements, that they ſhould be included in any treaty that might be made with the king of England. In this extremity Henry had again recourſe to the pope, who ſent the cardinal of Anagnia to compoſe the differences between the two kings. Another conference was held, where the king of France repeated his former offers, and inſiſted on his former demands. This was again refuſed by Henry; and the legate threatened to excommunicate the king of France for inſiſting upon conditions he had no right to expect. But Philip told him with great ſpirit, that he valued not his excommunications, and that it did not become the court of Rome to pronounce an excommunication againſt the king of France, merely for keeping his ſubjects and vaſſals to their duty.

Thus the conference broke up without producing any other effect than that of rendering the two kings, if poſſible, ſtill greater enemies than before. Philip ſoon after took Ferte, Bernard, Montford, Beaumont, and ſeveral other places of ſtrength. He then advanced into Maine, and made a feint as if he intended to proceed in his route to Tours; but turning ſhort, he attacked the city of Mans, which was abandoned by Henry, who, on this occaſion, ſeems to have loſt all his ſpirit with his fortune; for though the city was well provided for defence, he declined ſtanding a ſiege, and ordered Simon de Tours to ſet fire to the ſuburbs, but the flames ſoon catched the city and reduced the whole to aſhes. While every thing was, by this incident, thrown into confuſion, Philip defeated a party poſted by Henry to guard the bridge or break it down, and forced his way with the fugitives, into the city itſelf. This heightened the panic which had before ſeized Henry's army, and before they had time to recover themſelves, were charged with great fury by the French. Henry himſelf fled with the utmoſt precipitation, at the head of ſeven hundred horſe, leaving his infantry to be cut in pieces by the enemy. Some battalions of Welſh, who generouſly made a ſtand, ſuffered moſt upon this occaſion. Henry himſelf narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the French; but being better mounted than his purſuers, he paſſed a ford through which they did not venture to follow him, and reached, with a few followers, the caſtle of Chinon. As the principal deſign of the French was to ſeize the royal perſon, they had neglected to follow thoſe who had fell off from Henry's retinue during the purſuit. Theſe therefore rallying themſelves, entered the caſtle of Mans, which ſtill held out. In the mean time Henry fortified himſelf in the caſtle of Chinon, where he had a conſiderable treaſure. But it is probable he found the effects of his miſtaken policy in diſobliging the Brabanders. He had not for ſome time known where to apply for mercenaries. The late defeat at Mans had coſt him the flower of his army, Normandy in general had declared for Richard, ſo that he had nothing to truſt to for ſupplies but England. He ſent, therefore, over to Ralph de Glanville, who had attended him to Normandy, to raiſe all the militia of England. But Henry's late tax for the cruſade had greatly alienated the affections of his Engliſh ſubjects. They had ſeen their money ſeverely collected for ridiculous purpoſes, and now ſaw it laviſhly expended in meaſures unintereſting to them as a people. Glanville's ſucceſs, therefore, was but indifferent. So true is it, that one unpopular oppreſſive ſtep in government, too often conceals the merits of a whole reign of beneficence.

Henry's mighty genius was now checked under that of Philip and Richard; for theſe two princes returning to Mans, ſoon made themſelves maſters of the caſtle, as they had before of the city. And the other caſtles of Maine likewiſe fell in a ſhort time into their hands.

They next marched into Tourain, and by the help of a great drought, which had rendered the river Loire very low, they took the city of Tours. This was followed by the reduction of all that country; ſo that Philip and Richard were now maſters of all Tourain and Maine; while Henry, after fortifying Chinon retired to Saumur. It is probable that even his perſon might have fallen into their hands, had not the neutral princes, who were feudatories to the crown of France, thought it high time to interpoſe. Accordingly the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbiſhop of Rheims, applied to Henry, and after making him ſenſible of the deſperate ſituation of his affairs,

prevailed

prevailed on him to conſent to an accommodation. The place appointed for holding the conference, lay between Tours and Araſie. Several pretenſions and claims were here to be ſettled. Henry had undertaken the cruſade. The diſappointment of his fulfilling this engagement, had irritated the court of Rome to a high degree, and was, perhaps, one of the principal ſources of his calamity. But he was now too old, and too diſpirited, to undertake that expedition in perſon. As the performance of this was held ſacred by Philip and Richard, both of them young men, and very deſirous of acquiring military glory, it was therefore reſolved, that Richard ſhould perform in perſon, the vows of his father. The other articles of this treaty, were all of them left to the arbritation of the king of France, who ſeems to have acted with great moderation. It was agreed, that Richard ſhould marry the princeſs Alice; that he ſhould receive the oath of homage and fealty of all his ſubjects, both in England and his foreign dominions; that Henry ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to the king of France, as a compenſation for the charges of the war; that his own barons ſhould engage to make him obſerve this treaty by force, and in caſe of his violating it, ſhould promiſe to join Philip and Richard againſt him; and that all his vaſſals, who had entered into a confederacy with Richard, ſhould receive an indemnity for their offence.

But tho' Henry ſigned this treaty, the mortification was ſo great, to ſee himſelf, who had been long accuſtomed to give the law in moſt treaties, reduced to grant ſuch diſadvantageous and humiliating terms, that he could hardly ſupport the ſhock. But how greatly was it increaſed, when he demanded a liſt of thoſe barons, to whom he was to grant a pardon for their connexions with Richard, and found at the head of them the name of his ſon John, who had always been his favourite, whoſe intereſt he had ever anxiouſly at heart, and who had even, on account of his aſcendant over him, excited the jealouſy of Richard. The unhappy father, already overloaded with cares and ſorrows, finding this laſt diſappointment in his domeſtic tenderneſs, broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair, curſed the day in which he received his miſerable being, and beſtowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children, a maledicton, which he could never be prevailed upon to retract. The more his heart was diſpoſed to friendſhip and affection, the more he reſented the barbarous return which his four ſons had ſucceſſively made to his paternal care; and this finiſhing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his ſpirits, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he ſoon after expired, at the caſtle of Chinon, near Saumur, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, after reigning thirty-four years, ſeven months, and four days.

No ſooner had the breath left the royal body, than it was treated with the ſame indecency with that of his great grandfather, the conqueror of England, and even with ſtill more aggravating circumſtances; for his ſervants, after rifling his wardrobe and treaſures, ſtripped the royal corps naked, in which indecent manner it continued, till one of the pages, leſs brutal than the reſt, threw over it a ſhort mantle. In this condition, it was viſited by his natural ſon Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutifully towards him, and who attended the corpſe to the nunnery of Fontevrault, where it lay in ſtate in the abbey-church. The next day Richard, who came to viſit the dead body of his father, and who, notwithſtanding his criminal conduct, was not altogether deſtitute of generoſity, was ſtruck with horror and remorſe at the ſight; and, as the aſſiſtants obſerved, that, at that very inſtant, blood guſhed out of the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe, he exclaimed, according to a vulgar ſuperſtition, that he was his father's murderer; and expreſſed, though too late, a deep ſenſe of that undutiful behaviour, which had brought his indulgent parent to an untimely grave.

Thus died the greateſt prince of his time, for wiſdom, virtue, and ability, and the moſt powerful in extent of dominions of all thoſe who had ever filled the throne of England. He was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong, and well-proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his converſation affable and pleaſing; his elocution eaſy, perſuaſive, and always at command. He loved peace, but poſſeſſed both bravery and conduct in war: he was provident without timidity; ſevere in executing juſtice without rigour; and temperate without auſterity. He preſerved an almoſt interrupted ſtate of health, and, at the ſame time, kept himſelf from corpulency, to which he was ſomewhat inclined, by an abſtemious diet, and frequent exerciſe, particularly hunting. When the affairs of his kingdom permitted him to enjoy leiſure, he had always recourſe to books, or the converſation of learned and ingenious men. His palace was a kind of academy, and his table a ſchool, where the moſt obſtruſe points of government and learning were debated. Nor was his reading of that wordy and uſeleſs kind, which forms the pedant; to letters he joined erudition, to erudition knowledge. His affections, as well as his enmities, were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of men, never deſtroyed the natural ſenſibility of his temper, which diſpoſed him to friendſhip and ſociety.

It was a very fortunate circumſtance to Henry's government, that his dominions in Britain, and thoſe on the continent, were nearly equal in value. The fortunate ſeizure of William king of Scotland, with the acts of ſubmiſſion and homage he entered into, ſecured Henry from all domeſtic troubles in England. But it was not ſo with regard to his dominions on the continent. There he had powerful rivals, who improved the diſcontent of his ſons and ſubjects, and at laſt proved too ſtrong for him to ſubdue. This occaſioned his obſerving a very different conduct towards both people; in proportion as his French ſubjects were mutinous and rebellious, the Engliſh were relieved and encouraged. Henry ſoon found the advantage of this conduct, and what at firſt flowed from neceſſity, proceeded at laſt from choice. He well knew, that in the four preceding reigns, thoſe periods alone were proſperous and eaſy to the government, in which the rights of the people were beſt conſulted. His own experience confirmed this obſervation; nor could he have been able to maintain his ground againſt the intrigues of his queen, the rebellion of his ſons, and the efforts of the French court, had it not been for the ſupport of England, reconciled to his government, by his acts in favour of public liberty. Add to this, that the odious diſtinction between Normans and Engliſhmen, was now ſo much extinguiſhed, that the intermarriages were very frequent, and both were treated with the

ſame marks of the royal favour and regard. In a word, the progeny of thoſe who came over with the conqueror, were now as true Engliſhmen as the Anglo-Saxons themſelves, and as warm in the defence of Engliſh liberties. Thus it was principally owing to Henry's good ſenſe, and the circumſtances of the times, that Engliſh freedom once more reared its head, during this reign.

What has been obſerved with regard to the two people of France and England, is alſo, in ſome meaſure, applicable to the two ſtates, civil and eccleſiaſtical. Henry's being embroiled with the latter, headed by a pope of great parts, and greater power, and directed by a prelate of great penetration and ſpirit, obliged him, in a great meaſure, to throw himſelf upon the civil power; and by ſtrengthening the latter, he humbled the former; till at laſt he found no ſafety but in the protection of his people.

Henry had been early diſguſted with the ſpecies of military force, eſtabliſhed by the feudal inſtitutions, and which, tho' it was extremely burdenſome to the ſubject, yet rendered very little ſervice to the ſovereign. The barons, or military tenants, came late into the field; they were obliged to ſerve only for forty days; they were unſkilful and diſorderly in all their operations; and they were apt to carry into the camp the ſame refractory and independant ſpirit, to which they were accuſtomed in their civil government. Henry, therefore, introduced the practice of making a commutation for their military ſervice; and he levied ſcutages from his baronies and knights fees, inſtead of requiring the perſonal attendance of his vaſſals. When the prince had thus obtained money, he contracted with ſome of thoſe adventurers, in which Europe, at that time, abounded: they found him ſoldiers of the ſame character with themſelves, who were bound to ſerve for a ſtipulated time: the armies, indeed, were much leſs numerous, but far more uſeful, than when compoſed of all the military vaſſals of the crown. It is, therefore, no wonder, that the feudal inſtitutions began to relax, while the kings became rapacious for money, on which all their power depended. At the ſame time the barons, ſeeing no end of exactions, attempted to defend their own property: and, as the ſame cauſes produced nearly the ſame effect, in the different countries of Europe, the ſeveral monarchs either loſt or acquired authority, according to their different ſucceſs in this important ſtruggle.

Henry left only two legitimate ſons, Richard who ſucceeded him, and John, who inherited no territories, tho' his father always intended to leave him a part of his extenſive dominions.

He alſo left three legitimate daughters, Maud, born in 1156, and married to Henry duke of Saxony; Eleanor, born in 1162, and married to Alphonſo, king of Caſtile; Joan, born in 1165, and married to William king of Sicilly.

Beſides theſe, he had two natural ſons by Roſamond, daughter to lord Clifford: 1. William Longſpee, or Longſword, ſo called from the remarkable ſword he uſually wore. He married Ela, the daughter and heireſs of William earl of Saliſbury, and with her acquired that earldom. 2. Geoffrey: he was firſt made biſhop of Lincoln, and afterwards archbiſhop of York.

RICHARD I. Surnamed COEUR de LION.

A. D. 1189. MEAN and precarious is that prince's title to fame, who build it on that ſpecies of merit which is common with his meaneſt ſervant. Where pre-eminence is painful, where courage is well placed, and liberality beneficent, the character is at leaſt amiable, perhaps great; but where thoſe virtues are wrong directed, they form a monſter inſtead of a man, they conſtitute a tyrant inſtead of a king. The prince, whoſe reign we are going to diſplay, was powerful, brave, and generous; but power inſpired him with arrogance, valour puſhed him into madneſs, and liberality led him to oppreſſion. It was indeed very ſeldom, that the blood of Rollo taſted the richeſt of all luxuries, that of bleſſing thouſands, of chearing the heart oppreſſed with anguiſh, and healing the broken ſpirit.

We have already obſerved, that Richard was extremely affected at viewing the dead body of his father. Nor was this a ſudden and tranſient ſtart of paſſion; he retained about his own perſon all his truſty domeſtics, who were willing to ſerve him, and provided for the reſt ſuitable to their merit. The faithful miniſters of Henry, who had vigorouſly oppoſed all the enterprizes of his ſons, were received with open arms, and continued in thoſe employments, which they had ſo honourably diſcharged to their former maſter: while, with a nobleneſs of ſpirit that demands the higheſt applauſe, he diſcarded the minions of his paſſion, and all who had been unfaithful to his father, though even in his own behalf.

But his expedition to the holy land, ſeemed to ſwallow up every other purpoſe of his ſoul. Tho' to proceed in this with all the magnificence and vigour his aſpiring mind deſired, two things were principally neceſſary: a ſincere reconciliation with thoſe neighbours and relations who were moſt likely to give him trouble; and to amaſs money ſufficient for this purpoſe. Richard, therefore, immediately on his father's death, procured an interview with the king of France, where the late peace was again confirmed by oath.

The queen mother was releaſed from the confinement in which ſhe had been ſo long detained, and intruſted with the government of England, till her ſon's arrival in that kingdom. His brother John was now at Richard's court, and greatly careſſed; ſo that a perfect union ſeemed to reign in the royal family. The queen mother began her adminiſtration with a general act of indemnity, well knowing that popularity was of the utmoſt conſequence to the views of her ſon: their priſons gave up their captives, and the laws their forfeits.

At the ſame time Richard reſtored the turbulent earl of Leiceſter to his eſtates, and after being ſolemnly inaugurated in the dutchy of Normandy at Rouen, and receiving the homage of his ſubjects, he

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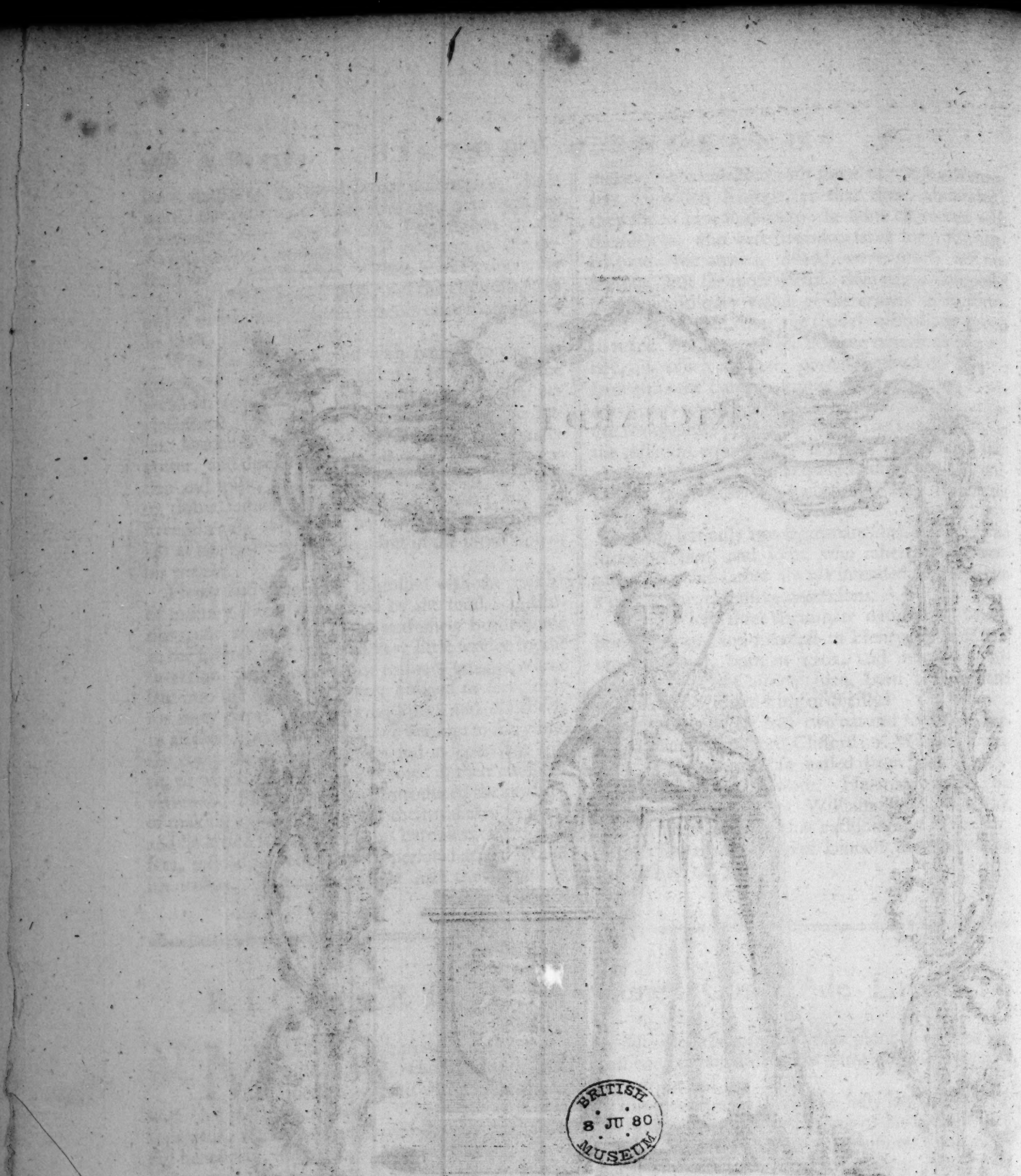

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he embarked at Barfleur and ſoon after landed in England, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy. He was accompanied by his brother John, whoſe ſettlement now came under conſideration. Richard was fully ſenſible how imprudent and even dangerous, it might prove to leave the firſt, and indeed the only prince of the blood diſobliged; and therefore endeavoured to bind him to his intereſt by a profuſion of eſtates and honours. Accordingly, beſides the earldom of Mortaigne in Normandy, and a penſion of four thouſand marks a year, he gave him thoſe of Cornwall, Devon, Dorſet, Somerſet, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaſhire. He put him in poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Pec, Bolſover, Marlborough, Luggarſhal, Wallingford, Haye, and Tickhill. He married him to Aviſa, the daughter of the earl of Glouceſter, by whom he inherited all the poſſeſſions of that opulent family. He conferred on him the whole eſtate of William Peverell, which had eſcheated to the crown; and even encreaſed his appanage with other very extenſive grants and poſſeſſions.

Richard ſince his arrival in England had generally reſided at Wincheſter; but in the beginning of September, he ſet out for London in order to be crowned. The ceremony was performed by Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and celebrated with great magnificence; but the zeal of the people againſt infidels, broke out in a very remarkable and cruel manner. The prejudices of the age had made the lending money on intereſt paſs by the invidious name of uſury; tho' the neceſſity of the practice ſtill continued it, and the greateſt part of that kind of traffic, fell every where into the hands of the Jews; who, being already infamous on account of their religion, had no honour to loſe, and were therefore apt to exerciſe a profeſſion, odious in it itſelf, with every kind of rigour, and even ſometimes by rapine and extortion. At the ſame time, the induſtry and frugality of that people, had put them in poſſeſſion of all the ready money, while the idleneſs and profuſion of the Engliſh, as well as of other European nations, enabled them to lend on exorbitant and unequal intereſt. Richard, well knowing the diſpoſition of the people towards theſe tribes of Hebrews, wiſely publiſhed a proclamation, prohibiting their appearance at his coronation; but ſome of them bringing him large preſents from their nation, preſumed, in confidence of that merit, to approach the hall in which he dined; and being diſcovered were expoſed to the inſults of the populace. They had immediately recourſe to flight, the people purſued them, and a rumour was ſpread, that the king had given orders for maſſacring all the Jews. The populace did not examine into the truth of this report, the command was ſo agreeable to their ſuperſtitious notions, that it was executed in an inſtant on all who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. Nor were thoſe who had continued at home expoſed to leſs danger; the people, inſtigated at once by rapacity and zeal, broke into their houſes, which they plundered, after murdering the wretched inhabitants: where the Jews barricaded their doors, and defended themſelves with vigour, the rabble ſet fire to the houſes, and made their way thro' the flames, to commit their deteſtable acts of pillage and violence. The uſual licentiouſneſs of London, which the civil power could hardly reſtrain, now broke out with double fury; and continued theſe outrages to the moſt alarming degree. The houſes of rich citizens, tho' chriſtians, were next attacked and plundered; till at laſt, wearineſs and ſatiety put an end to the diſorder. But what is ſtill ſtranger to relate, when the king impowered Glanville, the juſticiary, to enquire into the authors of theſe crimes, the guilt was found to involve ſo many of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants, that it was thought more prudent to drop the proſecution, and accordingly a few only ſuffered the puniſhment juſtly due to this enormous proceeding. Nor did the diſorder ſtop at London. The inhabitants of the other cities in England, hearing of this deſtruction of the Jews, imitated the barbarous example; and in York, five hundred of that nation, who had retired into the caſtle for ſafety, and found themſelves unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, threw their dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, and then ſetting fire to the buildings, periſhed in the flames. The gentry in the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, ran to the catheral, where their bonds were depoſited, and made a ſolemn bonfire of the papers before the altar.

Richard's whole attention was now employed on the ſecond thing requiſite, the raiſing a ſum of money ſufficient for defraying the expences during his expedition to the Holy Land. Richard well knew that the treaſure neceſſary to ſupport an army ſufficient for the purpoſe in ſo diſtant a part of the world, muſt be carried from Europe; and that the remoteneſs of his own country, added to its poverty, rendered it unable to furniſh him with thoſe continued ſupplies, which the exigencies of his affairs would require. He was therefore determined to have recourſe to extraordinary meaſures for the ſupport of an extraordinary expedition, whoſe foundation was rather that of popular fury, than deliberate policy. His father had left him a treaſure of above one hundred thouſand marks, beſides uncoined plate, jewels and utenſils to nearly the ſame value. This ſum Richard, without the leaſt regard to any intereſt but that of preſent glory, endeavoured to augment, by every expedient, however pernicious to the public, or dangerous to the royal authority. The rich biſhop of Ely happening to die at this time inteſtate, Richard ſeized on his whole eſtate, which amounted to a vaſt ſum for a private perſon. He then bargained with ſome of his richeſt prelates and noblemen for eſtates and honours. All were welcome to be purchaſers, without the leaſt regard to quality or merit; and, among the reſt, the biſhop of Durham, gave him a vaſt ſum for the earldom of Northumberland, and the office of chief juſticiary. The great ſeal of England was next ſet up to ſale, and purchaſed by William Longchamp, the firſt miniſter, for three thouſand pounds; and ſo very flagrant was the royal venality, that Richard publicly declared he would ſell the city of London itſelf, if he could find a purchaſer. Offices of inquiſition into the behaviour of magiſtrates were erected; not for reformation, but oppreſſion. The innocent and the guilty ſuffered in common, and nothing but paying large ſums into the king's coffers, gave ſafety to the one, or indemnity to the other. Such were the arts by which this brave, but ill-fated, and worſe judging prince, reduced the patrimony of the crown, exhauſted the ſubſtance of his people, and proſtituted the juſtice of his country,

country, merely to procure a temporary ſupply for venting his religious rage, and ſatisfying his unbounded vanity.

Glanville, that honeſt miniſter, could not behold this ſhameful traffic in ſilence: he had the courage to remonſtrate under this king, with the ſame freedom, on the public grievances, as he had often done under the laſt monarch. But Richard, at once leſs patient of admonition, and leſs virtuous than his father, ſeized the opportunity of ſtripping him of his well-earned ſubſtance. He was deprived of his poſt of chief juſticiary, and thrown into priſon, from whence he was not releaſed, before he had paid fifteen thouſand pounds. In his room, William earl of Albermarle was joined in commiſſion with the biſhop of Durham. But perhaps nothing can be a ſtronger proof, how negligent he was of all future intereſts, in compariſon of the cruſade, than his ſelling, for ſo ſmall a ſum as ten thouſand marks, the vaſſallage of Scotland, together with the caſtles of Roxborough and Berwick, the greateſt acquiſition which had been made by his father, during the whole courſe of his victorious reign; and his accepting the homage of William in the uſual terms, merely for the territories which that prince held in England. But elated with the hopes of fame, which in that age attended no wars, but thoſe againſt the infidels; he was abſolutely deaf to every other conſideration.

The adminiſtration was left in the hands of Hugh biſhop of Durham, and of Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, whom Richard had appointed chief juſticiary in the room of the earl of Albermarle. Longchamp was a Norman of mean birth, and of a violent character, who, by art and addreſs, had inſinuated himſelf into favour, whom Richard had created chancellor, and whom he had prevailed on the pope alſo, to inveſt with the legantine authority, that, by concentring every kind of power in his perſon, he might the better inſure the public tranquillity.

About the ſame time, Richard obtained from pope Clement, a power to diſpenſe with the performance of the cruſade, to ſuch of his ſubjects who were deſirous of continuing at home, after they had taken the vows. As great numbers had, by this time, repented of their folly, or found the performance of their engagements incompatible with their affairs, the king raiſed large contributions, by excuſing ſuch as were willing to be abſent.

In the mean time, the emperor Frederic, a prince of great ſpirit and conduct, had taken the road to Paleſtine, at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, collected from Germany, and all the northern ſtates; and after ſurmounting every obſtacle thrown in his way, by the artifices of the Greeks, and the power of the infidels, had penetrated to the borders of Syria, where, bathing in the cold river Cydnus, during the greateſt heat of the ſummer ſeaſon, he was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, which put an end at once to his raſh enterprize and his life. The loſs of ſo great a commander, was a mortal blow to the expedition; and tho' the army, under the command of his ſon Conrade, reached Paleſtine, it was ſo reduced by fatigue, diſeaſes, and the ſword, that the whole number hardly amounted to eight thouſand men; a force incapable of making any progreſs againſt the great power, valour, and conduct of Saladin.

A. D. 1190. Every thing being now ready, Richard and the king of France had an interview, in order to ſettle finally their conduct during the whole expedition. Here they appointed the firſt place of their rendezvous to be in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy. And it was alſo determined, in order to prevent the calamities which had hitherto attended all the cruſades, to conduct their armies to Paleſtine by ſea, to carry proviſions with them, and by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own ſtates, and with all the weſtern parts of Europe.

Every thing being ſettled in this conference, Richard, after receiving his pilgrim's ſtaff at Tours, repaired to Vezelay, where he met the king of France, and where they reviewed their armies, amounting to an hundred thouſand men; an invincible force, animated at once with glory and religion, conducted by two warlike monarchs, provided with every thing which their ſeveral dominions could afford, and not to be overcome but by their own miſconduct, or the unſurmountable obſtacles of nature.

Here the two monarchs reiterated their promiſes of mutual friendſhip, pledged their faith, not to invade each others dominions, during the cruſade, exchanged the oaths of all their barons, and prelates to the ſame effect, and ſubjected themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the penalty of interdicts and excommunications, if they ever violated this public and religious engagement.

The two armies now ſeparated, Philip taking the road to Genoa, and Richard that of Marſeilles, their reſpective fleets having received inſtructions to rendezvous at theſe ports. Richard waited eight days at Marſeilles, when his fleet not arriving, he hired twenty gallies, and ten large veſſels, on board which he embarked for Meſſina in Sicily, leaving orders for the whole fleet to follow him with all expedition. This order was punctually obeyed, the fleet ſoon reached Meſſina, where they found the king of France with his whole navy, ready to join them. But objects of a nature very different from that of the expedition they had undertaken, engaged their attention, and occaſioned ſo long a delay, that they were obliged to winter at Meſſina. This delay proved fatal to the enterprize, by laying the foundation of animoſities, which could not afterwards be removed.

The two monarchs, Philip and Richard, were of very different characters. The former was a prince of great compoſure and gravity; his reſolution tempered by prudence, but his prudence attended with a deep diſſimulation, which gave him great advantages; for tho' he was very ſuſceptible, both of injury or affront, yet he knew how to conceal his reſentment, till an opportunity offered for fully avenging the wrong, when he ſeldom failed of doing it effectually. He was at once brave and reſerved: as a king he was magnificent; as a man he was frugal, or rather penurious. He had undertaken the expedition during the frenzy of devotion, and was reſolved to perform it, becauſe he had undertaken it; for, it is more than probable, that even before he left Europe, he conſidered it as a fooliſh and impracticable undertaking. The madneſs of the age, however, not diſpenſing with inactivity, or even coldneſs in that ſervice, he wiſely reſolved not to diſſipate his force before he had entered upon the principal object of the expedition.

Richard

Richard, on the other hand, was now in that point of life, when glory dazzles the underſtanding. Fighting was both the means and the end of his purpoſe. The object was of no conſideration; and therefore, when he could not find, he was reſolved to create an enemy. Being now at the head of a vaſt army, of diſpoſitions ſimilar with his own, he behaved with invidious arrogance. His magnificence was faſtidious, and his courtſhip of popularity in his own army, beneath a king. Upon his landing, he was received by the king of France, and they held a conference together for ſome time, in which Philip preſſed the king of England, to lay aſide every ſecondary conſideration as incompatible with their principal undertaking, and to proceed immediately on the expedition. But this advice was by no means agreeable to Richard; and fortune now threw an adventure in his way, which gave him an opportunity, with ſome ſhadow of right, to gratify the darling paſſion of his ſoul.

William, king of Sicily, who had married Joan, a princeſs of England, daughter to Henry II. died ſome time ſince without iſſue; upon which Tancred, natural brother to William, ſeized the throne of Sicily. Richard, who was at that time on bad terms with the pope, Tancred's inveterate enemy, did not pretend to concern himſelf about the ſucceſſion to that crown; but Tancred having put the queen dowager, Richard's ſiſter, into a ſort of confinement, and at the ſame time refuſed to put her in poſſeſſion of her moveables and treaſure, to which ſhe pretended to claim a right on the death of her huſband, Richard firſt demanded her liberty, and then her money and effects. Tancred, whoſe character was very indifferent, complied immediately with the firſt demand, and the lady was accordingly ſent from Palermo to Richard at Meſſina, with a very ſplendid convoy. Probably Richard's ſecond demand was not ſo readily complied with; for the very day after the arrival of the queen dowager, Richard ſeized a monaſtery of the Griſons, which was ſtrongly ſituated on a rock, between Meſſina and Calabria, and converted it into a place of arms. Soon after he took poſſeſſion of another ſtrong caſtle, called Labaniare, giving the poſſeſſion of it to his ſiſter, with a ſtrong garriſon.

Alarmed at theſe violences, which ſeemed to threaten his crown, Tancred gave orders that the Engliſh ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved in Meſſina. Indeed there were ſtrong reaſons for taking this ſtep: the Engliſh ſoldiers, encouraged by the diſpoſition both of their king and their officers, had behaved with great inſolence to the citizens, who were ſo thoroughly exaſperated, that they were ready to expel them, even without their prince's orders. At laſt matters came to ſuch a height, that a fray happened in the ſtreet between the Engliſh and the townſmen, attended with very alarming conſequences. Philip, who eaſily foreſaw what muſt be the reſult of theſe conteſts, was inceſſantly preſſing Richard to proceed on their expedition, and at this very time offering ſuch powerful reaſons to Richard, that there was no pretence left for a delay. But while they were in cloſe conference, the noiſe of the tumult reached their ears; and Richard's martial ardour, breaking thro' every bound of reſtraint, he left the French monarch abruptly, flew to arms, and ordered out his guards. Philip was now in the utmoſt perplexity, how to behave on this occaſion; but he purſued the wiſeſt and moſt moderate part; he ordered his troops to obſerve an exact neutrality. While Richard, joining his ſoldiers, who were ſtill maintaining a doubtful combat with the townſmen, ſoon improved the fray into a complete victory. He made himſelf maſter of the town, and raiſed his own colours on all its battlements, without excepting even the part alloted to Philip for his quarters.

This ſuperlative inſolence drove Philip beyond his uſual moderation. It was an affront to majeſty itſelf, and ſuch as, he well knew, Richard's own noblemen would not pretend to ſupport. Many of theſe held poſſeſſions under the crown of France; and all knew that Philip, in that quality, was Richard's ſuperior as duke of Normandy. Some very warm expreſſions accordingly paſſed between the two kings on this occaſion; but the noblemen on both ſides interpoſing, Richard was obliged to ſubmit. The king of France's enſigns were hoiſted on the battlements of his quarters, and the city itſelf was delivered into the cuſtody of the knights Templars and Hoſpitallers, who were to keep it, till a final accommodation took place between Richard and Tancred.

The Sicilian prince was ſoon ſenſible, that he could hope for ſafety, only by ſubmitting to all Richard's demands, which were, that he ſhould permit his ſiſter to enjoy the dower ſettled on her by her huſband, the late king of Sicily. But the value of this dower creating ſome diſpute, Tancred agreed to pay to Richard twenty thouſand ounces of gold for his ſiſter's dower, and twenty thouſand more for an acquittance of all his claim to the moveables left by the late king of Sicily to Henry II. in whoſe right he claimed them. It was alſo agreed that Tancred's daughter ſhould be married to Arthur, duke of Britany, a poſthumous ſon to Geoffrey, Richard's brother; in conſideration of which alliance, Tancred was to pay down twenty thouſand ounces of gold more to Richard.

It ſhould be obſerved, that Tancred was, at this very time, under apprehenſions of an invaſion, both from the Saracens, and from the coaſt of Italy. This, perhaps, diſpoſed him the more readily to pay down ſuch exorbitant ſums; but he received, at the ſame time, another valuable conſideration: for he not only procured the king of England to become guarantee for the poſſeſſion of his throne, but alſo the oath of all his nobility, who engaged, that Richard ſhould defend him with all his forces, againſt the attacks of his enemies.

By this ſtipulation, it was evident, that a reſolution had been previouſly entered into between Tancred and Richard, that the latter ſhould paſs the winter in Sicily. This was, by no means, agreeable to the king of France, who had, ſoon after, ſtill greater cauſe of uneaſineſs. It was now no ſecret, that Richard had fallen in love with Berengaria, the princeſs of Navarre; and that he had ſent for that lady and his mother to Meſſina. Tancred, who, for his own ſecurity, was deſirous of inflaming the mutual hatred of theſe two princes, practiſed an artifice, which might have been attended with fatal conſequences. He ſhewed Richard a letter, ſigned by the French king, and delivered to him, as he pretended, by the duke of Burgundy, in which that monarch deſired Tancred to fall upon the quarters of the Engliſh, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in putting them to the ſword as common enemies. The unwary Richard gave credit to the in-

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formation; but was too candid not to betray his discontent to Philip, who absolutely denied the letter, and charged the Sicilian prince with forgery and falshood. Richard either was, or pretended to be entirely satisfied.

A. D. 1191. In the beginning of February, Richard received an account, that his mother, and the princess Berengaria, were arrived at Naples; upon which he sent his gallies to attend and bring them to Messina. Philip now renewed his applications to Richard, with regard to his obligations of marrying his sister Alice, when the latter gave him an absolute refusal. Hovendon, and other historians of credit, assert, that Richard was able to produce such convincing proofs of the infidelity of Alice, and even of her having born a child to Henry, that her brother desisted from any farther application, and chose to conceal the dishonour of his family in oblivion. He even permitted Richard to give his hand to Berengaria; and having settled all other controversies with that prince, he immediately set sail for the Holy Land, having for some time been incessantly importuned by the Christians, who were carrying on the siege of Acre.

Richard waited some time for the arrival of his mother and bride, and as soon as they joined him, every thing was prepared with the utmost expedition for his departure. Queen Eleanor returned to England; but Berengaria and his sister, the queen dowager of Sicily, attended him on the expedition.

The treasure received from Tancred enabled Richard to make great additions to his fleet, which now consisted of one hundred and fifty sail of large ships, and fifty-three well armed gallies. This fleet had not proceeded far, before it was overtaken by a violent tempest; and the squadron in which the two princesses were embarked, was drove on the coast of Cyprus, and some of the vessels were wrecked near Limisso, in that island. Isaac, prince of Cyprus, who had assumed the magnificent title of emperor, pillaged the ships that were stranded, threw the seamen and passengers into prison, and even refused the princesses liberty, notwithstanding their dangerous situation, to enter the harbour of Limisso.

Richard, enraged at hearing this cruel transaction, immediately came to their relief. He summoned the tyrant to give up the prisoners, together with their effects; but his demands were disregarded. The English monarch, thinking glory would be too cheap, if conquest was purchased on equal terms, instantly ordered his soldiers to follow his example; and leaping immediately into a boat, rowed towards the strand, and was himself the first that reached the shore amidst a cloud of arrows and missiles, discharged from the troops of the enemy. He was soon supported by part of his army; and the Cyprians, after a furious attack, betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and were followed by the English, who entered the city of Limisso with the fugitives, and hoisted Richard's standard upon the bastions.

The Greeks were at this time more effeminate than the Persians under the reign of Darius. Luxury had so enervated their manners, that their mighty empire perished, almost without efforts for its preservation, by the attacks of a small number of desperate Saracens. The Cyprians were of all the Greeks the most effeminate. Richard was no stranger to their character; and therefore ordered only a small party of foot, and fifty horse to land; and with this handful of men he attacked the whole Cyprian army the next morning, obtained a complete victory, took Isaac himself prisoner, and established governors over the whole island. Here Richard married Berengaria; and embarked immediately, carrying with her to Palestine, the daughter of the Cyprian prince; a dangerous rival, who was believed to have already seduced the affections of her husband.

The English army arrived in time to share in the glory of taking Acre, or Ptolemais. The siege of this place was one of the most celebrated in this or any other age. Like that of Troy, it was undertaken on a frivolous account; like that, it was carried on by powerful princes from different climes, confederated by a common principle, not of friendship, but of enmity; and like that, its long defence was rather owing to the animosities that prevailed among the assailants, than to either the courage or conduct of the defenders. The remains of the German army, conducted by the emperor Frederic, and the separate bodies of adventurers, who were continually pouring in from the west, had enabled the king of Jerusalem to form this important enterprize. But Saladin having thrown a strong garrison into the place, and taken care to molest the besiegers, by continual attacks, had protracted the success of this enterprize, and wasted the force of his enemies. Since the arrival of Philip, the siege had been carried on with more spirit than before; and the appearance of Richard inspired the assailants with fresh vigour. The English monarch, in his voyage to Acre, had taken a large Saracen vessel laden with stores and provisions, for the relief of the besieged. This was a blow of the utmost consequence, as the garrison could receive no supplies by land from Saladin.

Richard, on his arrival, was welcomed to the christian camp by Philip in person; and it was determined to press the siege with the utmost vigour. They also agreed, that when the French monarch attacked the town, the English should guard the trenches; and when the English prince conducted the assault, the French should provide for the safety of the assailants. This emulation and harmony had it continued must have terminated the war with glory to the Europeans; but discord and jealousy soon put a period to this fair prospect of success. Extraordinary acts of valour were, however, every day performed by both princes and both armies; and Richard, in particular, animated with a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew on himself the attention of all the world, and acquired a great and splendid reputation.

By these reiterated attacks, the garrison was, in a short time, reduced to the last extremity; and at last obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Indeed they preserved their lives only by granting other advantages to the christians; such as the restoring of prisoners, and the delivery of the true cross, which Saladin had taken.

The town being thus delivered up to the christians, each prince had a separate quarter allowed him for residence. But a misunderstanding now happened between the monarchs of France and England, on account of a dispute between Guy of Lusignan, and Conrade marquis of Montserrat, relating to the crown of Jerusalem; Richard taking the part of the

the former, and Philip of the latter. The conteſt was however carried on with decency on both ſides, and it was at laſt agreed that Guy ſhould enjoy the crown of Jeruſalem, which was indeed little more than titular, during his own life, and that Conrade ſhould ſucceed him.

Philip was however greatly diſguſted at the aſcendant acquired by Richard during the late ſiege; and having views of great advantages which he might gain by his preſence in Europe, abandoned the hopes of farther conqueſts, and redeeming the holy city from ſlavery, and declared his reſolution of returning to France. He urged indeed his bad ſtate of health as an excuſe for deſerting the cauſe he had undertaken; and propoſed to leave Richard ten thouſand troops under the command of the duke of Burgundy. Richard, convinced that it would be in vain to oppoſe his departure, gave his conſent, after Philip had renewed his oath never to commence hoſtilities againſt Richard's dominions during his abſence. But he paid little regard to his aſſeveration; for on his landing in Italy, he applied to pope Celeſtine III. for a diſpenſation from his vow; and though his requeſt was denied by the pontiff, he took every method in his power, tho' in the moſt ſecret manner, to ruin the affairs of the Engliſh monarch, and ſatisfy at once his reſentment and diſappointed ambition.

But we muſt now leave Richard reaping glory in the fields of Paleſtine, in order to take a retroſpective view of the affairs of England. Richard had hardly left his kingdom, before the two prelates, whom he had entruſted with the care of the nation, broke out into the fierceſt animoſities againſt each other, and threw the kingdom into confuſion. Longchamp, armed with a legantine commiſſion, and inſolent thro' the favour of his maſter, diſdained to ſubmit to an equality with the biſhop of Durham, whom he ſtripped of all his caſtles. His arrogance became intolerable to the Engliſh nation. He was more than a king among the laity, and more than a pope among the clergy. He was attended by no leſs than fifteen hundred horſe, and the expences of entertaining him one night in any of the monaſteries, were equal to the revenues of ſeveral years: He numbered among his domeſtics, who waited on him at table, the ſons of ſome of the nobleſt blood in England, whoſe families thought it an honour to be matched with the moſt diſtant relations of his. No land was offered for ſale which he did not purchaſe; no church living was vacant, which he did not retain.

Nothing but the reverence, which the Engliſh had for the perſon of Richard, and the ſanctity of his expedition, could have kept the people within the bounds of their duty, while provoked by ſuch a monſter of inſolence. The nobility, however, proceeded with great decency; they threw their eyes upon John, the king's brother, and hoped to receive redreſs from his power and influence. That ambitious prince, pleaſed with an opportunity of becoming virtuouſly popular, liſtened to their grievances, and patronized their complaints; but the unanimous opinion was, to proceed no farther than a dutiful remonſtrance to the king upon the ſtate of the nation and its government. This was accordingly done, and the remonſtrance was carried over by Eleanor, and laid before Richard at Meſſina. She ſeconded their repreſentations by her own, which effectually opened the eyes of the king, and he accordingly ſent over the archbiſhop of Rouen, and William earl Mareſchal, whom, with Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Hugh Bardolf, and William Brewere, he conſtituted joint juſtices with Longchamp, by charter: at the ſame time expreſsly reſtricting him from acting any thing without their advice. He farther added, that if the chancellor ſhould, either in matters of revenue or public juſtice, aſſume to himſelf any power independent of thoſe noblemen, and perſiſt therein, that they ſhould then act without him, and their proceedings ſhould be valid.

But when the biſhop and earl arrived in England, they found that Longchamp had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the places of ſtrength in the kingdom; and that he was, in reality, as abſolute as the king himſelf, treading on the necks of the nobility, and trampling on the laws of England. They therefore thought it prudent, at firſt, to impart their commiſſion only to John, and the noblemen in his intereſt. But having obtained the royal charter, they embraced an opportunity which now happened, to humble the pride of the inſolent prelate. One Geoffrey de Camville, a nobleman of great intereſt; among other purchaſes had, before Richard's departure, bought the caſtle of Lincoln, with the ſheriffalty of that county; and being a man of ſpirit, refuſed to deliver them up to the chancellor, who now demanded them. The chancellor immediately raiſed a body of forces, and laid ſiege to the caſtle at the very time that the archbiſhop of Rouen, and his coadjutors arrived in England. Camville applied to John, and the reſt of the nobility, for protection, who levying an army, ſurprized the caſtles of Nottingham and Tick-hill, and commanded the chancellor to raiſe the ſiege of Lincoln. At the ſame time, they publiſhed to the whole kingdom the import of the king's new commiſſion; and Longchamp being, at heart, an errant coward, was ſo terrified, that he immediately conſented to an acmodation.

But notwithſtanding this agreement, the weight of intereſt, which the chancellor had acquired with the military part of the nation, ſtill ſupported his fortune, till he ſplit upon a rock, on which he was driven by his inſolent ambition. He ventured to arreſt Geoffrey, archbiſhop of York, and even to drag him from the altar to priſon, for having oppoſed his licentious conduct.

This act of ſacrilege and violence, on the perſon of ſo great a ſubject, gave the chancellor's enemies prodigious advantage; and Longchamp was ſoon convinced, that he had gone too far. John demanded the liberty of his brother the archbiſhop, which the chancellor granted with as much meanneſs of ſoul, as he had before acted with madneſs. Geoffrey being now confirmed the ſworn enemy to Longchamp, haſtened to London, and laying his injuries before a meeting of the nobility, it was their unanimous opinion to proceed againſt the haughty prelate, according to the forms of law. He was accordingly ſummoned before the king's court, to anſwer for his behaviour, both towards the biſhop of Durham, and the archbiſhop of York. The chancellor, however, thought proper to diſobey the ſummons; upon which a great council of the nation was called, and Longchamp ordered to attend: but inſtead of repairing to the aſſembly, he haſtened to London, and ſhut himſelf up in the Tower. A formal charge was now exhibited againſt the chancellor, for the injuries he had done to the archbiſhop of

of York and the Biſhop of Durham, and for his arbitrary proceedings in almoſt every act of government. The archbiſhop of Rouen, and the earl Mareſchal, then produced their commiſſion, under Richard's ſignature, by which they were aſſociated with him in the government, with even a power of depoſing him, if his actions ſhould prove detrimental to the ſtate. Every thing being proved to the ſatisfaction of the whole aſſembly, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the chancellor ſhould be, from that moment, deprived of all ſhare in the public concerns, and the archbiſhop of Rouen, a prelate of great prudence and moderation, entruſted with the ſeals.

The chancellor, ſeeing this unanimity of all ranks of men againſt him, felt his power melt away like ſnow in the graſp of a heated hand. He ſaw the inſects which had been hatched by the ſummer of his greatneſs, diſappearing in the winter of his fortune; and as impotence of mind ſeldom knows any medium, he fell from the height of inſolence, to the depth of humiliation. He now meanly bargained for perſonal ſafety, without having the ſpirit to make a ſingle ſtruggle. He immediately reſigned the Tower of London, the caſtle of Windſor, and ſwore to deliver up all the reſt of the caſtles he held in England. He was even ſunk almoſt below contempt; and being haunted by guilt, he fancied enemies where there were none, and fled when no man purſued him. His ſoul was ſo fully poſſeſſed with thoſe terrors, that he made his eſcape to the continent, under the diſguiſe of a female habit, where he continued under the protection of pope Celeſtine, and, by his legantine authority, gave great diſturbance to the Engliſh government.

A. D. 1192. In the mean time, Richard was exerting all his power againſt the infidels. Soon after the king of France had left Acre, the Chriſtian adventurers, under the command of Richard, determined to open the campaign with the ſiege of Aſcalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jeruſalem. Accordingly they marched along the ſea-coaſt to put their deſign in execution: while Saladin made preparations for intercepting their paſſage; and accordingly placed himſelf in the road, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand men. It was not long before the Chriſtians reached the borders of his camp, and one of the greateſt and moſt celebrated battles that had been fought in that age, enſued. But the right wing of the Chriſtians, commanded by d'Aveſnes, and the left headed by the duke of Burgundy, were, in the beginning of the action, broken and defeated; when Richard, who led on the main body, reſtored the battle, attacked the enemy with admirable intrepidity and preſence of mind; performed the part both of a conſummate general and gallant ſoldier; and not only gave the two wings time to recover from their confuſion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, of whom no leſs than forty thouſand are ſaid to have periſhed on the field of battle. The Chriſtians continued their march to Joppa, where they reſted for ſome time from the toils of war.

In the mean time, Philip of France made uſe of every inſidious art to blacken the character of Richard, and, if poſſible, make himſelf maſter of his dominions on the continent. He firſt attempted to carry an open war into Normandy; but the French nobility refuſed to follow him in the invaſion of a ſtate they had ſworn to protect. The pope alſo, who was the general guardian of all princes that had taken the croſs, threatened him with eccleſiaſtical cenſures. He was therefore obliged to deſiſt from his enterprize, and have recourſe to ſecret policy and intrigue.

While he was thus employed in ſecretly undermining the fortunes of Richard, the news of that prince's victories filled every corner of Europe; and and when compared to Philip's own behaviour, in deſerting the popular cauſe he had undertaken, ſhone with double luſtre. His envy, therefore, prompted him to tarniſh that fame which he could not equal; and he accordingly embraced every pretence of throwing the moſt violent and moſt improbable calumnies on the king of England. There was at that time a petty prince in Aſia, commonly called, "The Old Man of the Mountain," who had acquired ſuch an aſcendant over his fanatical ſubjects, that they paid the moſt implicit deference to all his commands; eſteemed aſſaſſination meritorious, when ſanctified with his mandate; courted danger, and even certain death, in the execution of his orders; and were firmly perſuaded, that where they ſacrificed their lives for his ſake, the higheſt joys of paradiſe were the infallible reward of their devoted obedience. It was the cuſtom of this prince, when he imagined himſelf injured, to diſpatch ſome of his ſubjects ſecretly againſt the aggreſſor, to charge them with the execution of his revenge, and ſo inſtruct them in every art of diſguiſing their purpoſe. Nor was the ſtricteſt precaution ſufficient to guard any perſon, however powerful, againſt the attempts of theſe ſubtile and determined ruffians. The greateſt monarchs ſtood in awe of this prince of the aſſaſſins; and it was the higheſt indiſcretion of Conrade, marquis of Montſerrat, to offend and affront this nation of murderers. The inhabitants of Tyre, who were governed by that nobleman, had put to death ſome of this dangerous people: the prince demanded ſatisfaction; for, as he valued himſelf on never giving the firſt offence, he had his regular and eſtabliſhed formalities in requiring atonement. Conrade, poſſibly, not ſufficiently acquainted with the true character of this petty tyrant, treated his meſſengers with diſdain: the prince immediately iſſued his fatal orders, and two of his ſubjects, who had inſinuated themſelves in diſguiſe among Conrade's guards, aſſaſſinated him openly in the ſtreets of Sidon. They were both immediately ſeized, and condemned to ſuffer the moſt cruel tortures that human art could invent. But this produced no change in their ſentiments: they triumphed amidſt their agonies, and rejoiced that they had been deſtined, by heaven, to ſuffer in ſo juſt and meritorious a cauſe.

Every perſon in Paleſtine knew the hand from whence the blow proceeded. The prince of the aſſaſſins himſelf, in a letter to Leopald, duke of Auſtria, avowed the deed, and gloried in the execution. Richard was entirely free from ſuſpicion; and Conrade, with his dying breath, recommended his widow to Richard's protection; yet, on this foundation, the king of France thought proper to build the baſeſt and moſt egregious calumnies, and to impute to Richard the murder of the marquis of Montſerrat. He filled all Europe with exclamations againſt the crime; appointed a guard to his own perſon, in order to defend himſelf againſt a like attempt, and endeavoured, by theſe ſhallow artifices, to cover the infamy of attacking the domini-

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DESPREAUX *brought before* **SALADINE.**

ons of a prince, whom he himſelf had meanly deſerted, and was engaged with ſo much glory in a war, univerſally acknowledged to be the common cauſe of Chriſtendom.

But theſe ſhallow artifices loſt their effect: the heroic actions of Richard in Paleſtine ſufficiently demonſtrated the falſity of ſuch ungenerous calumnies. His army was now greatly recovered from the fatigues it had undergone, and the waſtes which the ſword and peſtilence had made, were now repleniſhed by freſh recruits of adventurers daily arriving at Joppa, when that monarch determined to attempt the moſt important object, that of recovering the city of Jeruſalem from ſlavery; and he accordingly advanced as far as the city of Aſcalon, the walls of which were immediately repaired, Saladin having demoliſhed them on the approach of the enemy. After continuing ſome time in that city, Richard advanced within ſight of Jeruſalem, the object of all his enterprizes; when he had the mortification to find, that he muſt abandon all hopes of immediate ſucceſs, and put a ſtop to his career of victory. The cruſaders, animated with an enthuſiaſtic ardor for the holy wars, broke at firſt through all regards to ſafety or intereſt in the proſecution of their cauſe; and truſting to the immediate aſſiſtance of heaven, ſet nothing before their eyes but fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next. But long abſence from home, fatigue, diſeaſe, want, and the varieties of good and bad ſucceſs which naturally attend the actions of war, had gradually abated that fury, which nothing was able directly to withſtand; and every one, except the king of England, expreſſed a deſire of returning ſpeedily to Europe. The Germans and the Italians declared their reſolution of deſiſting from the enterprize: the French were ſtill more obſtinate in this purpoſe: and the duke of Burgundy abſolutely declared his intention of ſeparating his forces from the combined army.

This diſtreſſed ſituation of affairs determined Richard to return to Acre, and Saladin, after recruiting his army from the garriſons of Jeruſalem, and other fortified places, laid ſiege to Joppa. Richard intended to have embarked in a few days for Europe; but receiving a courier from the patriarch of Jeruſalem with an account of the miſerable condition of the beſieged, and that he and the governor had delivered themſelves up as hoſtages for the ſurrender of the place, if not relieved by a certain time, he inſtantly determined to attack the Saracen army. Accordingly he ſeparated his army into two diviſions, one of which, commanded by himſelf in perſon, went by ſea, while the other marched by land to the relief of the place. They arrived juſt before the hour was elapſed for delivering up the caſtle, and while Saladin was preparing for a general aſſault. The Saracens could hardly believe their eyes when they ſaw the Engliſh gallies entering the port, and leſs when they beheld the amazing acts of valour performed by Richard; for Saladin, calling all his troops from the aſſault, ordered them down to the harbour, to prevent the landing of the Engliſh: but Richard, though he beheld the ſhore covered with troops, whoſe darts darkened the very air, was the firſt who leaped into the water, which was up to his waſte. He held in one hand a croſs-bow, and in the other a ſword, with which he cut his way thro' crouds of infidels. His prodigious addreſs and activity clearing the ſhore, gave his ſoldiers an opportunity of following his example. They cut in pieces all that made reſiſtance, and Richard, at laſt, forced his way into the city, and thence to the caſtle, into which he threw a ſtrong reinforcement. Saladin himſelf, who was amazed at ſuch acts of valour, thought it would be raſhneſs to renew the aſſault, or even to continue in his camp, while the port was open to ſo active and deſperate an enemy, whoſe ſole intention he well knew, was to leave the country of Paleſtine upon the beſt terms he could procure. He therefore left his camp, and retreated to a ſmall diſtance from the town; and was followed by Richard, who now occupied the ſpot abandoned by Saladin.

While Richard continued in this ſituation Saladin formed a ſcheme for finiſhing, at one blow, a war which had been ſo fatal to his army. He well knew that Richard was the ſole ſupport of the chriſtian cauſe; and conſequently if the perſon of the king of England could be ſecured, no farther oppoſition could be expected. The Saracens, like the Old Man of the Mountain, had their enthuſiaſts; but their zeal aroſe from a more noble principle, the ſervice of their prince and country. Saladin, like the other monarchs of the eaſt, had many ſuch about his perſon, all determined by his will, and obedient to his nod. Aſſiſted by a choſen number of theſe, Saladin now attempted to ſurprize Richard, and carry him off priſoner. The ſtratagem was ſo artfully formed, that it would certainly have ſucceeded, had not their approach been diſcovered by a Genoeſe, who alarmed the camp. The prodigious fatigues Richard's army had undergone during the foregoing campaign, had deſtroyed almoſt all the horſes, ſo that ten only remained in the whole camp; of which Richard himſelf rode one, the king of Jeruſalem another, and the earl of Leiceſter a third. The alarm continuing to ſpread, the king, who was ſleeping in his tent, armed himſelf with the utmoſt expedition, and by the aſſiſtance of the few horſes that remained, formed his army into a line, in order to repel the attack of the enemy. Richard had now occaſion for all his fortitude and military abilities; for Saladin, too artful to depend entirely upon his conſpirators for ſucceſs, he ordered his brother Saphardin to ſupport him with a ſtrong detachment of his cavalry; while he himſelf put the reſt of his army under arms, in caſe the attempt ſhould be improved into a general engagement. It happened as he ſuſpected. The conſpirators finding themſelves diſcovered, fell back upon their own advanced guards; and Richard purſuing them, a ſharp conflict followed, in which he again gave amazing proofs of his perſonal ſtrength and valour.

One of the Saracen generals, remarkable for his ſtrength and addreſs, ſeeing the wonders which Richard performed, thought that the conqueſt of ſuch a warrior would grace his arms. Leaving therefore his plebean foes, he ſpurred his horſe againſt that of the Engliſh monarch. So diſtinguiſhed a combat drew the eyes of both armies, as the event, had the king been vanquiſhed, muſt have decided the fate of the day; but Richard, after receiving the ſtroke of the infidel, aimed a blow with ſo much force and preciſion at his neck, that it divided his head from his body, and falling a ſlant, took away part of the Saracen's ſhoulder. The battle was now renewed with more fury than before; it thickened; it ſeemed to be contracted to the ſpot where Richard fought in perſon; every ſword was aimed, every

weapon was directed either to deſtroy or protect him. The brave earl of Leiceſter loſt his liberty, fighting at the ſide of his maſter, by whom he was generouſly reſcued at the hazard of his own. Richard's armour was now all briſtled over with darts and ſpears, his horſe ready to ſink under him, and himſelf ready to faint, rather by the blows he had given than by thoſe he had received. But the mind of Saphardin was touched with a ſentiment of honour congenial to great ſouls; for when Richard ſummoning all his courage, had once more obliged his aſſailants to fall back, the noble Saracen ſent him two fine arabian horſes for his ſervice. Theſe Richard thankfully accepted; and after nobly rewarding thoſe who had brought him ſo welcome a preſent, renewed the fight with freſh vigour, till he was informed that part of the Saracen army were attempting to ſurprize the city. This account was more prevailing than all the force of the infidels. He gave orders for continuing the battle, and retreated himſelf to Joppa, which he reached ſoon enough to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy; and his preſence encouraged the garriſon to march out and aſſiſt their brethren, who were ſtill engaged with Saladin's forces. At their approach the infidels gave up the conteſt, and retired to their camp.

When Richard retired to his quarters in the town, his right hand was entirely excoriated with handling his ſword; and the fatigue was ſo exceſſive as to overpower nature: he fell dangerouſly ill. In this deſperate ſituation of affairs, Richard once more ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the troops under the command of the duke of Burgundy, who lay at Cæſarea, and ſent the requeſt by no leſs illuſtrious a meſſenger than the king of Jeruſalem himſelf. But the Frenchman meanly declined the ſervice; deſiring nothing more than to ſee Richard either killed, taken priſoner, or forced to ſubmit to inglorious terms. Convinced that no farther conqueſts could be hoped for, Richard determined to ſecure the acquiſitions of the Chriſtrans, by concluding an accomodation with Saladin. Accordingly a truce was concluded with that monarch; by which it was ſtipulated, that Acre, Joppa, and other ſea-port towns of Paleſtine ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians, and that every one of that religion ſhould have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem unmoleſted. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number which had probably been deviſed by the Europeans, and which was ſuggeſted by a ſuperſtition well ſuited to the object of the war.

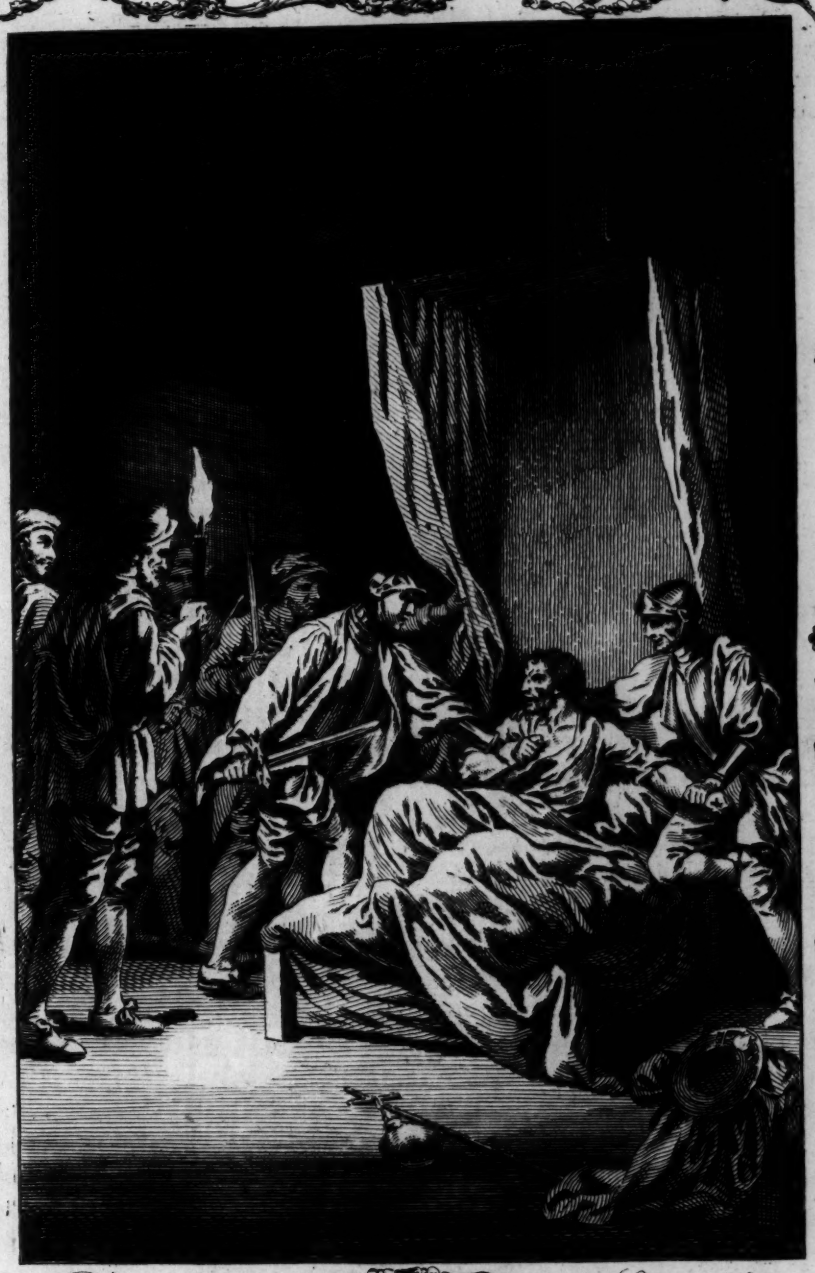
Saladin did not long enjoy his mighty empire; he died at Damaſcus ſoon after the concluſion of the truce with the princes of the cruſade; and it is worth remembering, that before he expired, he ordered his winding ſheet to be carried as a ſtandard through every ſtreet of the city; while a crier went before, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This "is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the con"queror of the eaſt." By his laſt will, he ordered charities to be diſtributed to the poor, without diſtinction of Jew, Chriſtian or Mahometan.

The truce being thus ſigned, no buſineſs of ſufficient importance remained to detain Richard any longer in Paleſtine; and the intelligence he had received that his brother John had entered into intrigues with the king of France, ſufficiently convinced him that his preſence was neceſſary in Europe. But knowing it would be impoſſible to paſs through France, he embarked on board a large veſſel bound for the iſle of Corfu. He ſailed from thence in order to land on the coaſt of Italy; but was ſhipwrecked near Raguſa in the gulph of Venice. He therefore put on the diſguiſe of a pilgrim, with an intention of travelling ſecretly thro' Germany. It was however known that the king of England was in theſe parts, and being purſued by the governor of Iſtria, he was obliged to abandon the high road to England, and direct his way through Vienna; where his expences and liberalities betrayed the monarch in the habit of the pilgrim; and he was arreſted by Leopold duke of Auſtria.

A. D. 1193. This prince had ſerved under Richard at the ſeige of Acre; but being diſguſted by ſome inſult of that haughty monarch, he was ſo ungenerous as to ſeize the preſent opportunity of gratifying at once his avarice and revenge. The royal captive was now treated by the rabble with every ſpecies of indignity. The court of Vienna having induſtriouſly, though at the expence of truth, ſpread a report, that the marquis of Montferrat had been aſſaſſinated in the Holy Land by his command, or, at leaſt by his connivance; and the treaty Richard had made with Tancred, together with his inſult upon Leapold of Auſtria, added ſtill more to their reſentments.

We have already obſerved the methods which were purſued in England for diſplacing Longchamp. The aſſociation of the noblemen againſt that inſolent miniſter, was virtuous in its principles and honeſt in its ends; but it was headed by prince John, who was deſtitute both of virtue and honour. While the popular deteſtation ran high againſt the chancellor, that prince joined in the oppoſition, and headed the confederacy which drove Longchamp to the continent. But public ſpirit no longer ſerving to cloak private ambition, he could not co-operate with thoſe, who had no views but the ſafety and honour of their prince and country. Thus they became greater obſtacles in his way, than thoſe he had removed. This induced him to take ſeveral alarming ſteps; and his deſigns were now ſo viſible, that the council thought proper to invite queen Eleanor, over to England, in order to ſtrengthen the royal party. That princeſs, who tenderly loved Richard, and was no ſtranger to John's character, came over immediately, and was of the greateſt ſervice to the royal cauſe. The lords juſtices now united more firmly than ever; they called another meeting of the ſtates, and a general oath of fidelity was taken to Richard and his heirs, againſt all mankind. At the ſame time they kept a watchful eye over all the ſea-ports, where they kept ſtrong garriſons commanded by experienced officers, whoſe fidelity they could depend upon. They ſoon found they had occaſion for all theſe precautions. John re-called Longchamp the chancellor, whom he had before driven out of the kingdom; that by joining their intereſts they might diſtreſs, or at leaſt embarras the adminiſtration. Longchamp glad of ſo powerful a protector, returned immediately to England; and John uſed all his intereſt to re-place him in his former poſt and authority. But this deteſtible inconſiſtency of conduct, ſerved only to unite the government more cloſely againſt both; and the chancellor was given to underſtand, that if he did not immediately quit the kingdom, he would be proceeced againſt as a traitor. This had the deſired effect; the chancellor, who

Engraved for Mountagues History of England.



Wale del. *Grignion Sculp.*

RICHARD I *Seized at* **GYNACIA**

near Vienna by Order of Leopold Duke of Austria.

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who well knew his former actions would not bear inſpection, left the kingdom and returned to the continent.

Deſpairing of gaining his point in England, by dividing, corrupting, or over-awing its government; John ceaſed from his oppoſition, and affairs went ſmoothly on in that kingdom, the people being perfectly ſatisfied with the adminiſtration.

In the mean time the emperor Henry VI. who alſo conſidered Richard as an enemy, on account of the alliance contracted between him and Tancred, king of Sicily, diſpatched meſſengers to the duke of Auſtria; required the royal priſoner to be delivered to him, and ſtipulated a large ſum of money as a reward for this ſervice. Thus the king of England, who had filled the whole world with the renown of his great actions, found himſelf, during the moſt critical ſtate of his affairs, confined to a dungeon, and loaded with irons, in the heart of Germany, and entirely at the mercy of his enemies, the moſt ſordid and baſeſt of mankind.

When the fatal intelligence of Richard's impriſonment reached England, the council were aſtoniſhed, and immediately foreſaw all the dangerous conſequences that might naturally be expected from ſo melancholy an event. The queen dowager exerted herſelf on this occaſion: ſhe wrote re-iterated letters to pope Celeſtine, exclaiming againſt the injury her ſon had ſuſtained, repreſenting the impiety of detaining in priſon the moſt illuſtrious prince, who had yet carried the banners of Chriſt into the Holy Land; claiming the protection of the apoſtolical ſee, which was due even to the meaneſt of theſe adventurers; and upbraiding the pope, that in a cauſe where juſtice, religion, and the dignity of the church, were ſo much concerned; a cauſe which it might well befit his holineſs himſelf to ſupport, by taking in perſon a journey into Germany, the ſpiritual thunders ſhould be ſo long ſuſpended over theſe ſacreligious offenders. But, alas! the zeal of Celeſtine very little correſponded with the queen-mother's impatience; and the regency of England were, for a long time, left to ſtruggle by themſelves, with all their domeſtic and foreign enemies.

John now threw himſelf into the arms of the king of France, between whom it was verbally agreed, that John ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of the dukedom of Normandy, and all the reſt of his brother's tranſmarine dominions. He was alſo determined, that he ſhould tamper with the Norman noblemen, who, intirely ignorant of his ambitious views, had invited him to a conſultation, concerning the means of redeeming their maſter. But John, though he went to the conference, which was held at Alençon, refuſed to have any ſhare in their counſels, unleſs they would immediately ſwear fealty to him, and put him in poſſeſſion of the dominions belonging to his brother. Amazed at this requiſition, the Norman noblemen bravely told him, that they would never deſert their maſter, who was now ſuffering an impriſonment ſhocking to humanity. Confounded at this reply, John immediately repaired to the court of France, where he gave himſelf up entirely to the direction of Philip. That prince, finding him uſeful for his purpoſe, immediately ſent him back to England, with a deſign of embroiling the government of that kingdom, in order to prevent any oppoſition from that quarter, to the meaſures that were now determined to be purſued in France, againſt the dominions and perſon of the unfortunate Richard. In order to this, Philip revived the calumny of Richard's aſſaſſinating the marquis of Monſerrat; and by that abſurd pretence, he induced his barons to violate their oaths, by which they had engaged, that during the cruſade, they never would, on any account, attack the dominions of the king of England. He made the emperor the largeſt offers, if he would deliver the royal priſoner into his hands, or at leaſt detain him in perpetual captivity; and he even formed an alliance by marriage with the king of Denmark, deſired, that the ancient claim of that royal houſe to the crown of England ſhould be transferred to him, together with a ſupply of ſhipping, to maintain theſe pretenſions.

We have already obſerved that John had formed a cloſe alliance with Philip to ruin his unfortunate brother. In conſequence of this alliance Philip invaded Normandy; and by the treachery of John's emiſſaries made himſelf maſter, without oppoſition, of ſeveral fortreſſes, Neuf-chatel, Neufle, Giſors, Pacey, and Ivrée: he ſubdued the counties of Eu and Aumale; and advancing to the ſiege of Rouen, he threatened to put all the inhabitants to the ſword, if they dared to make the leaſt reſiſtance. Fortunately, Robert earl of Leiceſter, appeared in this critical moment; a gallant nobleman, who had acquired great honour during the cruſade, and who, being more ſucceſsful than his maſter in finding his paſſage homewards, took on him the command of Rouen, and by his preſence and example, infuſed freſh courage into the diſmayed Normans. Philip was repulſed in every attack; the time of his vaſſals ſervice expired; and he conſented to a truce with the Engliſh regency, on condition of his being paid twenty thouſand marks, for the ſecurity of which, four caſtles were put into his hands.

During theſe tranſactions, Richard was confined in the heart of Germany, and loaded with irons like a common malefactor. But his impriſonment began to excite the general indignation of the princes of Europe, the French king only excepted. The letters of Eleanor to the pope, had made that prelate aſhamed of his conduct and inactivity in favour of the king of England. Peter of Blois, the faithful friend of Richard's government, was likewiſe very inſtrumental, in rouſing the European princes to a ſenſe of the common inſult, which, in the perſon of Richard, had been offered to all crowned heads, ſo that the emperor began to tremble for his conduct. He therefore produced his royal priſoner before the diet of the empire, aſſembled at Worms, where he was accuſed of many crimes and miſdemeanors; of forming an alliance with Tancred, the uſurper of the crown of Sicilly; of turning the arms of the cruſade againſt a chriſtian prince, and ſubduing Cyprus; of affronting the duke of Auſtria before Acre; of obſtructing the progreſs of the Chriſtian arms, by his quarrels with the king of France; of aſſaſſinating Conrade, marquis of Montſerrat; and of concluding a truce with Saladin, by which the holy city of Jeruſalem was left in the hands of the infidels.

Rouſed by ſuch falſe and malicious charges, Richard, whoſe ſpirit was not broke by all his misfortunes, made a public defence. After premiſing, that his royal dignity exempted him from anſwering before any juriſdiction, except that of omipotence, yet for the ſake of his reputation, he condeſcended

to

to juſtify his conduct before that great aſſembly. He obſerved that he had no concern in Tancred's elevation, and only concluded a treaty with a prince whom he found in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne; that the king, or rather tyrant of Cyprus, had provoked his indignation, by the moſt ungenerous and unjuſt proceedings; but tho' he chaſtiſed this aggreſſor, he had not retarded a moment the progreſs of his chief enterprize; that if he had at any time been wanting in civility to the duke of Auſtria, he had been already ſufficiently puniſhed for that ſally of paſſion; and it much better became men, embarked together in ſo religious a cauſe, to forgive each others infirmities, than to purſue a ſlight offence with ſuch unrelenting vengeance; that it had ſufficiently appeared by the event, whether the king of France, or himſelf, was moſt zealous for the conqueſt of the Holy Land, and was moſt likely to ſacrifice private paſſions and animoſities to that great object; that if the whole tenor of his life had not ſhown him incapable of a baſe aſſaſſination, and juſtified him from that imputation in the eyes of his very enemies, it would be in vain for him to make any apology, or plead the many irrefragable arguments, which he could produce in his own favour: and that, however, he might regret the neceſſity, he was ſo far from being aſhamed of his truce with Saladin, that he rather gloried in that event; and thought it extremely honourable, that, tho' abandoned by all the world, ſupported only by his own courage, and the ſmall remains of his national troops, he could obtain ſuch conditions from the moſt powerful, and moſt warlike emperor, that ever yet filled an eaſtern throne. Having thus apologized for his conduct, Richard burſt out into indignation at the cruel treatment he had met with, that he, the champion of the croſs, ſtill wearing that honourable badge, ſhould, after expending the blood and treaſure of his ſubjects in the common cauſe of Chriſtendom, be intercepted by chriſtian princes, in his return to his own country, be thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and even obliged to plead his cauſe like a common malefactor; but what he ſtill more regreted, was his being thereby prevented from making preparations for a new cruſade, after the expiration of the truce, and from redeeming the ſepulchre of Chriſt, which had been ſo long profaned by the hands of the infidels.

This ſpeech was delivered in ſuch a ſtrain of majeſtic, yet moving eloquence, that the German princes were deeply affected in his favour; they exclaimed loudly againſt the conduct of the emperor; the pope threatened him with excommunication; ſo that Henry found it would be impracticable for him to execute the baſe purpoſe propoſed to him by the king of France. He therefore concluded a treaty with Richard for his ranſom, and agreed to reſtore him to his liberty, for the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand marks, of which an hundred thouſand were to be paid before he received his liberty, and ſixty-ſeven hoſtages delivered as a ſecurity for the payment of the remainder.

A. D. 1194. As ſoon as the news of this treaty reached England, every method was put in practice for raiſing this neceſſary ſum. Twenty ſhillings were levied on each knight's fee in England: but as the money came ſlowly into the treaſury, by the method of taxation, the voluntary zeal of the people readily ſupplied the defect. The churches and monaſteries melted down their plate to the amount of thirty thouſand marks; the biſhops, abbots, and nobles paid a fourth of their yearly rent; and the parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes. By theſe methods, the neceſſary ſum was ſoon raiſed, and queen Eleanor, and Walter archbiſhop of Rouen, ſet out with it for Germany, where they paid the ſtipulated ſum to the emperor and the duke of Auſtria; delivered them hoſtages for the remainder, and ſet Richard at liberty. That prince, who well knew the baſe diſpoſitions of theſe tyrants, did not ſtop a moment in their territories; he proceeded with the utmoſt expedition, embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and after a very ſhort paſſage, landed in England. It was happy for Richard that no accident retarded his journey; for he was hardly ſet out, before orders were iſſued by the emperor for arreſting his perſon. Henry had been detected in the aſſaſſination of the biſhop of Liege, and in an attempt of the ſame nature, on the duke of Louvaine; and finding himſelf extremely obnoxious to the German princes, on account of theſe inhuman practices, determined to ſeek ſupport in an alliance with the French king, in order to which, it was neceſſary to detain Richard in captivity. On hearing that Richard was departed for his own dominions, he ordered him to be purſued; but before the meſſengers reached Antwerp, the veſſel which carried Richard was out of ſight.

The Engliſh knew not how to expreſs their joy, at the arrival of their monarch, who had ſuffered ſo many calumnies, acquired ſo much glory, and ſpread the reputation of their name into the fartheſt parts of the eaſt, whither their fame had never before been able to extend. He gave them, ſoon after his arrival, an opportunity of diſplaying publicly their exultations, by ordering himſelf to be crowned anew at Wincheſter, as if he intended, by that ceremony, to reinſtate himſelf in his throne, and to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity.

Richard now held a parliament at Nottingham, in order to ſettle the ſtate of the nation; for he had long perceived the ſtorm which was gathering in France, and therefore deſirous of preparing againſt its effects. All John's poſſeſſions in England were now declared forfeited to the crown, on account of his treaſon. Richard alſo now declared his purpoſe of making a general reſumption of thoſe exorbitant grants, which the neceſſity of his affairs had forced him to make before his departure for the Holy Land. Tho' this meaſure may be conſidered as wiſe, perhaps juſt, yet it is a proof of the madneſs with which Richard ſet out in the beginning of his reign. The revenues of the king are the revenues of the public; and accordingly Richard himſelf alledged, it was not in his power to alienate any thing belonging to the crown, whereby his ſtate was to ſubſiſt. Accordingly, on his coming to Wincheſter, he diſſeiſed biſhop Godfrey of that caſtle, together with the county of Hants, and two extenſive manors, which that prelate had purchaſed of the crown, before the expedition to the Holy Land.

Richard having thus ſettled every thing in England, paſſed over at the head of an army into Normandy; being impatient to make war on Philip, and revenge himſelf for the many injuries he had received from that monarch. As ſoon as Philip heard of the king's delivery from his impriſonment, he took every method in his power for defending himſelf

himſelf againſt an enraged enemy, and wrote a letter to his confederate John, in which were theſe remarkable words: "Take care of yourſelf, the devil is broke looſe."

Richard did not loſe a moment after his landing in Normandy; he marched immediately to raiſe the ſiege of Verneuil, which had, for ſome time, been inveſted by the French. In the mean time, the abſence of the king of France, occaſioned a report, that he had fallen in a mutiny among a part of his own army. This report occaſioned a conſternation, which improved into a pannic, and a total rout enſued.

Richard gave immediate orders for purſuing the French forces, which was accordingly done with great ſlaughter for ſeveral miles. While the garriſon of Verneuil making a ſally, became maſters of the French camp, with all the baggage; and Richard returning from the purſuit, entered the city in triumph.

John now found himſelf in a very uncomfortable ſituation: all his ambitious views in England were entirely diſappointed; and he had the additional mortification to find himſelf very little regarded at the court of France. He therefore now employed his whole thoughts, how he might reconcile himſelf to his brother, the only means remaining to prevent his falling into a total inſignificancy. But he was incapable of returning to his duty without committing an act of baſeneſs. He had been appointed by Philip, governor of Evereux, and was deſirous of delivering up the place to Richard, who was greatly beloved by the citizens; but he found an invincible obſtacle to his deſigns in the fidelity of the garriſon. He therefore invited about three hundred of the principal officers to an entertainment, and, in breach of all the ſacred laws of hoſpitality, good faith, and even of humanity itſelf, he cauſed them all to be treacherouſly maſſacred; and aſſiſted by the townſmen, fell on the garriſon, put them all to the ſword, and delivered up the place to his brother.

After giving this ſanguinary proof of his attachment to the intereſt of the king of England, he threw himſelf at Richard's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and was, by the interceſſion of queen Eleanor, received into favour. "I forgive him," ſaid the king, "and hope I ſhall as eaſily forget "his injuries, as he will my pardon." This pardon, however, extended only to his life; it was ſome time before he was reſtored to his eſtates.

The war between the kings of France and England was ſtill carried on, but in ſo languid a manner, as gave a convincing proof of the weakneſs of both princes, and the little authority they poſſeſſed over their refractory vaſſals: a few places were taken, but none of any conſequence, and the two contending monarchs, however exaſperated againſt each other, began to hold conferences for bringing about an accommodation. The negotiations, however, proved abortive, and hoſtilities again commenced with more rancour than ever; but fortune now ſeemed to favour Richard. The two armies lay near one another, the Engliſh at Vendoſme, the French at Fretteville; but Richard was better poſted than the king of France, whoſe buſineſs it was to draw him from his camp. With this view, Philip ſent him a kind of inſulting meſſage, that he intended that day to attack his army. Richard anſwered, that he ſhould attend his pleaſure; and if his brother of France was not as good as his word, he would himſelf pay him the firſt viſit. While thoſe meſſages were paſſing between the two monarchs, Philip had actually formed his army for a march; which Richard perceiving, attacked his rear with ſo much fury, that the whole French army was totally routed with great ſlaughter, and the Engliſh left in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, together with the French baggage, and the military cheſt, containing all the pay for their army. But what was a treaſure infinitely more valuable to Richard at this juncture, and cauſed a more irreparable loſs to Philip, was the ſeizure of all the French records, archives, treaties, and, in ſhort, all the papers which could give Richard any light into the ſituation, revenues, alliances, and œconomy of the French king and his court, with all the original liſts and conventions formed between Philip and John, during Richard's captivity. Philip had, however, in ſome meaſure, his revenge for this defeat, by an advantage he obtained before Vaudreville, where he defeated a body of Norman troops, under the command of prince John, and the earl of Arundel. After which, the weakneſs of both was ſo conſpicuous, that a truce for one year was concluded between them.

A. D. 1195. But the differences between theſe two princes, and the ſtate of affairs in Europe, were of too complicated a nature, to ſuffer any thing like a general peace from taking place for ſome time. The emperor Henry VI. who had ſo unjuſtly detained Richard in captivity, was a haughty, turbulent, aſpiring prince, diſowning all law but that of the ſword, neglecting all duties but thoſe of the field, and deſtitute of all affections but thoſe for power. His pride had inſpired him with the wild notions of univerſal monarchy; and if ever he ſtooped, it was with ſome view to promote that favourite deſign. With this intention he carreſſed Richard, and flattered his ambition with the hopes of a new diadem, the government of kingdoms which were yet to be conquered, and the rule of a people who now owned other maſters. He well knew, that an attempt of this kind muſt equally weaken Richard and Philip; and that, ſhould the former ſucceed, it would be always in his power to ſtrip him of his conqueſts, becauſe of their diſtance from his other dominions. He had, at this time, taken advantage of the death of Tancred, to make himſelf maſter of all Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily, which, together with his other extenſive dominions in Germany, Italy, upon the Rhine, and in the Low Countries, rendered him more powerful than any of his predeceſſors who had filled the imperial throne during the two preceding centuries. There never had been a good underſtanding between Philip and this emperor, ſince Richard's deliverance from captivity, and Philip's power now gave him ſome uneaſineſs. He therefore now offered to give Richard a diſcharge for all his debt, provided he would enter into an offenſive alliance againſt the crown of France. A propoſal, which was very acceptable to Richard, and therefore readily embraced by him. The treaty, however, took no effect, but it ſerved to rekindle the war with France, even before the truce was expired. In the mean time, the duke of Auſtria, having cruſhed his leg by a fall off his horſe at a tournament, a fever enſued, and being ſtruck, on the approach of death, with remorſe for his injuſtice to Richard, he ordered, by his

will, all the Engliſh hoſtages to be ſet at liberty, and the remainder of the debt to be remitted: his ſon, who ſeemed inclined to diſobey theſe orders, was obliged, by his clergy, to carry them into execution.

Hoſtilities now commenced with unparalleled barbarity betwen the French and Engliſh; but Philip's army being inferior in the field, he was reſolved to diſtreſs Richard's dominions, by demoliſhing all the caſtles he had taken in Normandy, and withdrawing his garriſons from them in order to increaſe his army. Richard, on the other hand, fell with a large body of troops, into the dominions of France, carrying fire and ſword into that country, and deſtroying houſes, corn, and cattle, as if he had reſolved to make famine and deſolation ſucceed the ravages of the ſword. A peace was however ſoon after concluded at Louviers, by which the two kings yielded up ſome territories to each other. But as their inability to make war occaſioned the peace; ſo their mutual antipathy engaged them again in war, before two months were elapſed.

A. D. 1196. Richard now formed an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Tholouſe, Boulogne, Champaigne, and other conſiderable vaſſals of the crown of France, imagining that he ſhould now have an opportunity of ſtriking a ſevere blow on his rival. But he ſoon experienced the inſincerity of theſe princes, and was unable to make any impreſſion on that kingdom, while governed by a prince of ſo much vigour and activity as Philip.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, the diſorders in London daily increaſed, owing in a great meaſure to its bad government; and a regular conſpiracy of the maleconts was now formed, which threatened the city with immediate deſtruction. One William Fitz-Oſbert, commonly called Longbeard, a lawyer by profeſſion, had rendered himſelf extremely popular among the lower rank of citizens by his patriotic harangues; and by defending them on all occaſions had acquired the appellation of the Advocate, or Saviour of the Poor. His popularity rendered him conſiderable enough to undertake a journey to Normandy, where having obtained an audience of the king, he expoſtulated ſo warmly on the hardſhips of the lower claſs of people, that Richard ſent him back with orders, that the grievances he complained of ſhould be redreſſed. Arrogant from this ſucceſs, he exerted his authority by injuring and inſulting the more ſubſtantial inhabitants, with whom he now lived in a ſtate of hoſtility, and who were every moment expoſed to the moſt outrageous violence from him and his licentious followers. Murders were daily committed in the ſtreets; houſes were broke open and pillaged at noon day; and, it is ſaid, that no leſs than fifty-two thouſand perſons had ſigned an aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves to obey all the orders of this dangerous ruffian. Archbiſhop Hubert, who was then chief juſticiary, ſummoned him before the council to anſwer for his conduct; but he came ſo well attended that no perſon would venture to accuſe him, or even bear evidence againſt him; and the primate, convinced of the impotence of the laws, contented himſelf with exacting from the the citizens hoſtages for their good behaviour. He however, kept a watchful eye on Longbeard; and ſeizing a favourable opportunity, attempted to take him into cuſtody; but the criminal, by murdering one of the public officers eſcaped with a band of ruffians to the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, where he for ſome time defended himſef by force of arms, in hopes that a more general inſurrection would ſoon enſue. But in this he was diſappointed: all Longbeard's followers were ſcandalized at this action, which tranſgreſſed the limits of a virtuous attempt againſt oppreſſion, except a deſperate rabble, to whom life or death would have been as indifferent under a lenient, as under a ſevere adminiſtration. No tumult enſuing, Longbeard was at laſt forced from his retreat, condemned and executed amidſt the regrets of the lower claſs of people, who were ſo devoted to his memory, that they ſtole his gibbet, conſidering the wood as a ſacred relict, and even pretended that many miracles were performed by it.

A. D. 1197. This and the like commotions, together with the king's abſence, and his engagements in foreign wars, encouraged the Welſh to invade the Engliſh dominions. Rees, prince of South Wales, collecting a conſiderable number of forces, laid ſiege to the town and caſtle of Caermarthen, which he took, and laid in aſhes. Roger Mortimer and Hugh Say, two noblemen of the greateſt intereſt in theſe parts, attempted to check his progreſs, but were themſelves routed with great loſs. The caſtles of Culn, Radnor and Payn then fell into the hands of Rees; but the laſt was delivered to its owner, William de Brouſe, on certain conditions. The progreſs of the Welſh drew the regent himſelf into the field, at the head of a powerful army. But the Welſh were wiſe enough not to hazard a battle, ſo that all Hubert could do was to take a few of their caſtles, which, as ſoon as the ſeaſon obliged Hubert to retire, fell again into the hands of the Welſh.

The convulſions of kingdoms, as well as thoſe of nature, have their advantages. The religious expeditions muſt have ſhook every pillar of the ſtate, and have weakened every nerve of government, had not the ſpirit of commerce happily ſucceeded that of war. Richard's cruſading adventures had opened to his Engliſh ſubjects countries almoſt unknown to them before, and intercourſes hitherto unattempted. The ports of England, in conſequence of the conqueror's eſtabliſhments, continued yet free, or at leaſt their cuſtoms were ſo ſmall as hardly to be felt; and mutual conveniences promoted natural advantages. All the continent of Europe had been for ſome years in arms; England alone enjoyed the happineſs of peace. This invited commerce, nor could the kingdom have otherwiſe ſupplied the immenſe ſums which was every year furniſhed for wars on the continent. As all taxes, in their laſt reſort fall upon the lands of England, ſo the meaner tenants felt them intenſely, while the traders opened channels of commerce, which, in time, ſupplied thoſe tenants with the means of anſwering the demands of the government. But as the means increaſed, the claims of government augmented; and about this time the influx of riches and treaſure greatly altered the value of the ſpecie. For it appeared by the regents accounts, that he had raiſed, at a medium, five hundred and fifty thouſand marks for the king's uſe only, during the two preceding years of his adminiſtration. This vaſt increaſe of revenue, could be owing only to the great increaſe of commerce, ſince ſo few years before, the raiſing an hundred and fifty thouſand marks, had been attended with the utmoſt diſtreſs.

During theſe tranſactions in England Richard marched his army into Auvergne and Berry, where he took ſeveral places, which were ſoon after retaken by

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RICHARD I. *Mortally Wounded by an Arrow Shot by*
Bertram de Gourdon from the Walls of the Castle of Chilus

by Philip. But John, who had for ſome time been employed in harraſſing the Beauvaiſis, being now reinforced by a conſiderable body of Brabaſons, advanced to the very gates of the city of Beauvais. Philip, biſhop of that city was a prince of the blood royal of France; he had ſpent more time in the field than in the college, and diſdaining to be inſulted at the gates of his own capital, ſallied out, at the head of a choſen number of forces, in order to drive the enemy from their poſts, and raiſe the ſiege of the caſtle of Milli. In his march he was met by prince John, his army totally defeated, and himſelf taken priſoner. John knew that Richard mortally hated the biſhop, and therefore ſent him to his brother, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think proper. Richard immediately gave orders that he ſhould be conveyed to a dark dungeon in Rouen, and loaded with irons. Soon after ſeveral of the biſhop's friends interceded with Richard for a mitigation of the prelate's ſentence. "You yourſelves," ſaid the king, "ſhall be judges of my reaſons for this ſeverity. "When I was taken priſoner in Germany, the em-"peror treated me, at firſt, with good manners and "civility; but within a few days arrived the biſhop "of Beauvais. Next morning he had his audience of "the emperor, and a few hours after, I was chained "like a ſlave, and more irons heaped upon my "limbs, than a horſe could have carried. Can you "therefore condemn me for treating the biſhop in "the ſame manner?" This ſilenced all the prelate's advocates. But the pope ſoon after, demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his ſon. The king ſent his holineſs the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all beſmeared with blood; replying to the pontiff, in the terms employed by Jacob's ſons to that patriarch, "This have we "found: know now whether it be they ſon's coat or "no" This laconic anſwer put a ſtop to the interceſſion of his holineſs, who replied, "that the coat "ſent by the king did not belong to a ſon of the "church, but to a ſon of the camp; therefore "Richard was at liberty to treat the priſoner as "he thought proper."

This war between England and France, though carried on with ſo much animoſity that both kings frequently put out the eyes of their priſoners, was ſoon finiſhed by a truce of five years; and immediately after ſigning this treaty, the kings were ready, on ſome new offence, to break out again into new acts of hoſtility; when the differences were once more accommodated by the mediation of the cardinal, St. Mary, the pope's legate. That prelate even engaged the princes to commence a treaty for a more durable peace; but the negotiation was broke off by the untimely death of Richard.

A. D. 1199. Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, a vaſſal to Richard, found a treaſure, of which he ſent part as a preſent to the king, who, as ſuperior lord, claimed the whole. The viſcount not readily complying with his demand. Richard, at the head of his Brabaſons, inveſted the caſtle of Chalus near Limoges, where the nobleman reſided. The garriſon, terrified at the preſence of Richard, offered to ſurrender, upon aſſurance that their lives and perſons ſhould be ſafe. But Richard refuſed to grant them any capitulation, declaring his intention was to take the place by ſtorm, and hang up the whole garriſon. This declaration rendered the beſieged deſperate, and they reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. Soon after, Richard, accompanied by Marcadée, the leader of the Brabaſons, approached the caſtle in order to reconnoitre its ſituation and avenues, when one Bertram de Gurdon, armed with a croſs bow, took aim at the king, and pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. Richard inſtantly mounted his horſe, and returning to his quarters, gave orders that Marcadée at the head of his Brabaſons ſhould begin the aſſault, and after taking the place, hang up all the garriſon, except the perſon who had given him the wound. Theſe orders, however barbarous, were punctually executed; and Bertram reſerved as an object of Richard's cruelty.

In the mean time, the wound was committed to the care of an ignorant ſurgeon, who, by the prepoſterous methods uſed in extracting the head of the arrow, brought on a mortification. The prince, ſenſible that his life was drawing towards a period, ſent for Gurdon, and, on his approach, ſaid, "Wretch, what injury did I ever do to you, that "you ſhould endeavour to deprive me of my life?" "What have you done to me," replied the priſoner coolly: "you killed, with your own hands, "my father and my two brothers; and myſelf you "intended to have hanged. I am now in your "power; you may ſatisfy your revenge: I ſhall "ſuffer all the tortures you can inflict with plea-"ſure, provided I can enjoy the ſatisfaction of "knowing I have given a mortal wound to a ty-"rant, who has been ſo long a nuiſance to the "world."

Struck with remorſe at the boldneſs and juſtice of this reply, and at the ſame time humbled by the near approach of death, Richard ordered the priſoner to be ſet at liberty, and a ſum of money to be given him; but Gurdon falling ſoon after into the hands of Marcadée, he ordered him to be flead alive, and afterwards hanged. In the mean time the mortification encreaſed, and Richard paid the debt of nature, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-third of his age.

Thus fell the mighty Richard a victim to his avarice, and unrelenting cruelty. The moſt ſhining parts of his character were his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried perſonal courage and intrepidity to a greater height; and from this quality, he gained the appellation of Lion's-heart. He was paſſionately fond of military glory, and never thought any toils, any dangers, any difficulties too great to attain it. His talents were admirably adapted to the acquiſition of renown; and he poſſeſſed the good as well as the bad qualities, incident to that character. His reſentments were great; his pride unconquerable. At the ſame time he was open, frank, generous, ſincere, and brave; but he was alſo revengeful, domineering, ambitious, haughty, and cruel. He was therefore much better qualified to dazzle mankind by the ſplendor of his enterprizes, than either to promote their happineſs or his own grandeur, by a ſound and well regulated policy. He was greatly beloved by his Engliſh ſubjects, and is conſidered as the firſt prince of the Norman line, who bore them a ſincere affection.

In his perſon, he was tall, comely, fair, and well-proportioned, with prodigious bodily ſtrength. He married Berengaria, daughter to Sancho VI. king of Navarre; but left no legitimate iſſue behind him. By his laſt will, he bequeathed all his dominions

ons to his brother John; tho', at his entrance on the holy war, he declared Arthur, duke of Britany, his ſucceſſor, and, by a formal deed, ſet aſide in his favour, the title of his brother John, who was younger than Geoffrey, the father of that prince.

JOHN.

A.D. 1199. NOTWITHSTANDING the heavy taxes with which the Engliſh were loaded during the preceding reign, no civil commotion happened in that kingdom. Touched with a ſenſe of their ſovereign's misfortunes, the people continued in a reſpectful obedience, while the adminiſtration dreaded to touch thoſe jarring ſtrings of government, which had never failed to ſtrike diſſonance and diſcord thro' all the principal conſtituent parts of the ſtate. The chief of thoſe were, the rights claimed by the barons of building and fortifying caſtles on their own eſtates. This was a claim which the Norman race of princes had been always jealous of admitting; and, had Richard ſpent as much time in England, as he did on the continent, the liberties of England would, in all probability, have had a much later date than the reign we are now going to deſcribe. But his miniſters were careful to allow the kingdom, in return for the enormous taxes continually demanded, adequate opportunities for ſecuring her liberties and properties againſt all future encroachments of the prerogative. The laws were now ſufficiently underſtood; the great baronies were divided; the court ceaſed to take cognizance of common pleas, and a ſeparate bench had been lately erected, diſtinct from the Norman conſtitution, which reſerved all matters of conſiderable property to feudal cognizance. The barons had built and fortified caſtles on their own eſtates: in ſhort, the kingdom ſeemed reſolved, about the time of Richard's death, to claim all her privileges in their full extent, whether theſe privileges were derived from immemorial cuſtom, poſitive conceſſions, or natural rights.

In this age, the authority of a teſtament was very great, even where the ſucceſſion of a kingdom was concerned; and John had great reaſon to hope, that this title, joined to his plauſible right in other reſpects, would inſure him the ſucceſſion. But the idea of repreſentation ſeems to have made at this time, a greater progreſs in France than in England; and the barons of the tranſmarine provinces, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, immediately declared in favour of Arthur's ſucceſſion, and applied to the French monarch as their ſuperior lord, for his aſſiſtance. Philip, who was very deſirous of embracing every opportunity to embarras John, and diſmember his dominions, readily adopted the cauſe of the young prince of Britany, took him under his protection, and ſent him to Paris, in order to his being educated with his ſon Lewis. In this emergency, John haſtened to eſtabliſh his authority in the chief members of the monarchy; and, after ſending Eleanor into Poictou and Guienne, where her right was inconteſtible, and was readily acknowledged, he haſtened to Rouen, and being inveſted with the dutchy of Normandy, he paſſed over immediately into England. Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, William Mareſchal, earl of Strigul, ſoon after created earl of Pembroke, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, chief juſticiary, the three principal miniſters of the late king, were already engaged in his intereſt; and the ſubmiſſion or acquieſcence of all the other barons, put him, without oppoſition, in poſſeſſion of the throne.

As ſoon as the ceremony of the coronation was over, John embarked for France, where his affairs required his preſence. He landed at Rouen, where he had before ordered a rendezvous of his troops, which were numerous, and well appointed. While he had been abſent in England, the war had been carried on by little ſkirmiſhes on both ſides, particularly on that of John by the earl of Flanders. During theſe exploits, the earl of Namure, and Peter de Doway, one of his beſt generals, with his brother the biſhop of Cambray, fell into the hands of Philip; while John ſtill detained in priſon the biſhop of Beauvais. The captivity of theſe prelates furniſhed the cardinal of Capua, with an opportunity of interpoſing for their relief; laying France under an interdict for the detention of the one, and Normandy for that of the other. A negotiation with the legate was, however, ſet on foot, and he found means to bring both powers to conſent to a ceſſation of arms.

This was followed by an interview between the two princes; but it ſoon appeared, that there was very little hopes of their agreeing; for Philip, contrary to his uſual politeneſs, behaved in an arrogant, diſreſpectful manner, becauſe he pretended John had taken poſſeſſion of his French dominions without his leave; adding, that he ought firſt to have demanded the eſtates as his right, and then to have done him homage for them. He, however, laid before John his claims, which were, that in conſequence of the ceſſion, formerly made by Geoffrey Plantagenet, father to Henry II. John ſhould yeild up to him all the tract of country lying between the foreſt of Lyons and the river Siene, Andely, and Epte. He likewiſe demanded, that young Arthur ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all Britany, Guienne, Anjou, and Tourain, with ſeveral other demands, which ſufficiently proved his averſion to a peace. This conference therefore broke up, without producing any effect. Indeed, John was as little inclined to ſubmit, as Philip was to recede. He knew that many of the great military tenants of France, were determined to have peace on any terms; and that Philip would not be ſupported, in caſe that war ſhould continue for any conſiderable length of time. Add to this, that Otho, John's nephew, who was lately raiſed to the imperial purple, and bore a hearty enmity to Philip, ſent to the king of England, deſiring that he would make no diſhonourable treaty with France, ſince he hoped in a ſhort time, to be in a condition of ſending him a very powerful aſſiſtance.

Conſtantia, counteſs of Britany, notwithſtanding her late reconciliation with Philip, could not help perceiving that the French monarch regarded only

only his own intereſt. The offers he made to John in the late conference ſufficiently proved this truth: for young Arthur claimed to ſucceed Richard in all his eſtates and territories; whereas Philip propoſed to leave John in quiet poſſeſſion of the greater part of theſe dominions, and to divide the reſt between himſelf and Arthur. Theſe and other conſiderations determined her to convey young Arthur from the French court. A favourable occaſion ſoon offered. The king of France upon the breaking up of the late conference, had beſieged and taken Couches, and formed the ſiege of Lavardin; but John, collecting a ſuperior army, marched to its relief. This obliged Philip to retire into the province of Maine; while the counteſs of Britany and her ſon eſcaped to Mans, which was commanded by William de la Roche, and had lately been fortified for young Arthur, or rather for the king of France. The counteſs intended to put herſelf and her ſon under John's protection; and de la Roche had, on that account, already delivered up to that prince the town and caſtle of Mans. But being informed by Guido, brother to the viſcount of Thours, that a reſolution had been taken in the Engliſh council to impriſon both herſelf and her ſon, ſhe again determined to truſt Philip rather than John; becauſe the reaſons of the latter for deſtroying the young prince were ſtronger than thoſe of the former. Accordingly ſhe fled with her ſon to Angiers; whence ſhe wrote to Philip informing him that ſhe was ready to put herſelf and the young prince, again under his protection. Nothing could be more agreeable to Philip than this offer: he knew the character of John, and the difficulties into which his head ſtrong paſſions muſt inevitably plunge him; he knew that a powerful party was already formed in favour of young Arthur; and he knew that the inconſtancy of John, together with his growing paſſion for Iſabella, the daughter of the earl of Angoleſme, would induce him to conſent to any terms, in order to obtain a reſpite from war.

In the mean time Philip found himſelf abandoned by many of his military tenants, on whom he chiefly relied for ſupport. The French monarch therefore applied to the cardinal of Capua to negotiate a truce with the king of England. A truce was accordingly obtained; and a conference appointed to be held between the two kings for concluding a definitive treaty, before its expiration.

A. D. 1200. But this negotiation was not ſo ſecretly managed, as to be concealed from the knowledge of the earl of Flanders, John's moſt uſeful ally. That prince was a vaſſal of France for the greater part of his dominions, and finding that John's wiſdom was as ſhallow as his heart was debauched, thought it very imprudent to depend any longer on ſo faithleſs an ally, who might eaſily be prevailed upon to leave him to the reſentment of an enraged ſovereign. He therefore ſent his counteſs to Paris during the truce, with full powers to negotiate a peace with Philip. The lady was received with great politeneſs by the court of France, and ſucceeded ſo well, that a perfect reconciliation was completed between her huſband and Philip.

This was a ſevere blow to John, and ſeems to have been the principal motive which effected the diſadvantageous peace concluded between him and Philip. The conference propoſed was held between Andely and Gaillon: and the following preliminaries were agreed upon as the baſis of a definitive treaty. That Lewis, ſon to Philip, ſhould marry Blanch daughter to Alphonſo, king of Caſtile, and niece to John: that the latter ſhould with her, give up the earldom and city of Evreux, together with his claim to all the places poſſeſſed by Philip in Normandy at the time of Richards death, and thirty thouſand marks of ſilver. John alſo engaged not to interfere in the affairs of Germany, nor to give any manner of aſſiſtance to his nephew Otho, either in men or money.

The definitive treaty was ſoon after concluded; and nine barons of the king of France, and as many of the king of England were guarantees. They all of them ſwore, that, if their ſovereign violated any article of it, they would declare themſelves againſt him, and embrace the cauſe of the injured monarch.

Thus ſecure as he imagined, on the ſide of France, John indulged his paſſion for Iſabella daughter to the count of Angoleſme. His queen the heireſs of the Glouceſter family, was ſtill alive: Iſabella was married to the count de la Marche, and was already delivered into the hands of that nobleman; though by reaſon of her tender years, the marriage was not yet conſummated. The paſſion of John made him overlook all theſe obſtacles: he perſuaded the count her father, to carry off Iſabella from her huſband; and having on ſome pretence or other, obtained a divorce from his own wife, he eſpouſed Iſabella, regardleſs both of the menaces of the pope, who exclaimed loudly againſt thoſe irregular proceedings, and of the reſentment of the injured count, who ſoon found means to puniſh his powerful and inſolent rival.

John returned with his new conſort to England, where they were both ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Soon after the ceremony was performed, the king ſet out on a progreſs with his young queen, as far as the borders of Scotland.

A. D. 1201. But John had not the art of gaining the affections of his barons, either by lenitives or fear. The count de la Marche, and his brother the count d'Eu, taking advantage of the general diſcontent againſt him, excited commotions in Poictou and Normandy; and obliged the king to have recourſe to arms, in order to ſuppreſs the inſurrection of his vaſſals. Accordingly he ſummoned together the barons of England, and required them to paſs the ſeas under his ſtandard, and quell the inſurrection of the rebels in Normandy: but he found that he poſſeſſed as little authority in England, as in his tranſmarine dominions. The Engliſh barons unanimouſly replied that they would not attend him on this expedition, unleſs he would promiſe to preſerve and reſtore their privileges: the firſt ſymptom of a regular plan of liberty among theſe noblemen! But affairs were not fully ripe for the revolution projected. John, by menacing the barons, broke the concert; engaged many of them to follow him into Normandy, and obliged the reſt, who continued in England, to pay him a ſcutage of two marks on each knight's fee, as the price of their exemption from the ſervice.

On his arrival in Normandy he was enabled by the forces he carried with him, and the troops of that dutchy, to defeat all the deſigns formed by the malecontent barons; eſpecially as Philip gave them no countenance, and ſeemed as yet determined to perſevere ſteadily in the union he had formed

with England. But John, elated with his ſuperiority, advanced claims which gave an univerſal alarm to his vaſſals, and diffuſed ſtill wider the general diſcontent. As the juriſprudence of that time required, that the cauſes in the lord's courts ſhould chiefly be decided by ſingle combat, he carried with him certain bravoes, whom he retained as champions, in order to determine any controverſy which he might raiſe againſt them. The count de la Marche, and the other noblemen, regarded this proceeding both as an affront and an injury; and declared they would never draw their ſwords againſt perſons of ſuch inferior quality. The king menaced them with vengeance; but he wanted vigour to employ againſt them the force in his hands, or to proſecute the injuſtice, by cruſhing entirely the nobles who had virtue ſufficient to oppoſe it.

The barons, determined to ſupport their rights, appealed to the king of France, who immediately wrote to John, admoniſhing him to treat his nobles with more juſtice and lenity, otherwiſe he could not help interpoſing in their favour.

A. D. 1202. John, who could not deny the authority of Philip, replied, "That if the complain-"ing noblemen were aggrieved, their regular courſe "was to have applied to his court before they had "appealed to that of Philip: and if he, with the "aſſiſtance of their peers, had failed in doing them "juſtice, they might have appealed from his ſen-"tence to the court of France." The French monarch, who affected to preſerve a great appearance of moderation, appeared for a time contented with this anſwer; but the affair of the aggrieved noblemen could not bear an examination even in John's own court; he therefore put off the hearing evaſively from time to time. But this delay was conſidered by Philip as a denial of juſtice. He therefore ſummoned the king of England himſelf to appear in fourteen days, before his peers at the court of France. This was a terrible blow to John; and which affected him ſtill more, when he found that Arthur, his nephew, had alſo entered a complaint againſt him. John therefore ſent the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Ely to mediate between him and Philip; but the latter was inexorable, and ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the rigour of his rights as lord paramount. John perceiving that his affairs were like to take a diſagreeable turn on the continent, was deſirous of ſecuring the ſubjects of England in his intereſt. With this view he ſent over the two prelates juſt mentioned, to lay the behaviour and arrogance of the French king before the Engliſh government.

The king of England was at this time deprived of many reſources which his predeceſſors had enjoyed in France. The great military tenants of the French court were now fully reconciled to Philip. The earl of Flanders had taken the croſs with the other princes of his family. The affairs of the emperor Otho were in great diſorder, and the character of John himſelf was now ſo low, that he had loſt the confidence of all his neighbours. The Engliſh alone continued faithful to their king, who had not yet given them any juſt provocation for taking up arms. This encouraged him to make a ſtand againſt the inſolence of Philip. Accordingly upon receiving the final ſummons he reurned for anſwer, "That he was not, by his tenure, obliged to ap-"pear without the bounds of his fee." There was great difficulty in the feudal law with regard to this point; and Philip avoided any diſcuſſion of it. He anſwered, "That whatever exemption John "might pretend to, from appearing as duke of "Normandy, yet he could plead none as earl of "Acquitain, and as ſuch he was ſummoned." John replied, "That the appealing noblemen had never "appeared before his court, and that he was will-"ing to hold it at Angiers, from whence he would "ſend letters of ſafe conduct to the complainants." But even this meaſure being put off by trifling pretences, Philip took the field at the head of his army; having already, on John's not appearing before his court, pronounced his having forfeited all his right to the eſtates he held in France.

John was unable at preſent to oppoſe Philip in the open field, ſo that ſeveral places of great importance, among which were Telliers, Butivant, Mortemer, Lyons Gournay, fell into the hands of the French. While Philip was carrying on the ſiege of Gournay, the young earl of Britany came to his camp, and was ſolemnly knighted by that monarch. He appointed the young prince tutors, guards, and a houſhold; the French noblemen were very warmly in Arthur's intereſt, and two hundred Poictovin knights, all well appointed, were ordered to attend his perſon. Philip had already inveſted him with the earldom of Poictou, which was, in general, in his intereſt; excepting a few places held by the queen dowager, and her noblemen, who ſeemed now to be the only obſtacles to Arthur's ſucceſs. His firſt expedition was therefore into Poictou, which he propoſed thoroughly to reduce. But the active queen Eleanor had thrown herſelf into Mirabel, where ſhe encouraged the garriſon to hold out, by promiſing they would ſhortly be relieved by John. Young Arthur, and his governors, imagined that by making themſelves maſters of the queen dowager's perſon, they ſhould find no difficulty in the reſt of the enterprize. They therefore ſuddenly inveſted Mirabel, and were in daily expectation of being joined by the militia of Poictou, Berry, and Burgundy, who were preparing, by Philip's order, to march to their aſſiſtance. The ſiege was very warmly carried on, and the place as obſtinately defended. At laſt one of the caſtles of Mirabel was taken, and the number of the beſiegers daily increaſing, the queen, with her moſt determined adherents, retired into the citadel.

John now ſaw himſelf in the moſt imminent danger of being ſtripped of all his tranſmarine dominions. He was neither deſtitute of courage nor abilities in the field, and now determined to exert himſelf in repelling the attacks of his enemies, The Engliſh had now joined him; and theſe troops, together with ſome Brabaſons he had taken into his pay, compoſed a ſmall but reſolute army, at the head of which he determined to attack the young earl of Britany. The citadel of Mirabel was reduced to the laſt extremity, when advice arrived that the king of England was approaching; and the young earl, with his giddy counſellors, inſtead of vigorouſly preſſing the ſiege, drew out their troops with an intention of giving battle to the enemy. The ſucceſs was anſwerable to the raſhneſs of the reſolution. The charge made by the Poictovins was indeed very furious, and the battle continued for ſome time doubtful; but the bravery and diſcipline of the Engliſh, bore down all reſiſtance. Young Arthur received a total defeat; his troops were cut to pieces or diſperſed, and he himſelf with

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The Murder of Prince Arthur by

KING JOHN

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two hundred knights were taken priſoners by the Engliſh. John ſent Arthur to Falaiſe; but the others were treated as rebels, put in irons, and ſent to different priſons.

The friendſhip of Arthur would have been of much greater ſervice to John than his captivity; for Philip, ſenſible that all his ſchemes were now abſolutely diſconcerted, raiſed the ſiege of Arches, which he had carried on for ſome time with great fury, and put an end to the operations of the campaign, by retiring to Paris. John took this opportunity of repairing to Falaiſe, where he had an interview with Arthur. His intention was to detach the young prince from his connections with Philip; but Arthur, with a ſpirit more ſuitable to his birth than his ſituation, refuſed to abandon his protector, as he termed Philip; and even went ſo far as to denounce the moſt dreadful vengeance upon John and his dominions, if he did not immediately put him in poſſeſſion of his claim, which was no leſs than the undivided ſucceſſion to all the dominions poſſeſſed by the late king of England at his death. John was aſtoniſhed at this fierceneſs in a mind ſo young; he grew apprehenſive that it was nouriſhed by ſome perſons who attended Arthur; and once more endeavoured to gain him over to his intereſt, by every endearing method: but all his attempts were vain, young Arthur continued firmly attached to his principles. John, therefore, ordered him to be more cloſely confined, and not permitted to converſe with any of his friends. But confinement and calamity were far from daunting the young prince; and John, with a barbarity incident to conſcious demerit, put a period to his life. The circumſtances which attended this deed of darkneſs were, no doubt, carefully concealed by the perpetrators, and as variouſly related by hiſtorians: but the following is the moſt probable account. The king, it is ſaid, firſt propoſed to William de la Braye, one of his ſervants, to diſpatch Arthur; but William replied, "that he was a gen-"tleman, not an executioner;" and poſitively refuſed to comply with the king's requeſt. Another inſtrument of murder was found, and diſpatched with proper orders to Falaiſe; but Hubert de Bourg, chamberlain to the king, and conſtable of the caſtle, feigning that he himſelf would execute the king's mandate, ſent back the aſſaſſin, ſpread the report that the young prince was dead, and publickly performed all the ceremonies of his interment. But finding that the Britons vowed revenge for the murder, and that all the revolted barons perſevered more obſtinately in their rebellion, he thought it prudent to reveal the ſecret, and to inform the world, that the duke of Britany was ſtill alive, and in his cuſtody. This diſcovery proved fatal to the young prince: John firſt removed him to the caſtle of Rouen; and coming in a boat, during the dead of the night, to that place, commanded Arthur to be brought forth to him. The young prince, aware of his danger, and his ſpirit now more ſubdued by a continuance of his misfortunes, and by the approach of death, threw himſelf on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy: but the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, ſtabbed him with his own hand, and faſtening a ſtone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine.

The whole world was ſtruck with horror at this inhuman action; and from that moment, the king, deteſted by his ſubjects, retained a very precarious authority over both the people and the barons of his dominions. The Bretons, enraged at this deteſtable tranſaction, which had put a final period to all their pleaſing hopes, waged implacable war againſt him; and after fixing the ſucceſſion of their government, put themſelves in a poſture to revenge the murder of their ſovereign.

In the mean time the inhuman tyrant, pleaſing himſelf with the thought that his title to the crown was now indiſputable, came over to England, where he was again crowned by the hands of Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury. John had, before the captivity of Arthur, found means to get into his power Eleanor, the ſiſter of that unfortunate prince, commonly called "The damſel of Britany." This lady he carried with him to England, and detained her ever after in captivity.

A. D. 1203. The diſconſolate Conſtantia, mother to Arthur and Eleanor, now moved heaven and earth for revenge and protection. She applied chiefly to the king of France, who readily undertook her cauſe. He ordered John again to be ſummoned before his court; but when the day of hearing came, he appeared only by his deputies, the biſhop of Ely and Hubert de Bourg. Their buſineſs was to demand from Philip a ſafe conduct for their maſter to the French court. "He may "come in peace," ſaid Philip, with a ſtern and ſevere countenance. "But may he return in peace," replied the biſhop of Ely. "Yes," anſwered Philip, "if the ſentence of his peers will give him "leave." The ambaſſadors ſufficiently perceived the inſidious tendency of this expreſſion, and inſiſted upon a clearer explanation, and on the king's granting the ſafe conduct required. Great difficulties, and, at laſt, an abſolute denial enſued; and Philip ſwore, by all the ſaints of France, "That "he ſhould return no otherwiſe than according to "the ſentence of the court." The biſhop then told Philip, "That John was to be conſidered as "king of England, as well as duke of Normandy; "and the barons of England would not permit "their king to riſque his life, or, at leaſt, his liberty, "at the French court, even though he ſhould agree "to it himſelf." Philip's anſwer to this was both ready and juſt. "If, my lord," ſaid he, "the "duke of Normandy's ambition led him to ac-"quire a higher title, ought I, who am his lord, to "loſe his allegiance as my vaſſal? What is it to "me, that he has acquired the crown of Eng-"land?" The ambaſſadors did not attempt to anſwer Philip; indeed his remarks were unanſwerable upon the principles of the feudal law. The court therefore proceeded to paſs ſentence, which was as follows: "That John, duke of Normandy, not "regarding the oath he had taken to Philip his "lord, and being a homager of the crown of "France, had, within the ſigniory of that crown, "murdered his elder brother's ſon, who was alſo "a homager of the ſame; therefore the ſaid John "is declared a traitor; and, as an enemy to the "crown of France, he is adjudged to forfeit all "his ſigniories which he held by homage, and re-"entry into the ſame is ordered to be made by "force."

Supported by the arms and ſentence of his court, Philip immediately took the field, though late in the year. He was joined by almoſt the whole of the inhabitants of Britany, who in the happy name of Arthur, found their fancied hopes of glory vaniſhed,

niſhed, and were exaſperated to the laſt againſt the inhuman tyrant. A great many fortreſſes on this ſide the Loire fell into the hands of the French; ſome of them were demoliſhed, and the reſt retained.

The nature and fortune of John were ever at variance; when his ſpirit ſhould have been on the wing, and all his powers exerted, his ſenſes were locked up in indolence, and his time ſpent in dalliance with his young queen. The people ſaw this with amazement, and John with indifference. Faſcinating indolence! he had loſt his innocence, and with his innocence, his ſpirit and alacrity: he had dipped his hands in the blood of innocence, and was more fearful of reflection than puniſhment: he ſtrove to delude his own heart, and to loſe his conſciouſneſs of guilt in the ſtream of pleaſure, which muſt ſoon ebb, and leave him on the ſhallows of horror and deſpair. Recourſe was firſt had to negotiation, for prolonging his delightful dream; but this failing, John applied himſelf to collect his army.

In the mean time, Philip received the ſubmiſſions of the count of Alençon, who deſerted John, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French king; upon which Philip ſeparated his army, in order to give them ſome repoſe after the fatigues of the campaign.

John ſuddenly collecting ſome troops, laid ſiege to Alençon, and Philip, whoſe diſperſed army could not be brought together in time to ſuccour it, ſaw himſelf expoſed to the diſgrace of ſuffering his friend and confederate to be oppreſſed. But his active and fertile genius found an expedient againſt this evil. A tournament was at that time held at Muret, in the Gatinois, whither all the chief nobility of France, and the neighbouring countries had reſorted, in order to ſignalize their courage and addreſs. Philip preſented himſelf before them; craved their aſſiſtance in his diſtreſs, and pointed out the plains of Alençon as the moſt honourable field, in which they could diſplay their generoſity and martial ſpirit: theſe gallant knights vowed, that they would take ample vengeance on the baſe parricide, the ſtain of arms, and of chivalry; and putting themſelves and all their retinues, under the command of Philip, marched inſtantly to raiſe the ſiege of Alençon. John hearing of their approach, abandoned the enterprize, and fled with ſuch precipitation, that all his tents, machines, and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy.

This feeble effort was the laſt exploit of that indolent monarch, for the defence of his dominions. He continued at Rouen, where he ſpent his time in amuſements with his young queen, as if his territories had enjoyed the utmoſt tranquillity, or his affairs remained in the moſt proſperous condition. The Engliſh barons, perceiving that their time was waſted to no manner of purpoſe, and that they muſt ſuffer the diſgrace of ſeeing, without making any reſiſtance, the progreſs of the French arms, withdrew from their colours, and ſecretly returned to their own country.

But while John neglected every natural reſource for his ſafety, he had the meanneſs to claim the protection of a foreign power. He applied himſelf to pope innocent III. and intreated him to interpoſe with his authority, between him and the French monarch. Innocent, pleaſed with any occaſion of exerting his ſuperiority, ſent Philip orders to ſtop the progreſs of his arms, and to make a peace with the king of England. But the French barons received this meſſage with indignation; diſclaimed the temporal authority challenged by the pontiff, and vowed that they would, to the utmoſt of their power, aſſiſt their prince againſt all his enemies: and Philip ſeconding their ardour, proceeded, inſtead of obeying the pope's envoys, to lay ſiege to Chateau Gaillard, the moſt conſiderable fortreſs that then remained to guard the frontiers of Normandy. This proved one of the moſt famous ſieges that had ever happened in France, whether we conſider the ſtrength of the place, the prodigious ſkill in the diſpoſitions for the attack, the length of the ſiege, the courage of the aſſailants, or the obſtinacy of the defenders.

Chateau Gaillard was ſituated partly on an iſland in the river Seine, partly on a rock oppoſite to it; and was ſecured by every advantage, which either art or nature could beſtow upon it: the late king Richard having caſt his eye upon this favourable ſituation, had ſpared neither labour nor expence in fortifying it. The place was defended by Roger de Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, a determined officer, at the head of a numerous garriſon.

A. D. 1204. Philip, who deſpaired of taking the place by ſtorm, propoſed to ſubdue it by famine; and that he might cut off its communication with the neighbouring country, he blocked it up with his troops by land, and threw a bridge a-croſs the Seine. Four of his largeſt veſſels were moored at the middle of this bridge, and upon them two wooden towers, commanding that part of the caſtle which ſtood upon the iſland, were erected. The earl of Pembroke, a man of the greateſt vigour and capacity in the Engliſh court, formed a plan for breaking through the French intrenchments, and relieving the place. At a ſmall diſtance below the caſtle, Richard had built near ſeventy flat-bottomed boats, proper for navigating that river, even where the water was moſt ſhallow. On board of theſe boats, John embarked three thouſand of his Flemiſh mercenaries, and two thouſand of his beſt ſeamen, together with a famous pirate, called Alain, and his crew. Their orders were to row up the river, ſo as to reach the bridge, on which the enemy's towers were erected, by a certain time; that as ſoon as they reached the bridge, they ſhould begin the aſſault, and, in the mean time, endeavour to open a paſſage for a number of ſmall boats, laden with proviſions, which followed the main fleet, and which were deſigned to re-victual the caſtle.

Theſe operations being ſettled, the earl of Pembroke put himſelf at the head of ſeven thouſand three hundred men, all picked ttoops, with an intention to aſſault the enemy's camp, juſt at the time when the fleet began the attack of the bridge: the whole was to be ſupported by king John himſelf, at the head of his remaining forces. The earl's detachment marched, and the fleet rowed up the river in the dead of the night, with the utmoſt ſilence; but a ſtrong tide ſetting out of the river, and a freſh breeze ſpringing up full againſt them, the land forces reached their deſtined place long before the boats could get up the river. In vain did the earl wait for them, that they might begin the aſſault together. At laſt, the night being far ſpent, he attacked the out quarters of the camp, occupied by the ſuttlers and other retainers to the army. Theſe being ſuddenly put to the ſword, a pannic ſeized the whole camp;

camp; and the French fled in ſuch crowds along their bridge, that it broke, and many periſhed in the river. Some of their generals, however, made a ſtand with the remaining troops, and after lighting fires all over their camp, the Engliſh were obliged to abandon the enterprize.

Had the fleet arrived at the time it was expected, the whole French army had, in all probability, been entirely ruined; but it was break of day before the boats reached the bridge, which was now repaired, and Philip had leiſure to draw his army out on both ſides of the river. At laſt the aſſault of the bridge began, by the two foremoſt veſſels with repeated ſhocks. Some of the moſt intrepid mariners fixed their grappling irons in the bridge, and with axes, levers, and other inſtruments endeavoured to deſtroy it. They were ſupported by a general diſcharge of miſſiles upon the enemy, from the whole fleet, as well as from the caſtle. But the combat was unequal; the defenders of the bridge were well provided for their defence; they plied the aſſailants with large ſtones, fire-pots, and other combuſtibles, with which the towers upon the bridge were ſtored; and having firm footing they had great advantages, both in aiming their blows, and darting their miſſiles. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, the aſſailants would have ſucceeded, had not two beams of a prodigious length and thickneſs, been thrown from one of the towers of the bridge, in ſo juſt a direction as to fall upon the two foremoſt veſſels, which were faſtened to the bridge, and which were ſunk by the enormous weight of theſe beams. Upon this the aſſailants loſt all hopes of ſucceſs, and their commanders made a ſignal for a retreat, in which they were harraſſed by ſome light veſſels ſent in purſuit of them by Philip.

A. D. 1205. After this misfortune John made no farther efforts for the relief of Chateau Gaillard; and Philip had all the leiſure requiſite for conducting and finiſhing the ſiege. Roger de Lacy, however, defended himſelf during a whole year with great obſtinacy and addreſs; and having bravely repulſed every attack, and patiently borne all the hardſhips of famine, he was at laſt overpowered by a ſudden aſſault during the night, and made priſoner of war, with his whole garriſon. Philip, who knew how to reſpect valour even in an enemy, treated him with the utmoſt civility; and gave him the whole city of Paris for the place of his confinement.

The taking of this important place was followed with prodigious advantages to Philip, both with regard to reputation and intereſt. He immediately repaired the breaches made in the Chateau Gaillard, and took care to render it as ſtrong a barrier againſt Normandy, as it had been before againſt France. In proportion, as Philip's reputation roſe, that of John ſunk in the world. He had quitted Normandy ſome time before Chateau Gaillard was taken, and left the government of that province in the hands of two Brabaſon captains, not chuſing to truſt the fidelity of his own barons. This preposterous ſtep facilitated the views of Philip, which extended to the immediate conqueſt of all Normandy. Falaiſe firſt fell into his hands. That important city was commanded by one of John's Brabaſon captains; and who, upon the reduction of the place, entered into the ſervice of Philip, with all his garriſon.

The next place of importance attempted by Philip, was Rouen. Indeed that city, with Arques and Vernueil, were the only places of ſtrength remaining to the king of England; and theſe had determined to maintain their liberties, and formed a confederacy together for mutual defence.

Rouen was a city of great ſtrength, ſurrounded by a double wall, and tripple ditch. The inhabitants were very numerous, and the river Seine waſhing its walls, it was impoſſible to inveſt it entirely: Philip, however, attacked the city ſo vigorouſly, that after forcing one of their towers, the citizens ſeeing no reſourrce offered to capitulate; and demanded only thirty days to advertiſe John of their danger, and to require ſuccours againſt the enemy. Upon the expiration of the term, as no ſupply arrived, they opened their gates to Philip; and the whole province ſoon after imitated their example, and ſubmitted to the victor.

Thus was this important territory re-united to the crown of France, near three centuries after the ceſſion of it by Charles the Simple, to Rollo the firſt duke: and the Normans, perſuaded that this conqueſt was final, demanded the privilege of being governed by French laws; which Philip, making a few alterations, in conformity to the Norman cuſtoms, readily granted them.

But the French monarch had too much ambition and genius to ſtop ſhort in his preſent career of ſucceſs. He carried his victorious army into the weſtern provinces; ſoon reduced Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and part of Poictou, under his dominions; and, in this manner, the French crown, during the reign of one able and active prince, received ſuch an acceſſion of power and grandeur, as, in the ordinary courſe of things, would have required ſeveral ages to obtain.

In the mean time John, on his arrival in England, in order to cover the diſgrace of his own conduct, exclaimed loudly againſt his barons, who, he pretended, had deſerted his ſtandard in Normandy, and extorted from them, in a very arbitrary manner, a ſeventh part of all their moveables, as a puniſhment for their offence. Not long after, he forced them to grant him a ſcutage of two marks and a half on each knights fee, in order to enable him to make an expedition into Normandy; but he made no attempt to execute the ſervice.

A. D. 1206. Guido de Thouars, who governed Britany, being now jealous of the rapid progreſs made by his ally the French king, promiſed to join the king of England with all his forces. John embraced the offer, ventured abroad with a conſiderable army, and landed at Rochelle; from thence he marched to Angers, which he took and reduced to aſhes. But the approach of Philip, at the head of his army, diſconcerted all his ſchemes, and he immediately made propoſals of peace, and fixed the place of interview with his enemy; but inſtead of keeping his engagement, he ſtole off with his army, embarked at Rochelle, and returned to England with diſgrace. Philip was ſurprized, on coming to the place of conference, to find that John had embarked for England ſome days before. However, by the mediation of the pope, a truce for two years was concluded.

A. D. 1207. But the attention of the whole Engliſh nation was now engaged on an eccleſiaſtical event, which ſhook the pillars of the ſtate. Upon the death of Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the junior monks of the convent of Chriſt-church, met clandeſtinely the very night of Hubert's deceaſe,

and choſe Reginald their ſub-prior, for his ſucceſſor; inſtalled him in the archiepiſcopal throne before midnight, and, having enjoined him in the ſtricteſt ſecrecy, ſent him immediately to Rome, to ſollicit the confirmation of his election. But the vain prieſt no ſooner landed in Flanders, than he diſcovered the whole ſecret, which coming to the ears of the ſuffragan biſhops of Canterbury, and the elder monks of Chriſt-church, who had all voices in this election, were highly exaſperated, and the king, whoſe prerogative was ſo greatly concerned, concurred with the eccleſiaſtics, and deſired them to proceed immediately to a new election, recommending, at the ſame time, John de Gray, biſhop of Norwich, as a very proper perſon for that important office. The monks of Chriſt-church met accordingly, without conſulting the ſuffragan biſhops, and the election of that prelate was accordingly made, without a ſingle contradictory vote; for the junior monks, aſhamed of their conduct, and diſguſted with the levity of Reginald, who had broke his engagement, were deſirous of ſetting aſide his election, and accordingly concurred in raiſing the biſhop of Norwich to the archiepiſcopal throne. In the mean time Reginald reached Rome, but found the pope determined not to confirm his election, till he had received more ſatisfactory intelligence. While the matter thus continued in ſuſpence, the ſuffragans of the dioceſe of Canterbury ſent a ſtrong remonſtrance to the court of Rome, complaining of the invalidity of both elections, as they were both carried on without their privity or conſent. Glad of an opportunity of humbling at once the king and biſhops of England, the pope had recourſe to very trifling excuſes, without giving any direct anſwer to the monks, who had been ſent to Rome, by the king and biſhop of Norwich. At laſt, he declared both elections void; but added, that the convent of Chriſt-church had undoubtedly the power of electing an archbiſhop, ſolely in themſelves, though they had been irregular in raiſing Reginald to the archiepiſcopal throne. He therefore deſired, that they would immediately proceed to a new election; and, as they were then at Rome, a ſufficient number to elect an archbiſhop, he deſired they would not loſe a moment's time, and let their choice fall upon cardinal Stephen Langton, an Engliſhman, and a divine of great eminence. The monks were ſtartled at this new and inſolent doctrine. They repreſented, that it had been ever underſtood, that the king had a right of being conſulted on the choice of an archbiſhop; but their remonſtrance was in vain: Innocent continued firm to his purpoſe, and they were all of them, excepting Elias de Bainfield, who nobly withſtood the inſolent demand, obliged to ſubmit to the pope's order, and chuſe the perſon nominated by his holineſs.

Could the pope have prevailed upon the king of England to confirm this election, a great point would be gained. He, therefore, wrote a very complaiſant letter to John, ſent him four golden rings ſet with precious ſtones, and endeavoured to enhance the value of his preſent, by informing him of the many myſteries implied in it. He begged him to conſider ſeriouſly the form of the rings, their number, their matter, and their colour. Their form, he ſaid, being round, ſhadowed out eternity, which had neither beginning nor end; and he ought thence to learn his duty, of aſpiring from earthly to heavenly objects; from things temporal, to things eternal. The number four being a ſquare, denoted a ſteadineſs of mind, not to be ſubverted either by adverſity or proſperity, fixed for ever on the firm baſis of the four cardinal virtues. Gold, which is the matter, being the moſt precious of metals, ſignified wiſdom, the moſt precious of all accompliſhments, and juſtly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all exterior attainments. The blue colour of the emerald, repreſented faith; the verdure of the ſapphire, hope; the redneſs of the ruby, charity; and the ſplendor of the topaz, good works. By theſe conceits, Innocent endeavoured to repay John for one of the moſt important prerogatives of his crown, which he had ſo inſolently raviſhed from him. At the ſame time, the pope recommended to him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the new archbiſhop, and wrote a peremptory letter to the other monks to receive and obey him.

Had the principles of John's reſiſtance to the ſee of Rome, upon this occaſion, been virtuous, his behaviour would have merited applauſe. Inflamed with the utmoſt rage, when he heard of this attempt of the Roman pontiff, John immediately vented his paſſion on the monks of Chriſt-church. He charged all of them, who had been concerned in the new election, with treaſon, and with betraying their truſt, having been ſent from him, and furniſhed with money out of his exchequer. Nor did he ſtop here: he ſent two knights, Fulk de Cantelupe, and Henry de Cornhulle, men extremely proper by their morals and diſpoſitions, for executing a commiſſion of this nature, to Canterbury, with orders to drive all the monks from the convent, and ſeize their eſtates. The two knights executed their orders very punctually: they entered the monaſtery with drawn ſwords, commanded the prior and his monks to depart the kingdom, and menaced them in caſe of diſobedience, to burn them inſtantly with the convent. This ſufficiently terrified the fraternity, they retired from the convent, and left the knights in full poſſeſſion of their eſtates, houſes, and effects.

Having vented his fury on the monks, he ſent letters to the pope, expoſtulating on the treatment he had received from his holineſs: he declared he would maintain the election of the biſhop of Norwich to the laſt; that if his holineſs refuſed him a favourable hearing, he would ſhut up all his ports, and prohibit all intercourſe with Rome, ſince, having within his own territories many eccleſiaſtics, eminent for piety, learning, and virtue, there was no occaſion for him to have recourſe to foreigners. He added, that Langton was a perſon unknown to him; that he had received his education in France, and that he had carried on a treaſonable correſpondence with his avowed enemies.

Innocent prognoſticating, from the violence and imprudence of theſe meaſures, that John would finally ſink in the conteſt, perſevered the more rigorouſly in his pretenſions, and exhorted the king not to oppoſe Omnipotence and the church any longer, nor to perſecute the cauſe, for which the holy martyr St. Thomas, had ſacrificed his life, and which had exalted him equal to the higheſt ſaints in heaven: a ſufficient hint to John to profit by the example of his father, and to remember the prejudices and eſtabliſhed principles of his ſubjects, who bore a pro-

found veneration to that martyr, and regarded his merits as the ſubject of their chief glory and exultation.

But theſe reaſonings had no effect upon John, he continued obſtinately determined, to ſupport the election of the biſhop of Norwich, and to refuſe Langton. The pope, therefore, ſent three prelates, the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter, to expoſtulate with him, and intimate, that if he perſevered in his diſobedience, Innocent would be obliged to lay the kingdom under an interdict: all the reſt of the prelates threw themſelves on their knees before him, and intreated him with tears, to prevent the ſcandal of ſuch a ſentence, by making a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion to his ſpiritual father, by receiving from his hands the new elected primate, and by reſtoring the monks of Chriſt-church to all their rights and poſſeſſions. But John burſt out into the moſt violent paſſion againſt the pope and prelates, ſwearing, by the teeth of God, that if they, or any of their order, ſhould preſume to lay an interdict on his dominions, he would drive all the biſhops and eccleſiaſtics out of the kingdom, and ſeize on their eſtates. He added, that if he found a retainer of the court of Rome within his dominions, he would ſlit his noſe, put out his eyes, cut off his ears, and ſend him in that condition to the pope, that he might, for ever, be diſtinguiſhed from all other perſons: but amidſt all this idle violence, John was on ſuch bad terms with his nobility, that he never dared to aſſemble the ſtates of the kingdom, who, in ſo juſt a cauſe, would probably have adhered to any other monarch, and have defended with vigour, the liberties of the nation, againſt theſe palpable uſurpations of the court of Rome. Innocent was no ſtranger to John's ſituation; he knew that his reſiſtance muſt be in vain, as he had nothing to ſupport him, but his own violent and headſtrong paſſions. He, therefore, iſſued the ſentence of interdict, which he had, for ſome time, held ſuſpended over the head of this infatuated monarch.

The ſentence of interdict was, in that age of bigotry and ſuperſtition, the great inſtrument of vengeance and policy, employed by the court of Rome: it was pronounced againſt ſovereigns for the ſlighteſt offences, and made the guilt of one involve the ruin of millions, even in their ſpiritual and eternal welfare. The execution of it was artfully calculated to ſtrike the ſenſes in the higheſt degree; and to operate with irreſiſtible force on the ſuperſtitious minds of the people. The nation was, on a ſudden, deprived of all exterior exerciſe of its religion: the altars were ſtripped of their ornaments: the croſſes, the reliques, the images, the ſtatues of the ſaints were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itſelf was profaned, and might polute them by its contact, the prieſts carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The uſe of bells intirely ceaſed in all the churches: the bells themſelves were removed from the ſteeples and laid on the ground, with the other ſacred utenſils, Maſs was celebrated with ſhut doors; and none but the prieſts were admitted to that holy inſtitution. The laity were allowed to partake of no religious rite except baptiſm to new born infants, and the ſacrament to the dying: the dead were not interred in conſecrated ground: they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields; nor were their obſequies attended with any ſacred ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the church-yards; and that every action in life might bear the marks of this dreadful ſituation, the people were prohibited the uſe of meat, as in lent, or times of the higheſt penance; were debarred from all pleaſures and entertainments; and were forbid even to ſalute each other, or ſo much as to ſhave their beards, and give any decent appearance to their perſon or apparel. Every circumſtance carried the ſymptoms of the deepeſt diſtreſs, and of the moſt immediate apprehenſions of divine vengeance and indignation.

In this diſtreſs John made a kind of appeal to the people of England; he diſplayed the inſolence of the pope, and ſent commiſſions into every part of the kingdom to inform his ſubjects how he had been treated. The rigours of the interdict rather exaſperated than reformed the Engliſh monarch: he iſſued precepts to his ſheriffs and officers, with orders that all the prelates, with their inferior clergy, ſhould immediately repair to Rome, and require the pope to atone for the injury he had done to the crown of England. At the ſame time he ſequeſtered into the hands of lay-men, all the revenues of the church; but he was not on ſuch good terms with his ſubjects as to inforce the obedience of this order. The biſhops and abbots dreaded equally the power of the pope and the power of the crown; they knew that the people of England would not ſuffer their perſons to be abuſed, nor their eſtates confiſcated, provided they acted like Engliſhmen. Accordingly they refuſed to leave their monaſteries; nor did the king's officers dare to drive them thence by force. The king, however, ſeized all their temporalites, allotting out of them a very frugal allowance to their late poſſeſſors. If any monks, or eccleſiaſtics were ſeen on horſeback, they were robbed and abuſed; and a perſon being brought before the king for the murder as well as robbery, of a churchman, John ordered him to be releaſed, ſaying, he had only killed an enemy to the crown.

Theſe rigorous proceedings againſt ſo numerous and powerful a body as the Engliſh clergy then were, and poſſeſſed of ſuch a vaſt weight of property as they enjoyed, were at once imprudent and unjuſt; becauſe they increaſed the number of the king's enemies, and involved equally the guilty and the innocent in the ſame puniſhment. The king found none but the moſt abandoned ruffians willing to execute theſe orders; and tho' the nation in general was well pleaſed with the oppoſition he made to the pope, yet it ſoon appeared, that John's principal intention was to ſtrengthen the power of the crown, by this rapacious acquiſition of the church lands. The king grew ſenſible of his danger ſhould this notion univerſally prevail. A great many of the eccleſiaſtics, and even ſome of the biſhops, had, in defiance of the papal authority, continued to exerciſe their ſacred functions; and theſe John affected to treat with great lenity: he reſtored them to their privileges and properties, by ſpecial writs; he alſo remitted ſeveral ſeverities againſt the perſons of inferior clergymen. But theſe acts of indulgence, were not ſufficient to remove the bad impreſſions which his conduct had already made upon the people.

A. D. 1208. Conſcious of his own former encroachments, he was terrified, leſt the pope ſhould abſolve his ſubjects from their allegiance, well knowing, that many of them, when freed from their oath of

of fealty, would take up arms againſt him, he therefore demanded, from all he ſuſpected, the greater part of the nobility, hoſtages for their fidelity. Some of them complied, and ſent the king their ſons, nephews, and neareſt relations. Among others, who were required to comply with this order, was William de Brauſe. The king's meſſengers demanding of this baron hoſtages for his good behaviour, his lady very imprudently anſwered, "That ſhe would never truſt her ſons with a man "who had murdered his nephew:" but her huſband, with more moderation, anſwered, "That if "his lady had been wanting in her duty, he knew "what was his; and that if he had, in any manner "offended the king, he was ready, without being "bound to it by hoſtages, to anſwer for his offences "before the king's court and his peers." The meſſengers returning with this anſwer, John flew into a violent paſſion, and determined to impriſon the earl and his family; but being forwarned of their danger, they fled to Ireland. The king, however, diſcovered their retreat, ſeized the wife and ſon, whom he ſtarved to death in priſon; and the baron himſelf narrowly eſcaped, by flying into France.

John was now degenerated into an odious tyrant, and, like all of that claſs, had his flatterers, his inſtruments, and his executioners, but no friend: the ſcenes of public life, and thoſe of domeſtic retirement, were equally fatal to his repoſe. He endeavoured to ſtifle diſquiet in his boſom, but it always roſe more keen and more ſtinging from the preſſure.

A. D. 1209. It was one of the artifices of the Romiſh court, to advance, by degrees, from the leaſt to the moſt ſevere ſentence; by which means, offenders were perpetually kept in awe, while an opportunity was ſtill afforded them of preventing the next anathema by ſubmiſſion; and, in caſe of their obſtinacy, the pontiff was able to refreſh the horror of the people againſt them, by new denunciations of the wrath and vengeance of heaven. The ſentence of interdict had now been ſome time denounced, without producing the deſired effect on John's conduct. His people were, indeed, extremely diſcontented, but they had hitherto been reſtrained from riſing in open rebellion. A ſecond ſhaft of vengeance was therefore neceſſary; and this was the ſentence of excommunication, from which John, notwithſtanding all his precautions, had the greateſt reaſon to fear the moſt dangerous conſequences. But there was ſome difficulty in finding perſons hardy enough to publiſh the anathema: for the pope, by the advice of his cardinals, having ſent the ſentence to be promulgated by the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter, theſe prelates thought they had ſufficiently expoſed their ſafety, by ſending copies of it to the Engliſh clergy, for them to proclaim it every Sunday and Holiday, in all the cathedrals, monaſteries, and collegiate churches in England. This would, indeed, have ſufficiently divulged the ſentence; but John, intimidated by the conſequences of his rigour, had reſtored a great number of the clergy, who had conſented to celebrate divine ſervice, in contempt of the interdict. Theſe refuſed to join in promulgating the ſentence, and ſuch clergymen, as ſtill obeyed the interdict, were afraid of the civil power. Thus none were hardy enough, to publiſh what the biſhop of Rome had ſo inſolently pronounced.

It was, however, known in England, that the ſentence of excommunication had been pronounced againſt John, and the effects of it ſoon after appeared. Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, who was intruſted with a conſiderable poſt in the court of exchequer, being informed of it while ſitting on the bench, obſerved to his brethren, the danger of ſerving under an excommunicated king, and immediately left his chair, and retired from the court. Exaſperated at this behaviour, John gave orders to ſeize him, and throw him into priſon, and to cover his head with a weighty leaden cope; and by this, and other ſevere uſuages, he ſoon put an end to his life.

Hugh de Wells, the king's chancellor, being elected, by his appointment, biſhop of Lincoln, upon a vacancy happening in that ſee, deſired leave to go abroad, in order to receive conſecration from the archbiſhop of Rouen; but he no ſooner reached France, than he haſtened to Pontigny, where Langton then reſided, and paid ſubmiſſion to him as his primate. At the ſame time the biſhops finding themſelves expoſed equally to the jealouſy of the king, and the hatred of the people, ſtole gradually out of the kingdom; ſo that at laſt, three prelates only remained to perform the functions of the epiſcopal office. Many of the nobility, terrified at John's tyranny, and who were, on ſome account or other, become obnoxious to him, imitated the example of the biſhops; and moſt of the others who remained, were, with reaſon, ſuſpected of having ſecretly entered into a confederacy againſt him. There ſtill remains a ſubteraneous paſſage leading to a large room, wrought out of the live rock, where the caſtle of Holmſdale at Ryegate, the head of the great barony of Surry, formerly ſtood. In this receptacle, fitted by nature and art for ſecret conſultation in retirement, the genius of Engliſh liberty held her awful aſſemblies in thoſe times of public diſtreſs. There the barons ſecretly met, and concerted the great plan of their country's deliverance, impervious to the eye of jealous tyranny.

Alarmed at his dangerous ſituation, which prudence, vigour, and popularity might formerly have prevented; but which no virtue or abilities were now ſufficient to remedy, John deſired a conference with Langton at Dover. He offered to acknowledge him as primate, to ſubmit to the pope, to reſtore the exiled clergy, and even to pay them a limited ſum of money as a compenſation for the rents of their confiſcated eſtates. But Langton, perceiving his advantage, was not ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions; he demanded that full reſtitution and reparation ſhould be made to all the clergy; a condition ſo exhorbitant, that the king, who probably had not the power of fulfilling it, and who foreſaw, that this eſtimation of damages might amount to an infinite ſum, immediately put a final period to the conference.

A. D. 1210. John having now raiſed a conſiderable army paſſed over to Ireland, which was at this time greatly infeſted with robbers; and the inſolence of Lacy the juſticiary, had alienated the affections of the Engliſh themſelves from his government. The native Iriſh took advantage of all theſe circumſtances, and had ſurprized and cut off three hundred of the citizens of Dublin, who had chiefly been ſent from Briſtol to people that city.

But

But John being at the head of a more formidable army of Engliſh then had ever before landed on that iſland, ſoon quelled theſe commotions; while all the Lacy family, conſcious of their own demerits fled to France. The king of Connaught was the only Iriſh potentate who made any reſiſtance to John; but that prince was ſoon defeated and taken priſoner. Upwards of twenty petty princes of the iſland ſoon after came, and made their ſubmiſſions to the king of England. He then ſeized into his own hands the revenues of the Lacy eſtate, and marched into the province of Meath; and reduced a great number of forts in different parts of the kingdom.

The military operations being over, the civil took place. Henry II. had laboured to eſtabliſh a ſcheme of polity in Ireland, agreeable to that of England; but from the little attention paid to the affairs of that kingdom, during the late, and the beginning of the preſent reign, all things had run into confuſion. John ordered ſterling money, according to the Engliſh ſtandard, to be ſtruck at Dublin: he iſſued a proclamation to make that money current in both kingdoms: he appointed ſheriffs: he divided the iſland into counties: he cauſed a fair copy of the Engliſh laws to be engroſſed, and depoſited it in the exchequer of Dublin: he ordered the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms to be obſerved; and erected in Dublin, courts of law, upon the ſame principles, and confined to the ſame proceedings with thoſe in England.

Theſe regulations being made, John had leiſure to chaſtiſe Reginald, king of the Iſles, who had been inſtrumental in many occurences that had happened in Ireland. He poſſeſſed the Iſle of Man, together with what are now called the Weſtern Iſles of Scotland; and by the reſort of the Daniſh and other ſhipping, was become no contemptible enemy. John ſent a ſquadron of ſhips under the command of Fulk Canteloup to reduce this monarch, who had long obſtructed the Iriſh government. Fulk landed in the Iſle of Man, and for a fortnight laid waſte the whole country with fire and ſword. Reginald found it in vain to reſiſt the ſuperior force of the Engliſh, and therefore ſubmitted to John, and gave hoſtages for holding his crown by homage from that prince.

This expedition gave John ſome reputation with his neighbours; and had his other affairs in the beginning of his reign been conducted with the ſame ſpirit and perſeverance, he might have ſwayed the ſceptre of England with credit and honour. But John wanted virtue and prudence to direct his actions; and made uſe of every method in his power, however repugnant to the conſtitution of England, to increaſe his own power. On his return from his Iriſh expedition, he renewed his impoſitions upon the clergy of all denominations, without ſparing even the knights-templars and hoſpitallers. The order of the white monks alone, was obliged to pay forty thouſand pounds in ſilver, and the money collected upon this occaſion, amounted to upwards of one hundred thouſand pounds. An enormous and almoſt incredible ſum for thoſe days.

A. D. 1211. The pope was now preparing to launch another bolt of papal vengeance againſt the king of England; but was firſt deſirous of knowing whether John was yet willing to ſubmit to the papal deciſions. In order to this, he ſent over Pandolf with a legantine authority, that by holding a conference with the king, the diſpoſitions of that prince, with regard to the holy ſee, might be the more certainly known. Pandolf was a perſon of ſenſe and addreſs, and ſufficiently furniſhed with papal impudence to trample upon the rights of lawful government in favour of his maſter. This legate was attended by one Durand, a knight-templar, who, in conjunction with Pandolf, had undertaken to make peace between John and his clergy. The meeting was held at Northampton, and great expectations were formed from it. But it ſoon appeared that they had no foundation, and that the accommodation ſo much deſired was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance. The legate, however, appears to have been well inſtructed, and perfectly acquainted with John's character: for when the king, in order to intimidate the churchman, ordered an eccleſiaſtic to be put to death before his eyes; he was not the leaſt intimidated by the royal menace; he called for a candle, and declared he would excommunicate immediately any perſon who ſhould dare to lay his hand upon a churchman. This ſpirited behaviour daunted the timorous king, much more than his menace had done the prieſt: he quietly gave up the clerk into the hands of the legate; and tho' he endeavoured to diſguiſe his chagrine, yet the conference made ſo deep an impreſſion upon his ſpirits, that it had a conſiderable ſhare in reducing him to make the ſhameful ſubmiſſions, which ſoon after followed.

A. D. 1212. This conference failing to produce the expected ſucceſs, the pope pronounced a new ſentence againſt John, by which his ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance. This was a terrible blow to John; he had long feared the fidelity of his own ſubjects, and now they were releaſed from their oaths of fealty, expected every moment they would riſe in open rebellion. He now reſolved to reform his conduct. He diſcovered a great readineſs to remove the grievances of the needy and the helpleſs: he iſſued proclamations for the mitigations of the foreſt laws, which, of all others, were the moſt unpopular with the Engliſh; he confined the oppreſſions of the wardens of his foreſts, to the dues which had been paid them during the reign of his father; he eaſed the duties which had been laid upon commerce; all of them acts of arbitrary government: he opened the ſea-ports; he invited trade to its wonted channels; and remitted many unjuſt fines, which had been laid upon his ſubjects by the miniſters of his oppreſſion.

By purſuing theſe meaſures the ſentence loſt its effect, and Innocent prepared to dart his laſt thunder-bolt againſt the refractory monarch; this was the ſentence of depoſition. But as a ſentence of this kind could not be carried into execution, without the aſſiſtance of an armed force, the imperious Pontiff, caſt his eyes upon Philip, king of France, as a perſon, into whoſe powerful hand he could moſt ſecurely intruſt that weapon, the utmoſt reſource of his ghoſtly authority. Accordingly he offered that monarch, beſides the remiſſion of all his ſins, and every ſpiritual advantage, the property and poſſeſſion of the kingdom of England, as a reward for his carrying into execution of the ſentence pronounced by the ſucceſſor of St. Peter.

A. D. 1213. It required very little exertion of the reaſoning faculty to perceive, that it was the common concern of all the princes in Europe to oppoſe the exorbitant pretenſions of the Roman pontiff; for, if theſe claims were eſtabliſhed, every monarch, the moment he oppoſed the boundleſs uſurpations of his holineſs, would be in the utmoſt danger of being tumbled from his throne. And yet the crown of England was ſo tempting a prize, that even Philip, the moſt able monarch of the age, was ſeduced to undertake the execution of a ſentence, which he ought to have oppoſed with all his power. He levied a great army; ſummoned all the vaſſals of the crown to attend him at Rochelle; collected a fleet of ſeventeen hundred veſſels, great and ſmall, in the ſea-ports of Normandy and Picardy; and partly from the zeal of the age, and partly from the great regard which all perſons entertained for the perſon and character of Philip, a force was prepared, which ſeemed equal to the greatneſs of the enterprize,

Nor was John idle on this occaſion. He iſſued out writs requiring the attendance of all his military vaſſals at Dover; and even of all able bodied men, to defend the kingdom at this dangerous criſis. A prodigious number appeared, and the king ſelected an army of ſixty thouſand men. Had theſe troops been united in affection to their prince, and animated with a becoming zeal for the defence of their country, John would have had nothing to fear. He might have bid defiance to the thunder of the vatacan, aſſiſted by the whole power of the French monarch. But the caſe was very different: the people were guided by ſuperſtition, and regarded their king with horror, as a perſon anathematized by the ſupreme head of the church. At the ſame time, the barons, beſides lying under the ſame prejudices, had been long diſguſted with his tyranny, and many of them ſuſpected of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy. Theſe circumſtances conſidered, the moſt fatal conſequences were naturally to be expected from the French invaſion.

But the artful pontiff was, probably, by this time, too well acquainted with the temper and ſpirit of John, not to foreſee, that the court of Rome would reap much greater advantages by trying lenitives once more, than by puſhing him into abſolute deſpair. For this purpoſe he gave, in open conſiſtory, a commiſſion to Pandolf, and the exiled biſhops to repair to England, and there to fulminate in perſon his ſpiritual cenſures. But as ſoon as the aſſembly broke up, he gave Pandolf private inſtructions how to behave, in caſe John ſhould repent, and deſire to make ample ſatisfaction.

Thus armed with the power of making a dangerous war, or a ſtill more dangerous peace, the legate took leave of the court of Rome, and repaired, with the exiled Engliſh biſhops, to Paris. They found Philip very buſy in making preparations for his expedition into England; and the legate immediately ſent over two knights templars to deſire an interview with John at Dover, which was readily granted. The legate having informed Philip, that it was neceſſary for him to publiſh the pope's ſentence in John's dominions, repaired to England, where he laid before him every motive that had any tendency to ſooth, or terrify him into compliance. He repreſented to him the numerous army collected by Philip for invading England: he obſerved, that, beſides the troops he had already procured, ſupplies were expected from every prince in Chriſtendom, who conſidered John as an avowed excommunicated rebel, and his crown as forfeited, by the pope's ſentence. He added, that it was publicly known in France, that Philip had received an invitation from the principal nobility of England, who had promiſed to join him upon his landing.

Terrified at the alarming intelligence of the rebellious diſpoſition of his nobility, and dreading the power of the French monarch, John yielded at diſcretion, and ſubſcribed to all the conditions which Pandolf was pleaſed to impoſe upon him. He promiſed, among other articles, that he would ſubmit himſelf entirely to the judgment of the pope; that he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would reſtore all the exiled clergy and laity, who had been baniſhed on account of the conteſt; that he would make them full reſtitution for their goods, and compenſation for all damages, and inſtantly conſign eight thouſand pounds in part of payment; and that every one outlawed or impriſoned, on account of their adherence to the pope, ſhould immediately be received into grace and favour. Four barons joined with the king, in ſwearing to this ignominious treaty.

But this ignominy, however great, was far from being equal to what John had yet to ſuffer; he was to drain the cup of ſubjection to the lees. The artful Pandolf, refuſed to open at once the ſcroll of abjection, leſt it ſhould drive him to deſpair, and by that means diſappoint the ambitious views of the Roman pontiff. But having now procured a treaty, by which the king had ſubmitted to the moſt ſhameful terms, Pandolf thought he might venture to go one ſtep farther. Accordingly, he propoſed that John ſhould reſign his kingdom to the church. He perſuaded the king, that there was no other way, by which he could ſo effectually diſappoint the French invaſion, as by putting himſelf under the immediate protection of the holy ſee. John, lying under the agony of preſent terror, made no ſcruple of ſubmitting to the propoſal of Pandolf. He paſſed a charter, by which he ſaid, that, not conſtrained by fear, but of his own free will, for the remiſſion of his own ſins, and thoſe of his family, he reſigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolic chair. He agreed to hold theſe dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thouſand marks; ſeven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. At the ſame time he ſtipulated, that if he, or his ſucceſſors, ſhould ever preſume to infringe or revoke this charter, they ſhould inſtantly, except upon admonition, they repented them of their offences, forfeit all right to their dominions.

This agreement being ſigned, and the fifteenth of May appointed for this humiliating ceremony, John did homage to Pandolf as the pope's legate, with all the mortifying rites which the feudal law required of the vaſſals before their liege lord and ſuperior. He came diſarmed into the preſence of the legate, who was ſeated on a throne; he flung himſelf on his knees before him; he lifted up his joined hands, and put them within thoſe of Pandolf; he ſwore fealty to the pope, and he paid part of the tribute, which he owed for his kingdom, as the patrimony of St. Peter. The legate, elevated

vated by this ſupreme triumph of ſacerdotal power, could not forbear diſcovering extravagant ſymptoms of joy and exultation: he trampled on the money, which was laid at his feet, as an earneſt of the ſubjection of the kingdom: an inſolence which, however offenſive to all the Engliſh, no perſon, except the archiſhop of Dublin, ventured to take notice of. But tho' Pandolf had brought the king to ſubmit to theſe baſe conditions, he ſtill refuſed to take off the excommunication and interdict, till an eſtimation ſhould be taken of the loſſes ſuffered by the eccleſiaſtics, and full compenſation and reſtitution ſhould be made them.

Theſe humiliating circumſtances, however great they were, could not alter John's diſpoſition to tyranny. One Peter Pomfret, a hermit, had foretold, that the king ſhould, this year, loſe his crown; and for that raſh prophecy, he had been, for ſome time, confined in Corfe-caſtle. The day fixed being now paſſed, the prophet, was dragged out of priſon, and hanged as an impoſtor at Wincheſter: though the hermit pleaded, that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had loſt the royal and independent crown, which he formerly wore.

All the neceſſary inſtruments of ſubmiſſion being now executed on the part of John, Pandolf treated him as a ſlave. Every ſtep of his ſubjection was a farther alienation of his ſubjects affections: nor did any behold his meanneſs with more indignation than the clergy. We have already obſerved, that they acted in two capacities; they were both biſhops and barons; but Pandolf ſeems to have paid little regard to any oppoſition which could ariſe from that quarter. He thought it was ſufficient for his purpoſe, that the king held his crown from the ſee of Rome; nor did he imagine, that the creatures of that ſee, the light in which he conſidered the clergy, would ever oppoſe their ſovereign the pope; but in this his politics ſeem to have been defective. He, however, ſucceeded better in other reſpects; for the nobility, even the moſt attached to John's perſon and title, could not, with patience, bear the thoughts of his late inglorious reſignation. Their falling off, as they did viſibly every day, anſwered the views of the legate, as it laid John under a neceſſity of connecting himſelf the more cloſely with the pope, on whom alone he now depended.

But Pandolf had now a more delicate point to manage, than any he had yet undertaken: he was now to pacify the king of France, whom he had ſhamefully abandoned. At his return to the court of France, he congratulated Philip on the ſucceſs of his pious enterprize; and informed him that John, moved by the terror of the French arms, had acquired a juſt ſenſe of his guilt; had returned to obedience under the apoſtolic ſee; had even conſented to do homage to the pope for his dominions; and having thus made his kingdom a part of St. Peter's patrimony, had rendered it impoſſible for any Chriſtian prince, without the moſt evident, and moſt flagrant impiety, to attack the Engliſh territories. Enraged at this intelligence, Philip broke out into the moſt violent paſſion: he exclaimed againſt the injury done him by the pope, at whoſe inſtigation he had undertaken an expedition, at the expence of above ſixty thouſand pounds, and was fruſtrated of his purpoſe, at a time when the ſucceſs was become infallible: he complained that all the burden had fallen upon him, while all the advantage had accrued to Innocent: he threatened to be no longer the dupe of theſe hypocritical pretences; the tool of an artful and inſidious pontiff. Accordingly he aſſembled his vaſſals, laid before them the ſhameful treatment he had received; expoſed the intereſted and fraudulent conduct of the pope, and required their aſſiſtance to execute the enterprize againſt England, in which he told them, that notwithſtanding the inhibitions and menaces of the legate, he was determined to perſevere. Exaſperated at the ſhameful treatment their monarch had received, the French barons all vowed to follow their prince on his intended expedition, and were reſolute not to be diſappointed of that glory, and thoſe riches they had long flattered themſelves with acquiring by this enterprize. The earl of Flanders alone, who had previouſly formed a ſecret treaty with John, declared againſt the injuſtice and impiety of the undertaking, and withdrew immediately with all his forces. This defection of the earl, rendered the whole enterprize abortive. It would have been madneſs in Philip to have attacked England, and left ſo powerful an enemy on the frontiers of his dominions. Beſides the earls of Thouloufe and Auvergne, had now followed the example of the earl of Flanders, and declared for John, who had remitted them money to ſupport themſelves againſt the attacks of the French monarch. Philip, therefore, reſolved to fall immediately on the dominions of the earl of Flanders, in order to diſable him from doing any miſchief during his abſence; but he previouſly ſent him a ſummons, to repair to Gravelines, and give account of his conduct. The earl, by neglecting to obey this ſummons, gave Philip a plauſible pretence for attacking his dominions: he ſwore by all the ſaints of his country, "That either France "ſhould be Flanders, or Flanders France." He had, ſome time ſince, while he was waiting for Pandolf's return from England, ordered all his ſhips to leave the different ports, and rendezvous at Boulogne, where his troops were to embark; but he now fell ſuddenly into Flanders, where he attacked and took Caſſel, Ypres, with many places in the neighbourhood, and at laſt Bruges itſelf; his fleet all the while covering and ſupplying his army with neceſſaries. Being reſolved to form the ſiege of Ghent, he ordered part of his ſhips to enter the harbour of Damm, which lies about two leagues from Bruſſels; while the reſt lay at anchor before the mouth of the harbour. In this diſtreſs, the earl of Flanders diſpatched two of his counſellors to John for ſuccours; they found him at Durham, on a progreſs to the north, and laid the dangerous ſituation of their maſter before him. John immediately haſtened to London, and gave orders for equipping a ſtrong ſquadron, under the command of the earl of Saliſbury. He alſo wrote letters to the earl and counteſs of Flanders, and to the earl of Boulogne, encouraging them to hold out till his fleet, commanded by the earl of Saliſbury, could relieve them. John had ſtill a reſpectable army on foot, and ready for ſervice on any emergency. A prodigious number of veſſels had been ſeized during the late embargo; ſo that there was little difficulty in manning and fitting out a fleet ſuperior to that of France. It conſiſted of five hundred ſail, on board of which were ſeven hundred knights, and a conſiderable number of land forces. Philip was now puſhing the ſiege of Ghent, and his

his fleet riding before the harbour, as we have already mentioned; but the greater part of the crews and ſoldiers were now on ſhore plundering the adjacent country. The Engliſh were at firſt intimidated on ſeeing the great number of French ſhips, which were by this time conſiderably increaſed; but after ſending out proper veſſels for examining their real ſtate, they came to a reſolution of giving them battle. The French made but a feeble reſiſtance: above three hundred veſſels were taken, laden with proviſions and military ſtores; and upwards of an hundred ſail, which were lying within the harbour, were alſo deſtroyed. So total, and ſo unexpected a defeat, diſconcerted all the ambitious views of Philip: and had the Engliſh confined themſelves to their own element, this expedition would have terminated greatly to their reputation: but flushed with ſucceſs, the admiral landed his forces to purſue the flying enemy. In the mean time, Philip having raiſed the ſeige of Ghent, advanced with part of his army to drive the Engliſh back to their ſhips. He ſurprized them on ſhore, intoxicated with their late victory, expecting every moment to be maſters of the remaining part of the French fleet, which lay blocked up in the harbour of Damm. Philip attacked the Engliſh, who thought of no oppoſition, killed near two thouſand on the ſpot, and took a conſiderable number of priſoners. But this ſucceſs was too inconſiderable to compenſate for ſo total a deſtruction of his navy. And the Engliſh learning caution from misfortune, continued their blockade at the mouth of the harbour; ſo that Philip, after unrigging his ſhips, thought proper to ſet them on fire, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Engliſh. The French king was now obliged to retire from Flanders, after ſuffering the greateſt loſs, in men, money, and ſhipping. Thus by the craft of an Italian prieſt, aſſiſted by the ſuperſtition of the age, the tranſactions of this memorable campaign were finiſhed, to the eternal ſtain of John's memory, and the inexpreſſible loſs of Philip, whoſe preparations threatened invaſion, perhaps conqueſt, more calamitous than England had ever yet experienced; ſince thoſe chains which were to be forged by the ſword, were to be riveted by the church.

In the mean time the exiled biſhops returned to England in great triumph, with Langton at their head; and the king hearing of their approach, went out to meet them, and throwing himſelf on the ground before them, intreated them with tears to have compaſſion on him, and the kingdom of England. The primate ſeeing theſe marks of ſincere penitence, led him to the chapter-houſe at Wincheſter, and there adminiſtered an oath to him, by which he again ſwore fealty to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors; promiſed to love, maintain and defend the church and the clergy; engaged that he would eſtabliſh the good laws of his anceſtors, particularly thoſe of St. Edward, and aboliſh all thoſe that were oppreſſive to the ſubject; and declared his reſolution of maintaining juſtice and right in all his dominions. The primate next gave him abſolution in the requiſite forms, and admitted him to dine with him, to the great joy of all the people. The ſentence of interdict was, however, ſtill continued on the kingdom. A new legate, Nicholas, biſhop of Freſcati, came into England, to ſupply the place of Pandolf; and declared it to be the pope's intention, never to take off that ſentence, till the clergy received full reſtitution of every thing taken from them, and ample reparation was made that body of men, for all damages they had ſuſtained. He only permitted maſs to be ſaid in a low voice in the churches, till theſe loſſes could be eſtimated to the ſatisfaction of the parties. Certain barons were therefore appointed to take an account of the claims; and John was aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of the ſums, to which the clergy made their loſſes amount. No leſs than twenty thouſand marks were demanded by the monks of Canterbury alone; twenty-three thouſand for the ſee of Lincoln; and the king finding theſe pretenſions to be infinite and endleſs, profered the clergy the ſum of an hundred thouſand marks, for a final acquital. The clergy rejected the offer with diſdain; but the pope, willing to favour his new vaſſal, whom he found zealous in his declarations of fealty, and regular in paying the ſtipulated tribute to Rome, directed his legate to accept of forty thouſand. The iſſue of the whole was, that the biſhops, and conſiderable abbots, procured reparation beyond what they had any title to demand: the inferior clergy were obliged to ſit down contented with their loſſes: and the king, after the ſentence of interdict was taken off, renewed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, by a new charter ſealed with gold, his profeſſions of homage and obedience to the ſee of Rome.

A. D. 1214. John now imagined that all diſputes between him and his barons would be eaſily adjuſted; and he accordingly ſummoned them to meet him at Portſmouth, in order to attend him in an expedition to France. But inſtead of complying, they repreſentented, that their long attendance, had already exhauſted both their patience and their eſtates; and ſome of the northern barons went ſo far as to acquaint him, that they did not conceive their tenures obliged them to ſerve beyond the ſeas; but hinted, at the ſame time, that they ſhould have no objection to following him into France, provided their expences were defrayed out of the royal exchequer. John did every thing in his power to prevail on them to attend him in this expedition; but in vain; they refuſed to comply; and John determining to proceed, embarked for Poictou, which ſtill acknowledged his authority. He beſieged a caſtle near Angiers; but the approach of prince Lewis, Philip's ſon, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege with ſuch precipitation, that he left his machines, tents, and baggage behind him, and returned to England with diſgrace.

The king, however, highly reſented the deſertion of his barons, and determined to puniſh them for their contumacy. Accordingly he collected an army of his demeſne tenants and foreſters, to reduce them to reaſon. And with this intention he marched as far as Northampton, where he was overtaken by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. That prelate was an illuſtrious example to prove, that every man of ſenſe will, if poſſible, be independent. Tho' he owed his advancement to the papal power, yet, he no ſooner became an Engliſh baron, than, finding himſelf at the head of a great and powerful body, he became a violent oppoſer of all the meaſures which tended to ſubject the crown of England to a foreign power. The tyranny of the pope was, to him, as intolerable as that of any other power, and the tyranny of the king as hateful as the tyranny of the Pontiff. He therefore very freely expoſtulated

poſtulated with John: he laid before him his engagements when he was abſolved from his excommunication; and added, that he had violated them by making war upon his ſubjects, before they had been judged by the equity of his court. John, fierce becauſe relying upon the protection of the pope, whoſe power over a churchman at leaſt, he conceived to be unlimited, anſwered, in a violent paſſion, that the archbiſhop had nothing to do with affairs of this kind; nothing of a civil nature belonged to his province. Nor was it in the prelate's power to bring him to a more rational way of thinking; ſo that John ſet out the next morning for Nottingham, breathing fury againſt all his adverſaries. He was followed by the archbiſhop, who regardleſs both of his power and his menaces, repeated his remonſtrances, and declared, he was ready to anathematize any perſon, the king himſelf excepted, who ſhould dare to commit hoſtilities within the kingdom. John knew the power of the archbiſhop and the confederate barons too well to deſpiſe this declaration. He ſaw that it was now generally underſtood, both in England, and upon the continent, that every baron had a right to be tried by his peers, before he could be proceeded againſt in an hoſtile manner. He yielded to the force of reaſon, and appointed a day for the barons, whom he accuſed, to appear at his court, and there to anſwer the complaints that ſhould be preferred againſt them.

Accordingly, in the month of September, a council was held at London, where Langton ſhowed the barons a copy of Henry I. charter, which he declared he had fortunately found in a monaſtery; and exhorted them to inſiſt upon a renewal and obſervance of it. Pleaſed with having an authentic copy of this invaluable record in favour of liberty, the barons ſwore they would ſooner loſe their lives than depart from ſo reaſonable a demand. The confederacy began now to ſpread wider and wider, and to comprehend almoſt all the barons in England: and a new and more numerous meeting was ſummoned by Langton, at St. Edmund's-bury, under pretence of devotion. In this meeting he again produced the old charter of Henry; renewed his exhortations of unanimity and vigour in the proſecution of their purpoſe; and repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the tyranny to which they had been ſo long ſubjected, and from which it now behoved them to free themſelves and their poſterity. The barons, inflamed by his eloquence, incited by the ſenſe of their wrongs, and encouraged by the appearance of their power and numbers, ſolemnly took an oath before the high altar, to adhere to each other, to inſiſt on their demands, and to make perpetual war on the king, till he ſhould ſubmit to grant them what they had ſo juſt a right to aſk. They agreed, that after Chriſtmas, they would prefer, in a body, their common petition. And having entered into theſe engagements, they ſeparated, after mutually promiſing that they would put themſelves immediately in a poſture of defence, by inliſting men, purchaſing arms, and ſupplying their caſtles with the neceſſary ſtores and proviſions.

A. D. 1215. The barons performed their promiſe, and at the time appointed, repaired to London, where they demanded of the king, that, in conſequence of the oath he had taken before the primate, as well as in deference of their juſt rights, he would grant them a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of St. Edward. Alarmed with their zeal and unanimity, and fearful of their power, the king required time for conſidering their requeſt, which appeared to him of the utmoſt conſequence; promiſing, that, at the feſtival of Eaſter, he would give them a poſitive anſwer to their petition; and offered them the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of Ely, and the earl of Pembroke, as ſureties for his fulfilling this engagement. The barons accepted the terms, and returned peaceably to their reſpective caſtles.

John having procured this interval, endeavoured to gain the clergy over to his intereſt. He granted them a new charter, by which liberty was given to all electors into biſhoprics, abbeys, and convental churches, to fill up the vacancies with incumbents of their own chuſing; without any mention being made, as uſual, of particular perſons being agreeable to the crown for their fidelity, or other qualifications. He made a vow to lead an army into Paleſtine, againſt the infidels, and took upon him the croſs. Flattering himſelf, that he ſhould receive from the church, that protection, which ſhe offered to every one that had entered into this ſacred and meritorious engagement.

But the great blow of reſtoring public liberty was ſtill to be warded off. The barons had but one point in view, and were determined not to be intimidated from proſecuting it with all the vigour which the importance of whatever ought to be dear to mankind requires. They aſſembled at Stamford, and ſhewed themſelves ſo nobly emancipated from the terrors of Rome, that no leſs that two thouſand knights, beſides other horſemen, appeared in the field, all well armed, and well appointed, and all determined to do juſtice to themſelves, and the bleeding liberties of England. Their army did not conſiſt of leſs than thirty thouſand fighting men, all determined to ſupport their juſt rights and privileges, or periſh in the generous attempt. Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, continued about the king's perſon, performing all the good offices in his power between the prince and his nobles; but finding John untractable, his heart was with the barons in the field, and he was juſtly conſidered by the public as their chief adviſer, and principal ſupport.

The time being now nearly arrived, when John was to give a poſitive anſwer to the demand of the barons, they advanced to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the court then reſided. There they received a meſſage from the king, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the earl of Pembroke, deſiring to know what thoſe liberties were, which they ſo zealouſly challenged from their ſovereign. Upon this, the barons delivered into the hands of the commiſſioners a ſchedule of their demands, declaring, at the ſame time, that if the king refuſed to confirm them, they were reſolved to ſeize his demeſnes and caſtles, in order to compel him to do them juſtice. The commiſſioners faithfully related all that had paſſed, and delivered into his hands the ſchedule given them by the barons. The king, after peruſing the writing with attention, ſaid, with a ſcornful ſmile, "And pray, why did "not the barons, with thoſe unjuſt exactions, de- "mand my kingdom alſo? What they aſk is fooliſh "and idle;" and then added, with an oath, "That "he never would grant them ſuch privileges, as "ſhould render himſelf a ſlave."

On the return of the commiſſioners, who related every thing that had paſſed, the barons perceived that there were no hopes of ſucceeding by negotiation, and therefore reſolved to have recourſe immediately to the ſword. Accordingly they ſent the king a defiance, choſe Robert Fitz-walter for their general, with the title of marſhal of the army of God, and of holy church, and marched in a body to beſiege the caſtle of Northampton. But being deſtitute of engines neceſſary for ſucceſs, they were obliged, after ſpending fifteen days before the place, to abandon their undertaking. They next marched to Bedford, and found a ready admittance into the caſtle from the governor, William Beauchamp.

After this ſucceſs, they continued their route to Ware, in their way to London, and ſent from thence a meſſage to the principal citizens, in order to know their diſpoſitions in the preſent criſis. The anſwer was extremely favourable, and they continued their march, and were received without oppoſition into the capital.

This laſt acquiſition was of the utmoſt importance to the barons, and an omen of recovered liberty. They immediately drew up a manifeſto, which they ſent to all the noblemen, who had not yet joined in the aſſociation, requiring their aſſiſtance, and menacing them, in caſe of a refuſal or delay, with committing devaſtations on their caſtles and eſtates. In order to ſhew them what they might expect from their proſperous arms, they made incurſions from London, and laid waſte the king's parks and palaces, ſo that all thoſe barons, who had hitherto carried the ſemblance of ſupporting the royal party, were glad of this pretence, to join openly a cauſe which they had always favoured in ſecret. In the mean time, the king was left at Odiham, in Surry, with only the poor remains of ten knights; and, after trying ſeveral expedients to elude the blow; after offering to refer all differences to the pope alone, or to eight barons, four to be choſen by himſelf, and four by the confederates, he found himſelf at laſt obliged to ſubmit at diſcretion.

A conference was now appointed to be held between the king and his barons at Runnemede, between Windſor and Staines, a place which has, ever ſince, been extremely celebrated on account of this great event. The two parties encamped ſeparately, like open enemies; and, after a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility which was ſomewhat ſuſpicious, ſigned and ſealed the charter required of him. This famous deed, commonly called Magna Charta, or the Great Charter, either granted or ſecured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom, to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people. We ſhall give a tranſlation of this important writing, it being juſtly conſidered as the foundation of Engliſh liberty.

The CHARTER of LIBERTIES, or the GREAT CHARTER, granted by king JOHN, to his ſubjects, in the year 1215.

" John, by the grace of God, king of England, " lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Acquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, juſticiaries of the " foreſts, ſheriffs, governors, officers, and to all " bailiffs and others his faithful ſubjects, greeting:

" Know ye, that we, in the preſence of God, and " for the health of our ſoul, and the ſouls of all " our anceſtors and heirs, and to the honour of " God, and the exaltation of holy church, and " amendment of our kingdom, by the advice of " our venerable fathers, Stephen archbiſhop of " Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church; Henry archbiſhop of Dublin; William biſhop of London; " Peter of Wincheſter; Jocelyn of Bath and Glaſtonbury; Hugh of Lincoln; Walter of Worceſter; William of Coventry; Benedict of Rochеſter, biſhops; and Maſter Pandolf the pope's " ſubdeacon and ancient ſervant; brother Aymeric, maſter of the Temple in England; and the " noble perſons, William Mareſchal, earl of Pembroke; William earl of Saliſbury; William earl " of Warrenne; William earl of Arundel; Alar de " Galoway, conſtable of Scotland; Warin Fitzgerald; Peter Fitzherbert, and Hubert de Bourgh, " ſeneſchal of Poictou; Hugo de Neville, Matthew Fitzherbert, Thomas Baſſet, Alan Baſſet, " Philip de Albiney, Robert de Ropele, John Mareſchal, John Fitzhugh, and others our liegemen, have, in the firſt place, granted to God, and " by this our preſent charter, confirmed for us and " our heirs for ever.

I. " That the church of England ſhall be free, " and enjoy her rights entire, and her liberties inviolable. And we will have them to be obſerved, " that it may appear from hence, that the freedom " of elections, which was reckoned chief and indiſpenſible to the Engliſh church, and which we " granted and confirmed by our charter, and obtained the confirmation of from pope Innocent III. " before the diſcord between us and our barons, " was granted of mere free will; which charter we " ſhall obſerve, and do will it to be well obſerved " by our heirs for ever.

II. " We have alſo granted, to all freemen of " our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all " the underwritten liberties, to have and to hold " them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.

III. " If any of our earls or barons, or others, " who hold of us in chief by military ſervice, ſhall " die; and at the time of his death, his heir ſhall " be of full age, and owe a relief, he ſhall have " his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is, the " heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, " by an hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a " knight, for a whole knight's fee, by an hundred " ſhillings at moſt; and whoever oweth leſs, ſhall " give leſs, according to the ancient cuſtom of " fees.

IV. " But if the heir of any ſuch ſhall be under " age, and be in ward, his lord ſhall not have the " wardſhip of him, nor his land, before he hath received his homage; and after ſuch heir ſhall be " in ward, and attain to the age of one and twenty " years, he ſhall, when he comes of age, have his " inheritance without relief, and without fine.

V. " The warden of the land of ſuch heir, who " ſhall be under age, ſhall not take of the land of " ſuch heir, other than reaſonable iſſues, reaſonable cuſtoms, and reaſonable ſervices; and that " without deſtruction or waſte of the tenants or effects upon the eſtate. And, if we ſhall commit " the guardianſhip of thoſe lands to the ſheriff, or " any other perſon, who is anſwerable to us for the

" iſſues,

Engraved for Mountagues History of England.

MAGNA CHARTA *signed by King John*
in Runnemede Meadow.

BRITISH MUSEUM 8 JU 80

" iſſues of the land; and if he ſhall make deſtruc-
" tion and waſte upon the ward-lands, we will com-
" pel him to give ſatisfaction, and the land ſhall be
" committed to lawful and diſcreet tenants of that
" fee, who ſhall be anſwerable for the iſſues to us,
" or to him to whom we ſhall aſſign them. And,
" if we ſhall give or ſell to any one the wardſhip of
" ſuch lands; and if he makes deſtruction or waſte
" upon them, he ſhall loſe the wardſhip itſelf,
" which ſhall be committed to two lawful and diſ-
" creet tenants of the fee, who ſhall, in like man-
" ner, be anſwerable to us as aforeſaid.

VI. " But the warden, ſo long as he ſhall have
" the wardſhip of the land, ſhall keep up the
" houſes, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other
" things pertaining to the land, out of the iſſues
" of the ſame land, and ſhall reſtore to the heir,
" when he comes of full age, the whole land, ſtock-
" ed with ploughs and carriages, according as
" the time of wainage ſhall require, and the iſſues
" of the land can reaſonably bear. And all theſe
" things ſhall be obſerved in the cuſtodies of va-
" cant archbiſhoprics, biſhoprics, abbies, priories,
" churches, and dignities which appertain to us,
" except that theſe wardſhips are not to be ſold.

VII. " Heirs ſhall be married without diſparage-
" ment, ſo as that before matrimony ſhall be con-
" tracted, thoſe who are neareſt in blood to the heir
" ſhall be made acquainted with it.

VIII. " A widow, after the death of her huſband,
" ſhall forthwith, and without difficulty, have her
" marriage and inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe give any
" thing for her dower, or her marriage, or her in-
" heritance, which her huſband and ſhe held at the
" day of his death; and ſhe may remain in the
" manſion-houſe of her huſband, forty days after
" death; within which term her dower ſhall be aſ-
" certained.

IX. " No widow ſhall be diſtrained to marry
" herſelf, ſo long as ſhe has a mind to live without
" a huſband. But, at the ſame time, ſhe ſhall
" give ſecurity, that ſhe will not marry without our
" conſent, if ſhe holds of us, or without the con-
" ſent of the lord of whom ſhe holds, if ſhe holds
" of another.

X. " Neither we nor our bailiffs ſhall ſeize
" any land or rent for any debt, ſo long as
" there ſhall be chattels of the debtor's upon the
" premiſes, ſufficient to pay the debt, and the
" debtor be ready to ſatisfy it. Nor ſhall the ſure-
" ties of the debtor be diſtrained, ſo long as the
" principal debtor is ſufficient for the payment of
" the debt.

XI. " And if the principal debtor ſhall fail in
" the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal
" to pay it, or will not diſcharge it when he is able,
" then the ſureties ſhall anſwer the debt; and, if
" they will, they ſhall have the lands and rents of
" the debtor, until they ſhall be ſatisfied for the
" debt which they paid for him, unleſs the princi-
" pal debtor can ſhew himſelf acquitted thereof,
" againſt the ſaid ſureties.

XII. " If any one have borrowed any thing of
" the Jews, more or leſs, and dies before the debt
" be ſatisfied, there ſhall no intereſt be paid for
" that debt, ſo long as the heir is under age, of
" whomſoever he may hold; and if the debt falls
" into our hands, we will take only the chattels
" mentioned in the charter or inſtrument.

XIII. " And if any one ſhall die indebted to the
" Jews, his wife ſhall have her dower, and pay no-
" thing of that debt; and if the deceaſed left chil-
" dren under age, they ſhall have neceſſaries pro-
" vided for them, according to the tenement or real
" eſtate of the deceaſed; and out of the reſidue the
" debt ſhall be paid, ſaving, however, the ſervice
" of the lord. In like manner let it be with the
" debts due to other perſons than Jews.

XIV. " No ſcutage or aid ſhall be impoſed in
" our kingdom, unleſs by the common council of
" the nation, except for ranſoming our perſon, and
" making our eldeſt ſon a knight, and once for mar-
" rying our eldeſt daughter; and for theſe three
" only a reaſonable aid ſhall be demanded.

XV. " In like manner it ſhall be concerning the
" aids of the city of London; and that city ſhall
" have all its ancient liberties and free cuſtoms, as
" well by land as by water.

XVI. " Furthermore, we will and grant, that
" all other cities, boroughs, towns, and ports, ſhall
" have all their liberties and free cuſtoms, and for
" holding the common council of the kingdom,
" concerning the aſſeſſment of their aids, except in
" the three caſes aforeſaid.

XVII. " And for the aſſeſſing of ſcutages, we
" ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned the archbiſhops, bi-
" ſhops, abbots, earls, and great barons of the
" realm, ſingly by our letters.

XVIII. " And furthermore, we ſhall cauſe to
" be ſummoned in general, by our ſheriffs and bai-
" liffs, all others who hold of us in chief, at a cer-
" tain day; that is to ſay, forty days before their
" meeting at leaſt, and to a certain place; and in
" all letters of ſuch ſummons, we will declare the
" cauſe of the ſummons.

XIX. " And ſummons being thus made, the
" buſineſs ſhall proceed on the day appointed, ac-
" cording to the advice of ſuch as ſhall be preſent,
" although all that were ſummoned come not.

XX. " We will not, for the future, grant to
" any one, that he may take aid of his own free te-
" nants, unleſs to ranſom his perſon, and to make
" his eldeſt ſon a knight, and once to marry his el-
" deſt daughter; and for this there ſhall only be
" paid a reaſonable aid.

XXI. " No man ſhall be diſtrained to perform
" more ſervices for a knights's fee, or other free te-
" nement, than is due from thence.

XXII. " Common pleas ſhall not follow our
" court, but ſhall be holden in ſome certain place:
" trials upon the writs of novel diſſeiſin, and of
" mort d'anceſtor, and of darreine preſentment,
" ſhall not be taken but in their proper counties,
" and after this manner: we, or, if we ſhall be out
" of the realm, our chief juſticiary ſhall ſend two
" juſticiaries through every county four times a
" year, who, with four knights, choſen out of
" every ſhire by the people, ſhall hold the ſaid aſ-
" ſizes in the county, on the day, and at the place
" appointed.

XXIII. " And if any matters cannot be deter-
" mined on the day appointed for holding the aſ-
" ſizes in each county, ſo many of the knights and
" freeholders as have been at the aſſizes aforeſaid,
" ſhall be appointed to decide them, as is neceſſary,
" according as there is more or leſs buſineſs. Aſſizes
" of darreine preſentment to churches, ſhall always
" be taken before the juſticiaries of the bench.

XXIV.

XXIV. " A freeman ſhall not be amerced for a " ſmall fault, but according to the degree of the " fault; and for a great crime in proportion to the " heinouſneſs of it, ſaving to him his contenement, " and after the ſame manner a merchant, ſaving to " him his merchandize.

XXV. " And a villain ſhall be amerced after the " ſame manner, ſaving to him his wainage, if he " falls under our amerciament; and none of the " aforeſaid amerciaments ſhall be aſſeſſed, but by " the oath of honeſt men in the neighbourhood.

XXVI. " Earls and barons ſhall not be amerced, " but by their peers, and according to the degree " of offence.

XXVII. " No eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhall be amerc- " ed for his lay-tenement, but according to the " proportion of the others aforeſaid, and not ac- " cording to the value of his eccleſiaſtical be- " nefice.

XXVIII. " Neither a town, nor any tenement, " ſhall be diſtrained, to make bridges over rivers, " unleſs that anciently and of right they are bound " to do it. No river, for the future, ſhall be im- " banked, but what was imbanked in the time of " king Henry our grandfather.

XXIX. " No ſheriff, caſtellan, coroner, or other " of our bailiffs, ſhall hold pleas of the crown.

XXX. " All counties, hundreds, wapentakes " and trethings, ſhall ſtand at the old ferm, with- " out any increaſe, except in our demeſne ma- " nors.

XXXI. " If any one, holding of us a lay-fee, " dies, and the ſheriff, or our bailiff, ſhew our " letters patent of ſummons concerning the debt, " due to us from the deceaſed, it ſhall be lawful " for the ſheriff, or our bailiff, to attach and re- " giſter the chattels of the deceaſed found upon " his lay-fee, to the value of the debt, by the view " of lawful men, ſo as nothing be removed, until " our whole debt be paid; and the reſt ſhall be left " to the executors, who are to fulfil the will of the " deceaſed: and if there be nothing due from him " to us, all the chattels ſhall remain to the deceaſ- " ed, ſaving to his wife and children, their reaſon- " able ſhares.

XXXII. " If any freeman ſhall die inteſtate, his " chattels ſhall be diſtributed by the hands of his " neareſt relations and friends, by view of the " church, ſaving to every one his debts, which the " deceaſed owed to him.

XXXIII. " No conſtable or bailiff of ours ſhall " take corn, or other chattels of any man, who is " not of the town where the caſtle is, unleſs he pre- " ſently gives him money for it, or hath reſpite of " payment by the good-will of the ſeller. But if " he be of the ſame town, he ſhall pay him within " forty days.

XXXIV. " No conſtable ſhall diſtrain any knight, " to give money for caſtle-guard, if he himſelf will " do it in his own perſon, or by another able man, " in caſe he cannot do it through any reaſonable " cauſe.

XXXV. " And if we lead him, or ſend him " into the army, he ſhall be free from ſuch guard, " for the time he ſhall be in the army by our com- " mand.

XXXVI. " No ſheriff or bailiff of ours, or any " other, ſhall take horſes or carts of any freeman " for carriage, but by the good-will of the ſaid " freeman, without paying according to the rate " anciently appointed; that is to ſay, for a cart and " two horſes, ten-pence a-day; and for a cart with " three horſes, fourteen-pence a-day.

XXXVII. " Neither ſhall we, or our bailiffs, " take any man's timber for our caſtles, or other " uſes, unleſs by the conſent of the owner of the " timber.

XXXVIII. " We will retain the lands of thoſe " that are convicted of felony, only one year and a " day, and then they ſhall be returned to the lord " of the fee.

XXXIX. All wares, for the time to come, ſhall " be put down in the rivers of Thames and Med- " way, and throughout England, except upon the " ſea-coaſt.

XL. " The writ, which is called præcipe, ſhall " not, for the future, be made out to any one of " any tenement, whereby a freeman may loſe his " court.

XLI. " There ſhall be one meaſure of wine, " and one of ale, throughout our whole realm, and " one meaſure of corn; that is to ſay, the London " quarter, and one breadth of dyed cloth, and ruſ- " ſets, and haberjects; that is to ſay, two ells within " the liſt. As to weights, they ſhall be as the " meaſures.

XLII. " From henceforth, nothing ſhall be " given or taken for a writ of inquiſition, of life " and limbs; but it ſhall be granted gratis, and not " denied.

XLIII. " If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or " ſocage, or burgage, and holds lands of another " by military ſervice, we will not have the wardſhip " of the heir, or land, which is of another man's " fee, by reaſon of what he holds of us by fee-farm, " ſocage, or burgage; nor will we have the ward- " ſhip of the fee-farm, ſocage, or burgage, un- " leſs the fee-farm is bound to perform military " ſervice.

XLIV. " We will not have the wardſhip of an " heir, nor of any land, which he holds of another " by military ſervice, by reaſon of any petit-ſer- " jeanty he holds of us, as by the ſervice of giving " us knives, arrows, or the like.

XLV. " No bailiff ſhall, for the future, put " any man to his law, upon his ſingle word, with- " out credible witneſſes produced to prove it.

" XLVI. No freeman ſhall be taken or impri- " ſoned, or diſſeiſed, or out-lawed, or baniſhed, " or any ways deſtroyed; nor will we paſs ſentence " upon him, or commit him to priſon, unleſs by " the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law " of the land.

XLVII. " We will ſell to no man, we will deny " no man, nor delay right nor juſtice.

XLVIII. " All merchants, unleſs they be pub- " lickly prohibited, ſhall have ſafe and ſecure con- " duct to go out of, and to come into England; " and to ſtay there, and to paſs as well by land as " by water; for buying and ſelling by the ancient " and allowed cuſtoms, without any evil tolls, ex- " cept in time of war, or when they are of any na- " tion at war with us.

XLIX. " And if there be found any ſuch in our " land, at the beginning of the war, they ſhall be " attached without damage to their bodies or goods, " until it may be known to us, or our chief juſti- " ciary, how our merchants are treated in the na- " tion at war with us; and if ours be ſafe there, the " others ſhall be ſafe in our dominions.

L. " It

L. " It ſhall be lawful, in the time to come, for " any one to go out of our kingdom, and return " ſafely and ſecurely by land or by water, ſaving " his allegiance to us, unleſs in time of war, by " ſome ſhort ſpace, for the common benefit of the " realm, except priſoners and outlaws (according to " the law of the land) and people at war with us, " and merchants who ſhall be in ſuch condition as " is above mentioned.

LI. " If any man holds of any eſcheat, as of the " honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, " Lancaſter, or of other eſcheats which are in our " hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heirs ſhall " give no other relief, and perform no other ſervice " to us, than he would to the baron, if the barony " were in the poſſeſſion of the baron: we will hold " it after the ſame manner the baron held it. Nor " will we by reaſon of ſuch barony or eſcheat, have " any eſcheat or wardſhip of any of our men, un- " leſs he that held the barony or eſcheat held of us " in chief elſewhere.

LII. " Thoſe men who dwell without the foreſt, " ſhall not, from henceforth, come before our juſ- " ticiaries of the foreſt upon common ſummons, " but ſuch as are impleaded, or are pledges for any " that were attached for ſomething concerning the " foreſt. No country court ſhall be holden for " the future but from month to month, and where " there uſed to be a greater interval, let it be ſo " continued. Neither any ſheriff, nor his bailiff " ſhall keep his turn in the hundred oftener than " twice in a year, and only in the accuſtomed " place, that is, once after Eaſter, and once after " Michaelmas; and the view of frank-pledge " ſhall be held after Michaelmas, that every one " may have his liberties, which he had, and was " wont to have, in the time of king Henry our " grandfather, or ſuch as he obtained afterwards. " But the view of frank-pledge ſhall be ſo made, " that our peace may be kept, and that the tything " be full, as it was wont to be. And the ſheriffs " ſhall not ſeek occaſions, but ſhall be content " with what the ſheriff was wont to have for ma- " king his view in the time of king Henry our " grandfather. For the time to come it ſhall not " be lawful for any man to give his land to a reli- " gious houſe, ſo as to take it again and hold it of " that houſe, Nor ſhall it be lawful for any reli- " gious houſe to receive land, ſo as to grant it to " him again, of whom they received it, to hold of " him. If any man for the future ſhall give his " land to a religious houſe, and be convicted there- " of, his gift ſhall be void, and the land ſhall be " forfeited to the lord of the fee. Scutage for the " future ſhall not be taken, as it was uſed to be " taken in the time of king Henry our grandfather; " nor ſhall the ſheriff oppoſe any man, but be con- " tent with what he was wont to have. Saving " to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, " templars, hoſpitallers, earls, barons, knights, " and all others, as well eccleſiaſtics as ſeculars, " the liberties and free cuſtoms which they had be- " fore.

LIII. " We will not make any juſticiaries, con- " ſtables, ſheriffs, or bailiffs, but ſuch as are " knowing in the law of the realm, and are diſpoſed " duly to obſerve it.

LIV. " All barons who are founders of abbies, " and have charters of the kings of England for " the advowſon, or are intitled to it by ancient " tenure, may have the cuſtody of them when va- " cant, as they ought to have.

LV. " All woods that have been taken into the " foreſts in our own time, ſhall forthwith be laid " out again; and the ſame ſhall be done with re- " gard to the rivers, which have been taken or " fenced in by us during our reign.

LVI. " All evil cuſtoms concerning foreſts, " warrens, and foreſters, warreners, ſheriffs and " their officers, rivers and their keepers, ſhall " forthwith be enquired into in each county, by " twelve knights, ſworn of the ſame ſhire, choſen " by creditable perſons in the ſame county, and " upon oath; and within forty days after the ſaid " inqueſt, be utterly aboliſhed, ſo as never to be " reſtored.

LVII. " We will immediately give up all hoſt- " ages and writings, delivered unto us by our " Engliſh ſubjects, as ſecurities for their keeping " the peace, and yielding us faithful ſervice.

LVIII. " We will entirely remove from our " bailiwics the relations of Gerard de Athyes, ſo " as that for the future they ſhall have no bailiwic " in England. We will alſo remove Engelard de " Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon from the " chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martyn " and his brothers, Philip Mark and his brothers, " his nephew Geoffrey, and all their followers.

LIX. " And as ſoon as peace is reſtored, we " will ſend out of the kingdom all foreign ſoldiers, " croſs-bow men, and ſtipendiaries, who are come " with horſes and arms, to the prejudice of our " people.

LX. " If any one hath been diſpoſſeſſed or de- " prived by us, without the legal judgment of his " peers, of his lands, caſtles, liberties, or rights, we " will forthwith reſtore them to him; and if any " diſpute ariſes upon this head, let the matter be " determined by the twenty-five barons hereafter " mentioned, for the preſervation of the peace.

LXI. " As for all thoſe things, of which any " perſon has, without the legal judgment of his " peers, been diſpoſſeſſed or deprived, either by " king Henry our father, or our brother king " Richard, and which we have in our hands, or " are poſſeſſed by others, and we are bound to " warrant and make good, we ſhall have a reſpite " during the term uſually allowed the cruiſes; ex- " cepting thoſe things, about which there is a plea " depending, or whereof an inqueſt hath been " made by our order, before we undertook the " cruſade. But when we return from our pilgrim- " age, or if we do not undertake it, we will im- " mediately cauſe full juſtice to be adminiſtered " therein.

LXII. " The ſame reſpite we ſhall have for " diſafforeſting the foreſts, which Henry our father, " or our brother Richard have afforeſted; and, for " the wardſhip of the lands, which are in another's " fee, in the ſame manner as we have hitherto en- " joyed thoſe wardſhips, by reaſon of a fee held of " us by knight's ſervice; and for the abbies found- " ed in any other fee than our own, in which the " lord of the fee, ſays, he has a right; and when " we return from our pilgrimage, or if we ſhould " not perform it, we will immediately do full ju- " ſtice to all the complainants in this behalf.

LXIII. " No man ſhall be taken or impriſoned " upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any " other perſon than her huſband.

LXIV. " All unjuſt and illegal fines levied by " us, and all amerciaments impoſed unjuſtly, and " contrary to the law of the land, ſhall be entirely " forgiven, or elſe be left to the deciſion of the " five and twenty barons hereafter mentioned, for " the preſervation of the peace, or of the major " part of them, together with the aforeſaid Stephen, " archbiſhop of Canterbury, if he can be preſent, " and others whom he ſhall think fit to take with " him; and if he cannot be preſent, the buſineſs " ſhall, notwithſtanding, proceed without him. " But ſo, that if one or more of the aforeſaid five " and twenty barons be plaintiffs in the ſame cauſe " they ſhall be ſet aſide, as to what concerns this " particular affair, and others choſen in their room, " out of the ſaid five and twenty, and ſworn by the " reſt, to decide that matter.

LXV. " If we have diſſeiſed, or diſpoſſeſſed " the Welſh of any lands, liberties, or other things, " without the legal judgment of their peers, they " ſhall be immediately reſtored to them. And, if " if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, the matter " ſhall be determined in the Marche, by the judg- " ment of their peers; for tenements in England, " according to the laws of England; for tene- " ments in Wales, according to the laws of Wales; " for the tenements of the Marche, according to " the law of the Marche: the ſame ſhall the Welſh " do to us and our ſubjects.

LXVI. " As for all thoſe things, of which any " Welſhman hath, without the legal judgment of " his peers, been diſſeiſed or deprived, by king " Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, " and which we either have in our hands, or others " are poſſeſſed of, and we are obliged to warrant " it, we ſhall have a reſpite for the time generally " allowed the cruiſes; excepting thoſe things " about which a ſuit is depending, or whereof " an inqueſt has been made by our order, " before we undertook the cruſade. But when " we return, or if we ſtay at home without " performing our pilgrimage, we ſhall immediately " do them full juſtice, according to the laws of " the Welſh, and of the parts above-mentioned.

LXVII. " We will, without delay, diſmiſs the " ſon of Llewellin, and all the Welſh hoſtages, and " releaſe them from the engagements they have en- " tered into with us for the preſervation of the " peace.

LXVIII. " We ſhall treat with Alexander king " of Scots, concerning the reſtoring his ſiſters " and hoſtages, and his rights and liberties, in " the ſame form and manner as we ſhall do to the " reſt of our barons of England; unleſs from the " charters, which we have from his father, William, " late king of Scots, it ought to be otherwiſe; and " this ſhall be left to the determination of his " peers in our court.

LXIX. " All the aforeſaid cuſtoms and liber- " ties which we have granted, to be holden in our " kingdom, as much as it belongs to us towards " our people of our kingdom, as well clergy as " laity, we ſhall obſerve, as far as they are concern- " ed towards their dependants.

LXX. " And whereas, for the honour of God, " and the amendment of our kingdom, and for qui- " eting the diſcord that hath ariſen between us and " our barons, we have granted all the things afore- " ſaid; willing to render them firm and laſting, we " do give and grant our ſubjects the underwritten " ſecurity, namely, that the barons may chuſe five " and twenty barons of the kingdom, whom they " think convenient, who ſhall take care, with all " their might, to hold and obſerve, and cauſe to " be obſerved, the peace and liberties we have " granted them, and by this our preſent charter " confirmed; ſo as that, if we, our juſticiary, our " bailiffs, or any of our officers, ſhall, in any cir- " cumſtance fail in the performance of them to- " wards any perſon, or ſhall break thro' any of theſe " articles of peace and ſecurity, and the offence is " notified to four barons, choſen out of the five and " twenty above-mentioned, the ſaid four barons " ſhall repair to us, or our juſticiary, if we are out " of the realm, and laying open the grievance, ſhall " petition to have it redreſſed without delay; and, " if it is not redreſſed by us, or, if we ſhould " chance to be out of the realm, if it is not redreſſed " by our juſticiary, within forty days, reckoning " from the time it has been notified to us, or to our " juſticiary, if we ſhould be out of the realm, the " four barons aforeſaid, ſhall lay the cauſe before " the reſt of the five and twenty barons; and the " ſaid five and twenty barons, together with the " community of the whole kingdom, ſhall diſtrain " and diſtreſs us all the ways poſſible; namely, by " ſeizing our caſtles, lands, poſſeſſions, and in any " other manner they can, till the grievance is re- " dreſſed, according to their pleaſure; ſaving harm- " leſs our own perſon, and the perſon of our queen " and children; and when it is redreſſed, they ſhall " obey us as before.

LXXI. " And any perſon whatſoever in the " kingdom, may ſwear, that he will obey the orders " of the five and twenty barons aforeſaid, in the ex- " ecution of the premiſes, and that he will diſtreſs " us jointly with them, to the utmoſt of his power; " and we give public and free liberty to any one " that ſhall pleaſe to ſwear to them, and never " ſhall hinder any perſon from taking the ſame " oath.

LXXII. " As for all thoſe of our ſubjects, who " will not, of their own accord, ſwear to join the " five and twenty barons, in diſtraining and diſ- " treſſing us, we will iſſue our order, to make them " take the oath above-mentioned.

LXXIII. " And if any one of the five and " twenty barons ſhould die, or go out of the king- " dom, or be hindered any other way, from carry- " ing the things aforeſaid into execution, the reſt " of the ſaid five and twenty barons may chuſe ano- " ther in his room, at their diſcretion, who ſhall " be ſworn into his office, in like manner as the " reſt.

LXXIV. " In all things that are committed to " the execution of the five and twenty barons, if, " when they are all aſſembled together, they ſhould " happen to diſagree about any matter, or ſome of " them, when ſummoned, will not, or cannot come; " whatever is agreed upon, or enjoined, by the " major part of thoſe who are preſent, ſhall be re- " puted as firm and valid, as if all the five and " twenty had given their conſent; and the afore- " ſaid five and twenty ſhall ſwear, that all the pre- " miſes they ſhall faithfully obſerve, and cauſe " with all their power to be obſerved.

LXXV. " And we will not by ourſelves, or by " any other, procure any thing whereby any of " theſe conceſſions and liberties be revoked, or " leſſened; and if any ſuch thing be obtained, let

" it

" it be null and void; neither ſhall we ever make " uſe of it, either by ourſelves or any other.

LXXVI. " And all the ill-will, anger, and " malice, that hath ariſen between us and our ſub- " jects, of the clergy and laity, from the firſt " breaking out of the diſſenſion between us, we do " fully remit and forgive. Moreover, all treſ- " paſſes occaſioned by the ſaid diſſention, from " Eaſter, in the ſixteenth year of our reign, till " the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity, we " hereby entirely remit to all, both clergy and " laity, and, as far as in us lies, do fully forgive.

LXXVII. " We have moreover granted them " our letters patent teſtimonial of Stephen, lord " archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry, lord arch- " biſhop of Dublin, and the biſhops aforeſaid, as " alſo of maſter Pandolf, for the ſecurity and con- " ceſſions aforeſaid.

LXXVIII. " Wherefore we will, and firmly " enjoin, that the church of England be free, and " that all men in our kingdom, have and hold all " the aforeſaid liberties, rights, and conceſſions, " truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and " wholly, to themſelves and their heirs, of us and " our heirs, in all things and places for ever, as is " aforeſaid.

LXXIX. " It is alſo ſworn, as well on our part, " as on the part of the barons, that all things afore- " ſaid ſhall faithfully and ſincerely be obſerved.

" Given under our hand, in the preſence of the " witneſſes above-mentioned, and many " others, in the Meadow, called Runne- " mede, between Windeleſore and Staines, " the fifteenth day of June, in the ſeven- " teenth year of our reign."

Such was the glorious inſtrument by which the rights of Engliſhmen were declared, explained and confirmed. From this period of our hiſtory, as from a pinnacle, we may view the promiſed land of liberty; we diſcover at once the more than Egyptian bondage, from which this nation was delivered, and the more than Roman privileges, to which the inhabitants were entitled. This charter is a nobler, a moſt expreſs, and more extenſive inſtrument of conſtitutional freedom, than any other people could ever boaſt of: it removes every altercation, every doubt, concerning the compact between king and people; for here, that compact is not only underſtood, but plainly expreſſed; it is not looſely implied, but poſitively ſtipulated: it was obtained, not by a repreſentation, but the collection of Engliſh men, and is, perhaps, the only inſtance on record, when a " king talked and treated with the " whole body of his free ſubjects."

But as ſo many ineſtimable privileges were obtained by this charter, it is no wonder, that the arts of ambition, and the practices of power, ſought to ſtifle the faireſt iſſue of liberty almoſt in its birth; and accordingly we find, that in the next reign, the moſt important article it contains, its very ſpirit, its living letter, cancelled. The barons, under John, like men of ſenſe, knew, that when a power is given, a faculty ought alſo to be given for defending that power. Without ſuch a faculty, power is precarious, and may be ſeized by every rapacious graſp, when conſcience has loſt the authority to awe, and honour to conſtrain. This, they themſelves, as well as their fathers had experienced in repeated inſtances. They had ſeen the Norman race break through the cobwebs of oaths and promiſes; they had ſeen them appeal to arms in all extreme caſes, and, like the inſolent Gauls, throw the ſword, with all its implements into the ſcale, as ſoon as power and right came to be weighed in the balance. It was, for this reaſon, that the Engliſh barons fixed not only the principle of reſiſtance, but its very manner; they took from the moſt ſcrupulous all manner of doubt with regard to both the propriety and mode of oppoſition. Five and twenty barons were choſen, and ſworn to be the guardians of the public, and to compel the king, if he ſhould invade the privileges mentioned in his charter, to do juſtice to his people. The other precautions taken for throwing the means of this coertion into the hands of thoſe barons, are equally poſitive, ready, and expreſs; there could be no miſtake, even with regard to the forms of their proceeding; and the whole is declarative of this doctrine, 'That the the king may be compelled to fulfil his engagements with his people.' But this would have been an impious doctrine, had they not as clearly pointed out the nature, as they did the form and ends of this compulſion. It is ſuch as can be attended with no diſſolution of government, by no convulſion of the ſtate. The worſt conſequence attending it is, a temporary ſuſpenſion of the regal power, when perverted to evil. But that evil is no ſooner redreſſed, than government reſumes its former functions; the channels of public juſtice are cleared and enlarged; and the reciprocal duties between king and people, from being habitual, becomes natural.

The names of the twenty-five barons, now made the conſervators of the rights of the people were, the earls of Clare, Albermarle, Glouceſter, Wincheſter, Hereford, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, William Marſchal the younger, Robert Fitz-walter, Gilbert de Clare, Euſtace de Veſcey, the mayor of London, William de Moubray, Geoffrey de Say, Roger de Mombezon, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Ros, the conſtable of Cheſter, William de Aubinie, Richard de Perci, William Malet, John Fitz-Robert, William de Lanvalay, Hugh de Bigod, and Roger de Montfichet. Thoſe barons were, by their convention, really inveſted with the ſovereignty of the kingdom; they were rendered co-ordinate with the king, or rather ſuperior to him, in the exerciſe of the executive power: and as there was no circumſtance of government, which, either directly or indirectly, might not bear a relation to the ſecurity or obſervance of the great charter; there could ſcarce occur an incident, in which they might not lawfully interpoſe their authority.

But tho' John affected to grant the great charter with remarkable readineſs, he was, at the ſame time, contriving how he might break or evade it, under pretence of its being extorted from him. He had invited into the kingdom a great number of foreign mercenaries, whoſe arrival he daily expected. The barons were ſenſible of this, and therefore more active and preſſing in their proceedings. In the mean time, John appeared to ſubmit paſſively to all regulations of the great charter. He ſent writs to all the ſheriffs, ordering them to conſtrain every one to ſwear obedience to the twenty-five barons: he diſmiſſed all his foreign forces; he pretended that the government was henceforth to run in a new channel, and to be more indulgent

to

to the liberty and independence of his people. But, at the ſame time, his heart was ſeeking for a favourable opportunity of annulling all his conceſſions. The injuries and indignities he had ſuffered from the pope and the king of France, ſeemed to make little impreſſion on him, becauſe they came from equals or ſuperiors: but the ſenſe of the perpetual and total ſubjection under his own rebellious vaſſals ſunk deep into his mind, and he was determined, at all events, to throw off ſo ignominious a ſlavery. He grew ſullen, ſilent, and reſerved: he ſhunned the ſociety of his courtiers and nobles: he retired into the Iſle of Wight, as if deſirous of hiding from the world his ſhame and confuſion; but in this retreat he meditated the moſt fatal vengeance againſt all his enemies. He ſecretly ſent abroad his emiſſaries to haſten the embarkation, and increaſe the number of his foreign mercenaries; and to invite the repacious Barbaſans into his ſervice, by the proſpect of ſharing the ſpoils of England, and reaping the forfeitures of ſo many opulent barons, who had incurred the guilt of rebellion, by riſing in arms againſt him. At the ſame time, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome, in order to lay before the pope, the great charter, which he had been compelled to ſign, and to complain before that tribunal of the violence uſed by his barons.

Innocent, conſidering himſelf as feudal lord of the kingdom, was incenſed to the laſt degree at the behaviour of the barons, and ſwore by St. Peter, that the injury they had done their king ſhould not go unpuniſhed. Accordingly, he immediately iſſued a bull, in which, from the plenitude of his apoſtolic authority, and from the power which God had committed to his hands, he annulled the whole charter, as unjuſt in itſelf, as obtained by compulſion, and as derogatory to the dignity of the holy ſee. He prohibited the barons from exacting the obſervance of it: he even prohibited the king himſelf from paying any regard to it: he abſolved him and his ſubjects from all oaths, which they had been conſtrained to take for that purpoſe: and he denounced a general ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould perſevere in maintaining ſuch treaſonable and iniquitous pretenſions. In the mean time, the barons, far from ſuſpecting any attempts of this kind, were indulging themſelves in feſtival ſolemnities on the happy concluſion of the late peace. As ſoon as they were informed of theſe proceedings at the court of Rome, they ſent for William de Albiney, who was then at his caſtle of Beauvois. This nobleman, with ſome reluctance, obeyed their ſummons, after putting his caſtle in a proper poſture of defence. Their firſt deliberation was, on the means of ſecuring the city of London, in which all their hopes were centered; and to ſtrengthen themſelves by inliſting an additional number of forces. The clergy, who had been inſtrumental in compoſing the late troubles, and equally deteſted the incroachments of prerogative, and the abuſe of privilege, ſaw this appearance, of an approaching civil war, with the utmoſt concern. They mediated with indefatigable pains, between the king and the barons. They knew that both parties had ſufficient reaſons to complain. The king had expreſsly broken the tenor of the great charter by his application to the pope, by his inviting over foreigners, by the diſtruſt he had ſhewn of his people, and by the orders he had iſſued for fortifying all his caſtles againſt the barons. On the other hand, the northern noblemen had, without John's giving them any juſtifiable pretence, and indeed, in contempt of the great charter itſelf, committed the moſt ſhameful ravages upon the king's houſes, parks, and foreſts, and of which John grievouſly complained. But by the unwearied labours of the biſhops, a conference was, at laſt, appointed to be held at Oxford, between John and his barons. The latter accordingly repaired with a powerful army to Brackley, where they were met by a meſſenger from the king, informing them that his maſter thought proper to decline the meeting. His pretence was, that being abandoned by all his ſubjects, and greatly injured by the northern barons, without receiving any ſatisfaction, he did not think it ſafe to truſt his perſon at the intended conference, among ſuch a formidable number of his enemies. At the ſame time, the meſſenger produced the pope's brief of excommunication againſt all perſons who ſhould dare to reſiſt the king; but the biſhops having undertaken a freſh mediation between the king and his barons, the ſentence was not promulgated.

Diſappointed in their expectations of concluding a peace with their ſovereign, the barons returned to London, and John ſet out for Portſmouth, whither he was followed by the biſhops. But before they arrived, the king had received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that an army of foreign mercenaries, more than ſufficient to give laws to his turbulent barons, would ſoon arrive. Elated with this proſpect of recovering his deſpotic power, and of chaſtiſing his barons for their late behaviour, John refuſed to liſten to any terms of accomodation; and all that the prelates could obtain was, that the king ſhould ſend ſome of his domeſtics to aſſure the barons, that it would not be his fault, if the peace lately concluded was not obſerved.

The biſhops now returned to Staines, where the barons had ſummoned a meeting of all the nobility of the kingdom. Here they reported the ſucceſs of their mediation, and pronounced the pope's ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould preſume to diſturb the peace of the kingdom. But this ſentence had very little effect on the minds of the aſſembly: they loudly remonſtrated, that the king had himſelf broken the peace, and conſequently was the aggreſſor. But they well knew that remonſtrances would have very little effect; and accordingly returned to London, in order to conſult the meaſures neceſſary for reſiſting the ſtorm which was ready to burſt upon the kingdom.

Their firſt care was to fortify all the avenues to the city; after which, William de Albiney was ſent with a ſtrong detachment, to command in the caſtle of Rocheſter, which had been reſtored by John to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, as part of the archiepiſcopal ſee. Geoffrey de Mandiville was appointed to command in Eſſex; Robert Fitz-walter in Northamptonſhire; Roger de Creſſey in Norfolk and Suffolk; Saer de Quincey in the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, and Robert de Roſs in Northumberland.

John was now at Dover, and had received a ſtrong reinforcement of foreign mercenaries, by which he was enabled to take the field, before the barons were in a capacity of making a proper reſiſtance. He marched immediately to Rocheſter, and beſieged the caſtle, and Albiney, depending on being relieved, made a vigorous defence, notwithſtanding

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John had applied all the machines then in uſe, either for battering or ſtorming the place. He was now joined by another detachment of foreigners, ſo that his army became very powerful, and was commanded by ſoldiers of fortune, who were already, in imagination, maſters of the lands, the wealth, and the liberties of England. Perhaps their wiſhes would have been gratified, had not providence interpoſed; but while John was employed in the ſiege of Rocheſter-caſtle, advice arrived, that Hugh de Beauvois, who had embarked with forty thouſand men at Calais, and the adjacent ports, had periſhed in a ſtorm with all his forces. This misfortune gave John inexpreſſible concern; but he was ſtill at the head of an army ſufficient to take the caſtle of Rocheſter. The place was, however, defended with amazing alacrity, till famine reduced the garriſon to ſurrender. Irritated by this reſiſtance, John intended to have hanged the governor, and all the garriſon; but, on the repreſentation of William de Maleon, who ſuggeſted to him the danger of reprizals, he was contented to ſacrifice, in this barbarous manner, the inferior priſoners only. William de Albiney, and all his officers, were ſent priſoners to Corfe-caſtle. This loſs, eſpecially of Albiney, the beſt officer among the barons, was irreparable to the cauſe of the confederate nobles, who afterwards made no regular oppoſition to the progreſs of the royal party. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let looſe againſt the eſtates, tenants, manors, houſes, and parks of the barons, and ſpread devaſtation over the face of the whole kingdom. Nothing was ſeen but the flames of villages and caſtles, the conſternation and miſery of the inhabitants, tortures exerciſed by the ſoldiers, to make them reveal their concealed treaſures; and reprizals equally barbarous, committed by the barons and their partizans, on the royal demeſnes, and on the eſtates of ſuch as ſtill adhered to the crown. The king, marching thro' the whole extent of the kingdom, from Dover to Berwick, laid the country waſte on each ſide of him, and conſidered every eſtate which was not his own property, as the lands of an enemy, and the object of military execution. The nobility of the north in particular, who had ſhewn the greateſt violence in the recovery of their liberties, and who, acting in a ſeparate body, had expreſſed their diſcontent, even at the conceſſions made by the great charter: as they could expect no mercy, fled before him with their wives and families, and implored the protection of Alexander king of Scots.

A. D. 1216. Alexander himſelf was a prince of great ſpirit, and had a true knowledge of his own intereſt. He thought he had been ill treated by John, on whom he had large demands, and had even entered into the views of the more moderate barons. His court was now crouded with the noblemen and others, whom John's barbarity had driven from their eſtates: he daily received applications from the ſouthern barons, conjuring him, not only as a king, but as the firſt Engliſh nobleman, to advance to the aſſiſtance of the common cauſe, now ready to ſink under the arms of its oppreſſors. Alexander was not averſe to taking the field; but he firſt required an oath of homage from the barons, and all the military tenants of the Engliſh counties to which he laid claim. This being performed with great readineſs, Alexander advanced to Norham-caſtle, which was ſurrendered on conditions. He afterwards over-run all Northumberland, the barons of which readily renewed their oath of homage.

Alarmed at this progreſs, and dreading the junction of the Scottiſh forces with thoſe of the ſouthern barons, John advanced towards the north, at the head of a ſtrong army, and again invaded Yorkſhire, with an intention of penetrating into Scotland, in order to force Alexander to recall his forces for the defence of his regal dominions. The king of the Scots was now at Melroſs, whither the Yorkſhire barons retired, in order to avoid the fury of John, who had now renewed his ravages on their eſtates. Some of them, before their retreat, had voluntarily deſtroyed their houſes, granaries, and whatever elſe could afford either ſubſiſtence or ſhelter to the king's army. But John purſued them with irreſiſtible and implacable fury; and, after burning the towns of Wark, Alnwick, and Morpeth, he penetrated into Scotland, where he took the caſtles of Roxburgh and Berwick. Thence he proceeded, with all the fury that revenge could ſuggeſt, and all the barbarities which mercenaries could inflict, to the ſouthern parts of Scotland, where he burned Haddington, Dunbar, and ſeveral other towns, plundered the abbey of Coldingham, and laid the whole face of the country deſart and deſolate. John was more active in this expedition, as he knew the king of the Scots was the only protector of the Engliſh barons, and therefore, if he could diſable or reduce that monarch, the whole kingdom of England, muſt fall a prey to his arms. He therefore advanced towards the river Eſk, with an intention of attacking Edinburgh; but received a ſeaſonable check from Alexander, who poſted his army in ſuch an advantageous poſition, that John did not dare to proceed any farther. He retreated to the ſouthward, and was purſued by the Scottiſh army. In his retreat, he reduced the abbey of Coldingham, and the town of Berwick to aſhes, after having withdrawn his garriſon from the latter. But the deſolate ſtate of the country prevented Alexander from following John's army farther than Richmond in Yorkſhire: he therefore returned to Scotland through Weſtmoreland; but, in his march, he took and fortified the city of Carliſle.

John having thus reduced the northern barons, and put garriſons into all the caſtles which fell into his hands, made diſpoſitions for attacking the city of London itſelf. In this attempt he was greatly favoured by the pope, who now ſent his brief to the abbot of Abington, the archdeacon of Poictou, and Robert, official of Norwich, for excommunicating all the oppoſing barons. No fewer than thirty were named in the brief, who were nominally excommunicated, together with the city of London, and all other perſons who ſhould oppoſe king John, or hinder any one from coming to his aſſiſtance.

Reduced to this deſperate extremity, and menaced with the total loſs of their liberties, their properties, and their lives, the barons had recourſe to an expedient, which nothing but deſpair could juſtify: they applied to the court of France for protection, and offered to acknowledge Lewis, eldeſt ſon to Philip, for their ſovereign, on condition of his affording them protection from the violence of their enraged and barbarous ſovereign. Tho' the ſenſe of the common rights of mankind, the only rights

which are indefeaſible, might have juſtified them in their depoſition of the king; they declined inſiſting before Philip, on a pretenſion, which is in general ſo unfavourably received among ſovereigns, and which ſounds harſhly in the ears of royalty. They affirmed that John was incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, by reaſon of the attainder paſſed upon him during his brother's reign; tho' that attainder had been reverſed, and Richard had even, by his laſt will, declared him his ſucceſſor. They pretended that he was already legally depoſed by the ſentence of the peers of France, for the murder of his nephew, tho' that ſentence could not poſſibly regard any thing but his tranſmarine dominions, which alone he held in homage to that crown. But they affirmed, more plauſibly, that he had already depoſed himſelf by doing homage to the pope, changing the nature of his ſovereignty, and reſigning an independent crown for a fee or vaſſalage under a foreign power. And as Blanche of Caſtile, the wife of Lewis, was deſcended by her mother, from Henry II. they maintained, tho' many other princes ſtood before her in the order of ſucceſſion, that they had not ſhaken off the royal family of England, in chuſing her huſband for their ſovereign.

The crown of England was too rich a prize to be neglected; and Philip accordingly accepted the offer made to his ſon. The pope's legate menaced him with interdicts and excommunications, if he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, or attacked a prince who was immediately under the protection of the holy ſee; but as Philip was aſſured of the obedience of his own vaſſals, his principles were changed with the complexion of the times; and he now as much diſregarded the papal cenſures, as he formerly pretended to pay reſpect to them. He told the legate that no prince could diſpoſe of his kingdom without the conſent of his barons; and conſequently, that John's tranſaction with the pope was invalid, and of no effect. But tho' Philip beheld with contempt, the menaces of the pope, he had his ſcruples, reſpecting the fidelity of the Engliſh barons, with regard to their engagements, and the danger of intruſting his ſon and heir in the hands of perſons, who might, on any caprice or neceſſity, make peace with their native ſovereign, by ſacrificing a pledge of ſo much value. He therefore exacted from the barons, twenty-five hoſtages, of the nobleſt birth in the kingdom; and having obtained this ſecurity, he ſent over a ſmall army to the relief of the confederates, and promiſed that his ſon, at the head of a more numerous body of forces, ſhould follow with all convenient expedition.

In the mean time John, informed of the engagements entered into between the nobility and the French court, reſolved to take all the advantages which the ſuperiority of his arms over thoſe of the barons, had given him. Accordingly he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Colcheſter, which he took in a few days; and ſoon after the caſtle of Hedingham, belonging to the earl of Oxford, fell into his hands. Theſe ſucceſſes encouraged him to think of forming the ſiege of London. At the ſame time he ordered a fleet of ſixty-five ſail, to block up the mouth of the river Thames. But London was, at that time, ſo powerful and populous, that the inhabitants boldly threw open their gates, and defied the king to attack their city. Savory de Malleon, however, one of his mercenary generals, advancing with a party too near the walls, was deſperately wounded, and his men being cut to pieces by the Londoners, he, himſelf, narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. Soon after, the Londoners equiped and manned the ſhips which lay in the river Thames, and falling down upon John's fleet, ſunk or took moſt of his ſhips.

Informed of theſe ſucceſsful attempts, the northern barons reſumed their courage, and taking the field in a body, laid ſiege to York, and obliged the garriſon to purchaſe a truce till Whitſuntide, at the expence of a thouſand marks. The war now raged with as great a fury as ever. But John, dreading the effects of Lewis's landing, marched down to the ſea-coaſts, where he took all imaginable precautions to diſappoint the expectations of his enemy, by putting every place in a proper poſture of defence. He even preſſed all the ſhips in the ſea-ports, oppoſite to France, into his ſervice, and manning them with the greateſt expedition, reſolved to fight Lewis in his paſſage to England; but while they were waiting for the appearance of the enemy, a violent ſtorm happened, which either ſunk, or daſhed to pieces, the greater part of his fleet. Soon after this misfortune, Lewis landed in the Iſle of Thanet.

The firſt effect of that young prince's appearance in England, was the deſertion of John's foreign troops, who, being moſtly levied in Flanders, and other provinces of France, refuſed to ſerve againſt the heir of their monarchy. The Gaſcons and Poictovins alone, who were ſtill John's ſubjects, adhered to his cauſe; but they were too weak to maintain that ſuperiority in the field, which they had hitherto ſupported againſt the confederated barons. At the ſame time many conſiderable noblemen deſerted John's party, particularly, the earls of Saliſbury, Arundel, Warrenne, Albemarle, and William Mareſchal the younger; while his caſtles fell daily into the hands of the enemy. John lay encamped near Dover, at the head of a ſtrong but ſuſpected army. Conſciouſneſs and diffidence diſarmed him; he retreated before the handful of men that attended Lewis: he gave Hubert de Burgh the command of Dover caſtle: he retired firſt to Guilford, and then to Wincheſter. Lewis, ſtrong only in his enemy's fears, marched with ſurprizing expedition to London, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and the barons had the melancholly proſpect of finally ſucceeding in their purpoſe, and of eſcaping the tyranny of their own king, by impoſing on themſelves and the nation a foreign yoke. But this union was of very ſhort duration between the French and Engliſh nobles; and the imprudence of Lewis, who, on every occaſion, by ſhewing a viſible preference to the former, increaſed that jealouſy, which it was ſo natural for the latter to entertain of their preſent ſituation.

In the mean time, Simon de Langton, brother to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, having been diſappointed of the archbiſhopric of York, and being equally exaſperated againſt John and the pope, was appointed by Lewis, chancellor of England. The maxims of this miniſter, with regard to the papal power, were very uncommon for that age of bigotry and ſuperſtition: for, notwithſtanding the ſpecial excommunication of the barons, he treated the whole as a falſe tenor, calculated only for the ignorant

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and the vulgar. He adviſed, he exhorted the barons, and even Lewis himſelf, who was now excommunicated by the pope's legate, to be preſent at divine ſervice; and prevailed ſo entirely on the nobles, that the papal bolts fell ineffectual to the ground. Irritated at this behaviour of the churchman, the legate had recourſe to the thunder of the vatican. The chancellor, however, defied his power, and refuſed ſubmiſſion to the arbitary ſentence of the pope.

But, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſucceſs of Lewis, a great deal remained to be executed before he could make himſelf maſter of England. The counties and towns which lay on the ſea-coaſt were, in general, well affected to John. If that prince had any merit, with regard to the kingdom, it conſiſted in the privilege he gave to the ſea-ports, which they ſtill claim, and in the excellent regulations he made for fitting out a large fleet on any ſudden emergency. This attention was unfortunate for Lewis: he was chiefly deſirous of poſſeſſing the ſea-coaſts, that he might at any time ſecure a retreat, or admit a reinforcement. Dover, the moſt conſiderable fortreſs in the kingdom, ſtill defied all his power. At the ſame time, the intolerable pride, and ſelf-intereſtedneſs of the French, was now ſufficiently evident to all the Engliſh barons. The reſpite procured by the ſucceſſes of Lewis, had eaſed that anguiſh of mind, which forced them to ſeek relief from foreign arms, and many of them had now returned to their duty.

John, on his part, was not idle: he fortified and re-victualled the ſtrong caſtles of Wallingford, Corfe, Briſtol, and the Devizes. He flew from place to place, at the head of ſmall detached parties; his actions were ſurprizing; his ſoldiers were paid by the plunder of the barons; and his adherents, moſt of whom were now deſperate thro' crimes, daily attached themſelves more cloſely to his fortune. And hearing that Lewis, and the confederate barons, intended to make a deſperate attempt, in order to reduce the caſtles of Dover and Windſor, determined to riſk his whole fortune, in order to render their deſigns abortive. He accordingly aſſembled a very conſiderable army; but, inſtead of attacking Lewis, he fell upon the defenceleſs eſtates of his barons.

It was now about Midſummer, when the two important ſieges, on the ſucceſs of which, the fate of the contending parties in a great meaſure depended, were formed. Lewis carried on that of Dover with prodigious fury. He had ſent into France for an engine of uncommon bulk and execution in battering walls; nor were any machines, produced by the mechaniſm of that age, omitted. Hugh de Burgh, the commander of the caſtle, had under him an hundred and forty knights with their followers, which, of themſelves, compoſed rather an army than a garriſon. The defence he made was proportionable to his power, and anſwerable to his remarkable courage and intrepidity. By the vigour of his ſallies, he repelled the approaches, and deſtroyed the engines of the French; ſo that Lewis was obliged to remove his camp to a greater diſtance from the walls. Aſhamed, and enraged at this diſappointment, Lewis firſt attempted to work upon Hubert's tenderneſs, by threatening to put to death his brother Thomas, whom he had taken priſoner. This proving ineffectual, he endeavoured to corrupt him with gold; and both theſe expedients failing, he threatened to put the whole garriſon to the ſword, in caſe he ſhould take the caſtle. But Hubert, equally proof againſt every attempt, continued to defend the place with ſo much vigour, that Lewis was, at laſt, obliged to change the ſiege into a blockade.

The ſucceſs of the barons before the caſtle of Windſor, was ſtill worſe than that of Lewis. The place was defended by ſixty knights and their followers, who made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that the beſiegers, after repeated aſſaults with their engines, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving all their tents and engines behind them.

In the mean time, John was marching from place to place, with amazing celerity; ſometimes he was at Wincheſter, ſometimes at the Devizes, at Briſtol, at Wells, at Shelburn, at Wareham, at Corfe, at Luggerſhal, or Bartley-caſtle; but his principal receptacle was the town of Lynn, the inhabitants of which, as well as thoſe of the adjacent country, continued remarkably loyal to this prince in his diſtreſs.

The barons now became ſenſible of their deplorable condition. They equally dreaded the ſucceſs of either Lewis or John; and had not the latter been infatuated by his implacable vindictive diſpoſition, ſo as to diſcourage all application from the nobility, a reconciliation might now have been eaſily effected, eſpecially as the French gave every day freſh cauſes of diſcontent to the Engliſh. It is added, that the viſcount Melun, one of Lewis's courtiers, fell ſick at London, and finding his end approaching, ſent for ſome of his friends among the Engliſh barons, and warning them of their danger, revealed Lewis's ſecret intentions of exterminating both them and their families as traitors to their prince, and beſtowing their eſtates and dignities on his native ſubjects, on whoſe fidelity he could more reaſonably place his confidence. This ſtory, whether true or falſe, was univerſally reported and believed; and concurring with other circumſtances, which rendered it credible, did infinite prejudice to Lewis's cauſe. The earl of Saliſbury, and many other noblemen, again deſerted to John's party; and, as men eaſily change ſides in a civil war, eſpecially where their power is founded on a civil and independent authority, and is not derived from the opinion and favour of the people, the French prince had reaſon to dread a ſudden reverſe fortune. John ſaw this, and was aſſembling a powerful army, with a view of fighting one deciſive battle for his crown; but paſſing over the waſhes in Lincolnſhire, and not chuſing the proper time for his journey, he loſt all his carriages, treaſure, baggage, and regalia. The vexation occaſioned by this diſaſter, and the affliction ariſing from the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs, threw him into a fever. He, however, reached the caſtle of Newark, where his diſtemper put an end to his life, in the eighteenth year of his reign; and freed the nation from the dangers, to which it was equally expoſed, by his ſucceſs or his misfortune.

The character of this prince, is nothing more than a complication of vices, equally mean and odious; ruinous to himſelf, and deſtructive to his people. The irreſiſtible ſtream of his paſſion for pleaſure, broke into the pale of private honour. His ſubjects who were wounded in ſo tender a point, found, perhaps, their reſentment of public grievances, ſharpened by perſonal injury. One exceſs brought on another, till at laſt, government itſelf became

became a blank, and civil order ceaſed. John had many opportunities of retrieving his affairs; but he is an eminent inſtance of the infinite conſequence of a good name. The horror which the public entertained for Arthur's death, had more effect in driving him from his French dominions, than all the power of Philip; nor was he ever able to avail himſelf of the many favourable circumſtances that afterwards offered. He ſeems to have valued power only as it gave him an opportunity of doing miſchief with greater ſecurity. Years added nothing to his experience, tho' they encreaſed his paſſions, which were always violent. He tried both extremes of fortune, and behaved ignominiouſly in both. Difficulties never inſpired reflection, nor adverſity moderation; yet, under difficulties, he was exquiſitely ſenſible, and in adverſity infinitely dejected. He had ſtarts of every thing but goodneſs; he was profitted by nothing but compulſion. The treaſure he amaſſed was ſpent without dignity, and his favours were beſtowed without judgment. He was not deſtitute of abilities, tho' nothing called them ſo effectually into action, as neceſſity or revenge: in the former he found wonderful reſources; and to gratify the latter, he often broke thro' his favourite indolence. In a word, he had all the vices incident to human nature, without a ſingle virtue.

John left two legitimate ſons behind him, Henry, born on the firſt of October, 1207, and now only nine years of age, and Ricard, born on the ſixth of January 1209. Beſides theſe, he had three daughters, Jane, married to Alexander, king of Scots; Eleanor, married firſt to William Mareſchal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and then to Simon Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, and Iſabella, married to the emperor Frederic II. All theſe children were born to him by Iſabella of Angouleſme, his ſecond wife. Beſides theſe, he had many illegitimate children; but none of them were ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed, to deſerve a place in hiſtory.

HENRY III. Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

A. D. 1216. THE earl of Pembroke, mareſchal of England, was, on John's death, by his office, at the head of the army, and, conſequently, during a ſtate of civil wars and convulſions, at the head of the ſtate. Fortunately, both for the young prince and for his country, that power could not have been intruſted in better hands. He was one of the moſt worthy ſubjects England could boaſt; and therefore a very proper perſon to ſteer the veſſel of government, which was now toſſed by the alternate ſtorms of civil diſcord, and foreign invaſion. It required an equal proportion of abilities and virtues, to weather out the tempeſt. The principal difficulty, however, conſiſted in reſtoring a mutual confidence between the royal party and the nobility.

For Lewis was now rather formidable, than neceſſary, to the barons; they were attached to his party, only becauſe they were ignorant, whether they would be received into any other.

The oppoſition now loſt its name in unnatural rebellion, the object of reſiſtance was gone; that of allegiance remained in the perſon of Henry, eldeſt ſon to John, now only a child. The mareſchal, tho' he had maintained an unſhaken loyalty to John, even in the loweſt ebb of that prince's fortune, was too wiſe and too virtuous to attempt an excuſe, far leſs a vindication of the meaſures purſued in the late reign. He was equally zealous for the rights of blood, uncontaminated by parental vices, and for the ſupport of the public liberty, when invaded by incroaching prerogative. Upon theſe principles, and upon theſe alone, he entered upon the arduous office: none but himſelf could have ſtaunched the bleeding wounds of his country.

Senſible that Henry, according to the prejudices of the times, could not be conſidered as ſovereign, till crowned and anointed by a churchman, Pembroke immediately carried the young prince to Glouceſter, where the ceremony of coronation was performed, in preſence of the pope's legate, and a few of the barons, by the biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, being then at Rome, ſolliciting a releaſe of his ſuſpenſion. It was alſo thought neceſſary, in order to ſupport the tottering throne, that Henry ſhould ſwear fealty to the pope, and renew that homage, to which his father had already ſubjected the kingdom. Theſe previous ſteps being taken, Pembroke ſummoned a general meeting of the barons at Briſtol, where that nobleman was choſen protector of the kingdom.

Nor did Pembroke ſtop here: deſirous of reconciling all men to the government of his pupil, he prevailed on him to grant a new charter of liberties, which, tho' moſtly copied from the former conceſſions extorted from John, had a few alterations, both with regard to civil and eccleſiaſtical pretenſions. Another charter of the foreſts was alſo granted, whereby all the foreſts that had been incloſed, ſince the reign of Henry II. were diſafforeſted; and new perambulations were appointed for that purpoſe: offences in the foreſts were declared to be no longer capital, but puniſhable by fines, impriſonments, and more gentle penalties: and all the proprietors of lands, recovered the power of cutting their own wood whenever they pleaſed.

In the mean time, Lewis was employed in carrying on the ſiege of Dover. The obſtinate defence of that important place, the fidelity of the ſea-port towns to the royal family, the viſible decline of the affection of the barons, and the proſperous condition of Henry's affairs, rendered the French prince more jealous than ever of the Engliſh nobility. He now exacted from them an oath of abjuration of John's family. This oath was taken by ſome thro' fear, by others thro' policy; but was diſregarded by all. Lewis was ſoon ſenſible of this; he perceived he had now little more to truſt to for ſucceſs than his own ſword: the excommunications againſt him and his adherents, thundered every day from every pulpit, heightened his apprehenſions, and weakened his intereſt. He therefore again attempted to corrupt the fidelity of Hubert de Burgh, the intrepid governor of Dover-caſtle. He informed him of John's death, and tempted him with whatever

HENRY III.

P. Wale del. Walker Sculp.

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

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ever the ambition of a ſubject could deſire. But the governor rejected all his offers, and declared he would defend the place to the laſt extremity for the young king.

Deſpairing of ſucceſs with regard to that important caſtle, and deſirous of ſupporting his intereſt with the confederated barons, he raiſed the ſiege of Dover, and marched to London. Having ſecured the capital, he advanced to Hertford, and made himſelf maſter of the caſtle. Robert Fitzwalter, who had been ſo active againſt the late king, and who claimed that fortreſs as his own property, applied to Lewis, requeſting that he might be made governor of it; but had the mortification to be upbraided by the French prince as a traitor, in common with all his party. This refuſal opened the eyes of the barons, who ſtill continued attached to the French party: they plainly ſaw, that the Engliſh were totally excluded from every place of truſt, and that foreigners had engroſſed all the confidence and affection of their new ſovereign.

About the middle of December, Lewis took the caſtle of Berkhamſtead; and thence proceeded, with all the fury of diſappointed ambition, to St. Alban's, which he threatened with deſtruction. He was, however, at laſt prevailed upon to ſpare the town and abbey, but not without exacting a very ſevere compoſition for that indulgence. And as the clergy, in general, were extremely active in the cauſe of young Henry, Lewis deſtroyed all their poſſeſſions that fell in his way. They were, however, ſufficiently revenged; for, by their means, the French became every day more and more the deteſtation of the people. And ſo ſucceſsful were their endeavours to diſtreſs the French party, that Lewis was obliged to accept of a truce during the Chriſtmas holidays.

This ceſſation of hoſtilities was of infinite advantage to the protector: he wrote letters in the king's name to all the male-content barons; in which he repreſented to them, that whatever jealouſy and animoſity they might have entertained againſt the late king, a young prince, the lineal heir of their ancient monarchs, had now ſucceeded to the throne, without ſucceeding either to the reſentment or principles of his predeceſſor: that the deſperate expedient, they had employed, of calling in a foreign potentate, had happily for them, and happily for the nation, failed of entire ſucceſs; and it was ſtill in their power, by a quick return to their duty, to reſtore the independence of their country, and to ſecure that liberty, for which they ſo zealouſly contended: that as all paſt offences of the barons were now buried in oblivion, they ought, on their part, to forget their complaints againſt their late ſovereign, who, if he had been any wiſe blameable in his conduct, had left to his ſon the ſalutary warning, to avoid the paths, which had led to ſuch fatal extremities: and that having now obtained a charter for their liberties, it was their intereſt, to demonſtrate by their conduct, that ſo valuable an acquiſition was not incompatible with their allegiance, and that the rights of the king and people, ſo far from being hoſtile and oppoſite, might mutually ſupport and ſuſtain each other.

Theſe conſiderations, enforced by the character of conſtancy and fidelity, which Pembroke had always maintained, produced ſo happy an effect on the barons, that the greater part of them began ſecretly to negotiate with the protector, and many of them openly returned to their duty.

A. D. 1217. In the mean time, Lewis found his party and intereſt daily decline; the war was very expenſive, and could be ſupported only by draughts from France. The protector's whole aim was, to gain leiſure from the tumults of war, in order to give the Engliſh an opportunity to reflect. He knew their genius to be averſe to the French; and that if he could, by repeated acts of generoſity and clemency, inſpire the people with a confidence in the government, his maſter's authority would be ſoon eſtabliſhed in every part of the kingdom. This diſpoſition, together with the inceſſant endeavours of the court of Rome to ſerve the royal family, had ſo powerful an effect, that Lewis conſented to another truce, which was to laſt till after Eaſter. During this ceſſation of arms, Lewis found himſelf obliged by his father, who durſt no longer reſiſt the ſollicitations of the pope, to return to France. His abſence was extremely fortunate to the royal party. The earls of Saliſbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, together with William Mareſchal, eldeſt ſon of the protector, returned to their allegiance, and continued ever after faithful to their duty.

The legate, in order to encourage this ſpirit in the barons, declared, that all who ſhould embark in defence of Henry and the royal cauſe, ſhould be entitled to the ſame privileges with thoſe who undertook a cruſade. In conſequence of this declaration, the legate himſelf aſſumed the croſs, and the biſhops, as barons, drew the temporal ſword. The important caſtles of Marlbridge, Farnham, Winchеſter, and Chicheſter, were ſoon reduced; and ſuch of them as had been erected by aliens were demoliſhed. But what proved ſtill of greater conſequence to the royal cauſe, was the uncommon ardour ſhewn by the mariners of the Cinque-ports, and other towns on the ſea-coaſt, in the cauſe of their ſovereign. For the truce now drawing near a period, they manned a powerful fleet, in order to diſpute the return of Lewis to England.

That prince, ſtill continuing his deſigns on the Engliſh crown, had collected a freſh army of mercenaries, under the command of the earl of Perche. Theſe troops he embarked on board a conſiderable number of ſhips, and ſailed for the Britiſh coaſt; but in his paſſage he was attacked by the Engliſh fleet, and a conſiderable number of his ſhips deſtroyed. He himſelf, however, with the earl of Perche, and a body of ſoldiers, eſcaped, and landed on the very day when the truce expired. His firſt attempt was on the town of Sandwich, which he took and reduced to aſhes, in revenge for his loſs. An impolitic and unmanly action! But he depended upon the friendſhip of London. John's ingratitude and barbarity, had ſo completely exaſperated the citizens, that their reſentments were ſtill open to the artful inſinuations of the French faction; and ſome particular advantages in trade, which they now enjoyed with the dominions of Philip and Lewis, aſſiſted in cementing the alliance. All this, however, would have been ineffectual, had not the noblemen, who had received the greateſt injuries from John, reſided chiefly in London, where they had vaſt eſtates, as well as a conſiderable ſhare in the magiſtracy of the city itſelf.

Lewis therefore immediately repaired to London, and found the citizens in general, ſtill firm to his intereſt. The truce had not been many days expired, before the royal party beſieged the caſtle of Mount-Sorrel, which ſtill held out for Lewis, under the command of Henry Braybroc, with a garriſon of ten knights, and a large number of ſoldiers. The fidelity of the garriſon, to the cauſe they had eſpouſed, was amazing, and the royal party had collected all their forces to demoliſh this ſtrong hold of the French party. Hearing of the arrival of Lewis, the royaliſts preſſed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour; ſo that the garriſon was obliged to ſollicit ſuccours from the earl of Wincheſter, owner of the caſtle, and then in London. The earl applied to Lewis, and it was reſolved, to collect the whole ſtrength of the party, and to riſk a general battle, before the royal intereſt, which was daily increaſing, ſhould grow too ſtrong for oppoſition. Large ſupplies had by this time arrived from France; and, upon a general muſter, no leſs than ſix hundred knights, and twenty thouſand well-appointed troops, appeared in arms. The principal commanders were, the earls of Perche and Wincheſter, and Robert Fitz-walter. They marched on the laſt day of April, from London, where they left a very ſtrong garriſon. Every place through which they paſſed was laid waſte and deſolate: they not only forgot they were chriſtians, but men: they plundered the churches; they burnt the houſes; tortures were applied alike to prieſts and laymen, to force from them a confeſſion of their wealth; neither age, ſex, nor condition, were ſpared. On their approach, the earl of Cheſter, who commanded the royal party, finding himſelf too weak to meet the enemy in the field, raiſed the ſiege of Mount-Sorrel, and retired towards Nottingham.

After reinforcing the garriſon, the barons marched towards Lincoln, intending, if they could take the caſtle, to ſubdue all the adjacent country. But, notwithſtanding their numbers and reſolution, the place made ſo brave a defence, that all their aſſaults were rendered abortive,

Lewis, truſting to the number and experience of his forces in the north, was now renewing the ſiege of Dover, but with no better ſucceſs than his generals met with before Lincoln. The exceſſive barbarities committed by his party had filled the whole kingdom with horror; even the citizens of London could not reſiſt the force of this melancholy conviction. The prudent protector determined to improve theſe ſentiments, while the diſtance between London and the French army, kept the ſtrength of their party divided. Newark, in Nottinghamſhire, was appointed the general rendezvous of the royal intereſt: a ſummons was ſent from the government, commanding all the king's tenants to repair thither in Whitſun-week. This was readily obeyed. The legate, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, appeared in arms; and the whole, including the troops under the earl of Cheſter, formed a noble army, full of ſpirits, and longing to be revenged on the excommunicated French. The zeal of the churchmen helped to ſupport and increaſe their alacrity. Freſh excommunications were pronounced on every ſolemn occaſion; and the religious preparation of the army, at that critical juncture, inſpired them with an ardour which ſeldom fails of ſucceſs. The protector himſelf was at their head, and their firſt operation was, to endeavour to relieve the caſtle of Lincoln; the city of which was in the hands of the rebels.

The latter could ſcarcely believe the report of their approach, which was regular and well concerted. The caſtle, by this time, was reduced to the laſt extremity; the rebels, therefore, determined to make one deciſive aſſault from the town, and to keep upon the defenſive againſt the protector: but Fowkes de Brent, a noted partizan, found means, at the head of his croſs-bow men, to throw himſelf by a poſtern, into the caſtle. This enabled the garriſon, not only to defend itſelf, but alſo to annoy the enemy: the king's party, however, making a vigorous attack at the ſame time upon the city, the rebels were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. At laſt, after a bloody diſpute, the royal forces maſtered one of the gates, and entered the city ſword in hand. The rebels then made the beſt defence they could in the ſtreets; but the royal party, animated with victory, broke in upon them with ſuch fury, that a total rout enſued; a very few only eſcaping either captivity or death. The earls of Wincheſter and Hereford, Gilbert de Gant, and Robert Fitz-walter, were taken priſoners; together with about four hundred knights, and a proportionable number of their followers. The earl of Perche, refuſing quarter, was killed in the ſtreet, and moſt of the French cut off. This victory was, in a great meaſure, owing to the imprudence of the rebels, who ſhut themſelves up in the city, being deceived by a ſtratagem, which the royal party had made uſe of to make their number appear more conſiderable than it really was. Trevet, and ſome of our old authors, ſuppoſe Lewis to have been preſent at this battle; but this ſeems to be a miſtake. The ſpoil of the city was immenſe, and the place being taken by ſtorm, the plunder fell entirely to the royaliſts.

This victory was deciſive, and followed by the rebels evacuating the caſtle of Mount-Sorrel, which was inſtantly levelled with the ground by the ſheriff of the county, and at the command of the protector. All the country round immediately ſubmitted to the royal army, and the regent having then nothing to fear in the north, prepared to march to the ſouthward, and to reduce the city of London itſelf. His army was now greatly increaſed, by the daily reſort of the loyal Engliſh, which enabled him to replace the garriſons which he had drawn out, when he firſt marched againſt the enemy. He accordingly ſent the Caſtellans to their reſpective charges with their priſoners, whom he ordered to be kept under ſtrict confinement, till the royal pleaſure ſhould be known. He next proceeded in his march towards London,

It is more eaſy to conceive than to expreſs, the conſternation into which the news of this defeat, threw Lewis. His firſt ſtep was to raiſe the ſiege of Dover, and to march to ſecure London. On his route, he attempted to ſeize on Windſor-caſtle, but was repulſed. Then marching to London, he met the wretched remains of ſuch of his party and nation who had eſcaped the terrible ſlaughter in the north. Theſe having joined the army he had with him, he ſhut himſelf up in London, from whence he ſent the moſt earneſt application to his father and his wife, for relief and aſſiſtance. The cautious old prince had been, for ſome time, ſenſible of the deſperate ſtate of his ſon's affairs in England, and reſolved to detach himſelf from all concerns in that kingdom as

ſpeedily

ſpeedily as poſſible. For this purpoſe, it is probable, he held a private correſpondence with the protector, and that the latter had given him aſſurances, that no violence ſhould be done to the perſon of Lewis. Theſe aſſurances, together with the fear of excommunication, prevailed on the king of France, not to appear openly in aſſiſting his ſon. Willing, however, to bring him off with as much credit as poſſible, he privately ſuffered his daughter-in-law, Blanch, the wife of Lewis, to do all ſhe could for the relief of her huſband. As the inclinations of Philip were poſſibly no ſecret to his court, the princeſs ſoon raiſed no leſs than three hundred knights, with a powerful army of ſoldiers, who were to embark on board a fleet, commanded by Euſtace the monk, and to ſail for England, where the land forces, after their landing, were to be commanded by Robert de Courtney, who was of the blood royal of France.

The Engliſh government were no ſtrangers to theſe preparations. The naval force of the cinque ports, and of the towns lying oppoſite to France, was at this time in excellent condition; and a fleet of forty well appointed ſhips was immediately fitted out, under the command of Philip de Albiney, and John the mareſchal. The wind blew freſh from the coaſt of France to that of England, when the French ſet ſail, which encouraged their admiral to hope, that he ſhould be able to run over to the Britiſh coaſt, before the Engliſh could give him any oppoſition. But in this he was miſtaken: the latter were now at ſea, and tho' the ſhips of the enemy were double their number, they reſolved to attack them. The French, who ſaw them lying off, imagined it was thro' fear, and being willing to make all the haſte they could, to the relief of their prince, they neglected to attack them, and made the beſt of their way towards the coaſt of England. This gave the Engliſh the wind of the enemy, ſo that, upon their tacking about, they bore down upon the French, not far from the Iſle of Thanet. The bow-ſprits of the Engliſh veſſels were all armed with iron; and another circumſtance, perhaps a little rediculous, is related by all the hiſtorians, that they had taken on board a large quantity of lime, which being thrown into the air, was driven full in the faces of the French. But we may believe, that the innate bravery of the Engliſh, well ſkilled in naval affairs, and their contempt for a people they had ſo lately defeated, were more effectual for gaining the victory, than both the foregoing expedients. For Philip de Albiney, having lined his veſſels with a good number of croſs-bow-men and archers, made ſo good uſe of the wind, that the weight of his ſhips bore down and ſunk many of the French tranſports, while the enemy, themſelves, could ſcarce ſtand upon the deck, becauſe of the deſtructive miſſiles with which they were plied by the Engliſh. The French admiral, on board of whoſe ſhip the general of their land forces was, and three other ſhips of the French fleet, engaged the four headmoſt ſhips of the Engliſh; but three of the French ſhips left their admiral, whoſe ſhip was taken by the Engliſh. The head of Euſtace was immediately ſtruck off, by Richard, an illegitimate ſon of John: an action unwarrantable by the law of nations. The reſiſtance the French fleet made after this was but feeble; and many of them being either taken or ſunk, the reſt were forced to make the beſt of their way back to the coaſt of France. The ſhips taken by the Engliſh, proved to be ſome of the richeſt in the whole fleet, having on board them a large ſum of money, and a great quantity of arms.

After this ſecond misfortune of the French, the Engliſh barons haſted every where to make terms of peace with the protector; and by an early ſubmiſſion, prevent thoſe forfeitures, to which they were expoſed, on account of their rebellion. Lewis, whoſe cauſe was now totally deſperate, began to be anxious for the ſafety of his perſon, and was glad, on any honourable condition, to make his eſcape from a country, where he found that every thing was now become hoſtile to him. He accordingly concluded a peace with Pembroke, promiſed to evacuate the kingdom; and only ſtipulated in return, an indemnity to his adherents, and a reſtitution of their honours and fortunes, together with a free and equal enjoyment of thoſe liberties which had been granted to the reſt of the nation. Thus was happily ended a civil war, which ſeemed to have been founded on the moſt incurable hatred and jealouſy, and threatened the kingdom with the moſt fatal conſequences.

The precautions uſed by Philip, during the whole tranſaction, are remarkable. He pretended his ſon had accepted the offer of the Engliſh barons, without his advice, and contrary to his inclination: the armies ſent to England were levied in Lewis's name; when that prince came over to France for aſſiſtance, his father publicly refuſed to grant him any; nor would he even admit him to his preſence: even Henry's party acquired the aſcendant; and when Lewis was in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, it was Blanch of Caſtile, his wife, not the king his father, who raiſed and equipped fleets for his ſuccour. All theſe artifices were employed to colour Philip's cauſe: and, in public affairs, men are often better pleaſed, that the truth, tho' known to every body, ſhould be wrapt up under a decent cover, than if it were expoſed in open day-light, to the eyes of all the world.

The expulſion of the French from England, gave the protector time for reconciling the diſcontented barons; and the prudence and equity of his ſubſequent conduct entirely healed thoſe wounds, which had been made by inteſtine diſcord. He received the rebellious barons into favour; obſerved ſtrictly the terms of the peace he had granted them; reſtored them to their poſſeſſions; and endeavoured, by an equitable behaviour, to bury all former animoſities in perpetual oblivion. That part of the clergy, who had adhered to Lewis, were the only ſufferers in this revolution. As they had rebelled againſt their ſovereign the pope, by diſregarding the interdict and excommunication, it was not in Pembroke's power to make any ſtipulations in their favour; and the legate prepared to take ample vengeance on them for their diſobedience. Many of them were depoſed; many ſuſpended; ſome baniſhed; and all who eſcaped puniſhment, made atonement for their offences, by paying large ſums to the legate, who, by this expedient, amaſſed an immenſe treaſure.

A. D. 1219. But the earl of Pembroke did not long ſurvive this pacification, which had been chiefly owing to his wiſdom and valour. He was ſucceeded in the government by Peter, biſhop of Wincheſter, a native of Poictou, and Hubert de Burgh, high juſticiary. The councils of the latter were chiefly followed, and, had he been intruſted with

with Pembroke's authority, he would perhaps have rendered the tranquillity of the nation permanent; for he ſeemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that virtuous citizen. But the licentious and powerful barons, who had once broken the reins of ſubjection to their prince, and had obtained, by violence, an enlargement of their liberties and independence, could not long be reſtrained by laws under a minority; and the people, equally with the king, ſuffered from their outrages and diſorders. They retained by force the royal caſtles they had uſurped during the late convulſions, or which had been committed to their cuſtody by the protector; they uſurped the demeſnes; they oppreſſed their vaſſals; they infeſted their weaker neighbours; and they invited all diſorderly people to enter into their retinues, and to live upon their lands. They even granted them protection in all their robberies and extortions.

Among all the licentious barons, no perſon was more infamous for theſe violent and illegal practices than the earl of Albermarle, who, tho' he had early returned to his duty, and had been very ſerviceable in expelling the French, augmented to the utmoſt of his power, the general licentiouſneſs which prevailed, and committed outrages in all the northern counties. Theſe unwarrantable diſorders were beheld with deteſtation by Hubert de Burgh, who, to ſuppreſs thoſe unlawful practices, ſeized an opportunity of getting poſſeſſion of Rockingham caſtle, which Albermarle had garriſoned with his licentious followers. But that turbulent nobleman, inſtead of ſubmitting, entered into a ſecret confederacy with Fawkes de Brent, Peter de Maleon, and other barons. At the ſame time, he fortified the caſtles of Biham for his defence, and took that of Fotheringay by ſurprize. Pandolf, who had been for ſome time reſtored to his office of legate, was very active in ſuppreſſing this rebellion; and, with the concurrence of eleven biſhops, he denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt Albermarle and his adherents. An army was now levied; a ſcutage of ten ſhillings on every knight's fee was impoſed on all the military tenants; Albermarle's aſſociates gradually deſerted him; and he himſelf was obliged to ſubmit to the king's clemency. Upon his ſubmiſſion, he received a pardon, and was reſtored to his whole eſtate.

This impolitic ſtep, which, in all probability, reſulted from a combination among the barons, who could never endure to ſee the total deſtruction of one of their own order, encouraged Fawkes de Brent, a perſon whom the late king had raiſed from a mean and obſcure ſtation, to perſevere, in the courſe of violence, to which he owed his fortune, and to defy the laws and juſtice of the kingdom. Thirty-five verdicts were found againſt him at one time, on account of his violent expulſion of ſo many freeholders from their poſſeſſions; but he was ſo far from being intimidated by theſe proceedings, that he came into the court of juſtice with an armed force, ſeized the judge who had pronounced the ſentences, and impriſoned him in Bedford caſtle. Nor did he ſtop here; he levied war againſt the king; but being ſubdued, and taken priſoner, his life was granted him, but his eſtate was confiſcated, and he was baniſhed from the kingdom.

A. D. 1222. Theſe diſturbances animated the French court, to employ thoſe arts, always fatal to the repoſe of England, to rouze the dying ſpirit of faction in the minds of thoſe who were not well affected to the government. Lewis had ſtill a party in the kingdom, eſpecially among the meaner claſs of the citizens of London, while the clergy and inhabitants of Weſtminſter were intirely in the intereſt of the royal family of England. The animoſity of theſe two oppoſite parties, firſt appeared at a wreſtling match, held at the hoſpital of St. Maud, in the neighbourhood of the capital, where the Londoners came off victorious. The ſteward of Weſtminſter, finding himſelf and his followers foiled, proclaimed another match of the ſame kind, in which the conqueror was to carry away a ram, as the prize. On the day appointed, when the Londoners came to the field, they were attacked by the ſteward and his party, armed with weapons; ſome were wounded, and the reſt obliged to return to the city. This fray was reſented by the friends of Lewis, who immediately made it a party quarrel. One Conſtantine Fitz-arnulph, a bold, rich, and factious citizen, was at the head of the French party. His noiſy harangues, drowned the wiſe remonſtrances of the mayor, who adviſed the citizens to complain to the abbot of Weſtminſter. Conſtantine inſtantly gave out the word "God and king Lewis;" adding, that all the houſes belonging both to the abbot and ſteward of Weſtminſter, ought to be levelled with the ground. He put himſelf at the head of the rabble, marched immediately to Weſtminſter, and there began hoſtilities by demoliſhing ſeveral houſes belonging to the abbot. The word which had been given out alarmed the friends of the government; and the lawleſs rabble having now wreaked their fury, Hubert de Burgh entered the city, at the head of a ſtrong body of forces. He immediately ſummoned the magiſtracy, with the principal citizens, and demanded who were the authors of the late riot? Conſtantine, not the leaſt intimidated, ſtepped forward, and boldly avowed himſelf the author, and juſtified all he had done; alledging in his own defence, the treaty made by Pembroke with Lewis, by which the citizens of London were to be reſtored to all their former rights; and by which a general act of indemnity was to paſs, with regard to all who had been concerned in the late troubles. The juſticiary, on hearing this reſolute anſwer, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, without declaring his deſign, or diſcovering the leaſt emotion; but ordered Conſtantine and his nephew to be committed to priſon; and the next morning, cauſed them both to be executed. Had the ſeverity of the government reſted here, it might have been thought ſeaſonable; but a party of mercenaries entered the city, ſeized all who were ſuſpected of having been concerned in the late riot, committed them to priſon, and the unhappy victims were afterwards puniſhed in a very exemplary manner. Nor did this impolitic ſeverity, or rather cruelty, reſt here: the court, pleaſed with an opportunity of revenging itſelf on the citizens, for the part they had acted during the reſidence of Lewis in England, arbitrarily depoſed all the magiſtrates, and filled their places with creatures of their own; a conduct by which the government loſt entirely the hearts of the citizens.

A. D. 1223. Theſe proceedings alarmed the more independent and virtuous part of the nation. The late rioters certainly deſerved puniſhment; but it ought to have been inflicted according to the laws of the land, as eſtabliſhed by the great charter. It was now openly aſſerted, that the government was

was no better than a faction againſt the people of England; and the juſticiary Hubert de Burgh, who acted as firſt miniſter, was accuſed of alienating the affections of the king from his people, and of forming arbitrary deſigns againſt their liberty.

Henry was now removed to London, where the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome of the principal nobility, demanded an audience, as one of their privileges eſtabliſhed by the great charter. This being granted, the barons required the king to confirm the great charter of their liberties; and remonſtrated on the juſtice of his obſerving all the articles in the late treaty made with Lewis. As the court, perhaps, expected a demand of this kind, William de Briwere had the boldneſs to anſwer, that theſe liberties were extorted by force, and therefore ought not to be obſerved. The archbiſhop replied, with great indignation, and ſome warmth, "If you really loved the king, you would "not endeavour to prevent the peace of the king-"dom." This noble expreſſion convinced the court, that the barons were not to be triffled with. Even Henry himſelf, young, and beſet with flatterers, as he was, ſaw at once the juſtice of the demand, and the conſequences that would certainly reſult on a refuſal. "I have (ſaid he) ſworn to "maintain all theſe privileges, and we are all of us "bound to obſerve whatever we have ſworn." Accordingly he gave orders for ſummoning a parliament; in which aſſembly the great charter was confirmed.

During theſe tranſactions, Philip, king of France, paid the debt of nature, and left his kingdom eſtabliſhed on ſo ſolid and permanent a foundation, that he may be juſtly conſidered as, the father of the French power. This event was no ſooner known in England, than the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and three other prelates, were ſent to the court of France, to demand of Lewis, the reſtitution of Normandy, and all the other teritories which belonged to the royal family of England at the beginning of John's reign. The foundation of this demand was, a ſecret article in the late treaty, ſigned by Lewis, before his departure from England.

But as courts are never at a loſs for an anſwer to evade the performance of whatever happens to be repugnant to their inclination or intereſt, Lewis anſwered the deputies, That if the king of England would repair to his court, he was ready to prove his own title to Normandy; and that the places taken by the crown of France from king John, were, lawfully held, both by conqueſt and forfeiture. He added, that the treaty alluded to, had been violated in two material inſtances: the intolerable ranſom that had been impoſed upon his ſoldiers, who had been taken after his departure; and, the refuſal of the court of England to reſtore the people to their ancient rights and privileges. The deputies made no reply to this recrimination; but a proclamation was publiſhed in Henry's name, inviting the noblemen of Normandy to return to their allegiance; and promiſing to reſtore them to their family poſſeſſions in England.

The court of England was now convinced, that Normandy could only be recovered by the ſword. But the adminiſtration of England was then too infirm and divided for them to think of engaging in a conteſt of this kind, Hubert de Burgh, who acted as firſt miniſter, was become extremely unpopular with the barons. He even perceived it would be impoſſible for him to maintain his authority upon the preſent footing of affairs, notwithſtanding his perſonal credit with Henry. He therefore entered into intrigues with the court of Rome, for declaring Henry to be of age: and a bull of majority was obtained from his holineſs, in favour of the young prince. Another bull was alſo ſent with the former; by which the pope required all noblemen, barons, knights, and others, poſſeſſed of caſtles, honours, or towns, belonging to the royal demeſnes, to deliver them into Henry's hands, who was now declared to be of age, under the pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. Theſe bulls were, however, entirely diſregarded by the noblemen, whom they concerned, as obtained by the intrigues, and falſe ſuggeſtions of de Burgh. That miniſter, however, acted, on this occaſion, a very politic part: he was the firſt who ſet an example of obedience to the bull, by immediately ſurrendering into the king's hands, the caſtle of Dover, and the tower of London; in order to furniſh a precedent to others, and take away every pretence for refuſing.

The noblemen, in the oppoſition, perceived immediately the deſigns of the pope, and that the late reſignations of Hubert, were nothing more than an artifice, both theſe important truſts being immediately reſtored to him by the king. Theſe artifices, however, rendered the part which the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the virtuous noblemen had to act, very delicate. It was certainly moſt deſirable to fix the government on the principles eſpouſed by the late protector, namely, to rule without a party. To declare the king of age, was certainly the readieſt and ſhorteſt method of effecting this ſalutary meaſure; but they deſpaired of its ſucceeding, while they ſaw the juſticiary poſſeſſed of ſuch an influence over the king's perſon. On the other hand, they were ſenſible that the views of the oppoſition, however plauſibly repreſented, could not be juſtified.

A. D. 1224. The archbiſhop and the reſt of the clergy therefore wiſely purſued a mean between both. They waited upon the king at Northampton, and laid before him the ſtate of the nation, and expatiated on the fatal conſequences that might reſult from a breach between the king and his nobility. In the mean time, the earl of Cheſter, at the head of the more violent party, had made repeated attempts to prevail on the king to diſmiſs his juſticiary; but in vain: the king continued firm in his purpoſe, and refuſed to diſmiſs his favourite. Theſe repeated diſappointments exaſperated them to the higheſt degree, and in their fury, they committed acts little ſhort of rebellion. Their deſigns, both againſt the king and his miniſter, grew too dangerous to be avowed by ſubjects, whoſe only motive was, the good of their country. The archbiſhop and his friends beheld theſe proceedings with great concern; but ſtill maintaining their credit with the court, they hoped, by their moderation and influence, to be able to counterbalance the credit of Hubert, if he ſhould attempt any thing dangerous to the peace and liberty of the kingdom. With this view, the archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, excommunicated, in general terms, all diſturbers of the public peace, and intimated this ſentence to the earl of Cheſter, and his friends; adding, that they

they would be nominally ſpecified in the ſentence of excommunication, if they did not immediately deliver up their caſtles.

The earl and his friends, who had ſeen the vigorous oppoſition formerly made by the archbiſhop to the meaſures of the court, conſidered him as one of their party; and therefore were under a neceſſity of complying. Accordingly they repaired immediately to Northampton, where they tendered a formal reſignation of all the caſtles and honours, formerly belonging to the royal demeſnes. But their ſubmiſſion was not laſting; for Hubert, conſidering it as a triumph of his power, was confirmed in his inſolence. The conduct of the diſguſted barons was equally impolitic; for, perceiving the influence of Hubert over his maſter, too deeply rooted for them to remove, they retired from court to their ſeveral eſtates, and endeavoured to raiſe diſcontents in the minds of the people, and foment diviſions in every part of the kingdom.

The court of France, which, from the earlieſt times of our government, never failed to improve the civil diſſentions of England, thought this a very proper opportunity for diſtreſſing the adminiſtration. Accordingly Lewis declared war againſt the king of England, on pretence that Henry had neglected to perform his fealty at the court of France. The Engliſh miniſtry were too intent on preſerving their own influence at home, to make ſuitable proviſions for preventing the progreſs of the French arms. For Lewis, at the head of a powerful army, fell immediately into Poictou, where he beſieged Noorte, which was vigorouſly defended by Savory de Malleon. The place was, however at laſt ſurrendered by capitulation, and the garriſon retired to Rochelle. Lewis then made himſelf maſter of St. John de Angelie; and about the middle of July, beſieged the town of Rochelle itſelf. And the governor, after repeated ſollicitations, receiving no ſupplies from England, delivered up the place on the third of Auguſt, on condition, that all the Engliſh ſhould have free liberty of returning to their own country. The reduction of Rochelle was followed by that of all the neighbouring country. Thus the greater part of the province of Poictou, was loſt by the diviſions of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1225. At the beginning of the year, a full parliament was held at Weſtminſter, where Hubert de Burgh laid before the aſſembly the ſtate of the king's affairs abroad, enumerated the ſucceſſes of the French, and urged the neceſſity of a ſpeedy ſupply; concluding with a motion, that the fifteenth part of all the moveables belonging either to the clergy or laity, ſhould be granted for that purpoſe. The aſſembly were determined to lay hold of the preſent emergency, to procure a confirmation of their liberties. They therefore told the miniſter, That they were very willing to agree to the motion, provided their ancient liberties, as expreſſed in the great charter, were confirmed. The needy court immediately accepted the offer; copies of the great charter, as well as that of the foreſts, were made out and ſealed; and one of them ſent to every county in England. This being performed, the people expreſſed their zeal for the public ſervice; the monks of the Ciſtertian order gave two thouſand marks, and the Jews five thouſand.

This ſupply enabled the king to act vigorouſly in recovering his affairs on the continent. He knighted his brother Richard, whom he alſo created earl of Cornwall and Poictou, and appointed him commander in chief of the forces intended to ſerve in France. The earl of Saliſbury, and Philip de Albiney were to command under him; and the general, together with ſixty knights, ſetting ſail for France, landed ſafe at Bourdeaux, which ſtill remained inviolably attached to the houſe of Normandy. Immediately after his arrival, Richard communicated, in an aſſembly of the archbiſhop and inhabitants, his brother's letters, in which he moſt earneſtly conjured them to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, in recovering his dominions in France.

Theſe letters produced a very remarkable effect, as Richard had now under his command upwards of three hundred ſhips, a very fine army, and was honoured with the title of earl of Poictou, which endeared him to the inhabitants. By the advice of the earl of Saliſbury, he embraced the opportunity of turning the favourable diſpoſitions of theſe people to his own advantage, by forming immediately the ſiege of Reole. During this ſiege, the earl of March, father-in-law to Henry, put himſelf at the head of an army, in order to relieve the place. But the Engliſh generals took their meaſures ſo well, that the earl fell into an ambuſcade, where he loſt moſt of his army; and the place, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, was taken by the Engliſh. This was followed by the reduction of Bergerac and St. Machair. The reſt of the campaign was ſpent in alternate ſucceſſes of both parties; but a truce for three years being concluded between the two nations, the Engliſh fleet returned, after continuing a few months in the ports of France.

A. D. 1226. The ſubmiſſion of the kingdom to the ſee of Rome, tho' in itſelf a ſhameful act, had hitherto proved, in ſome reſpects, ſalutary. The pope was perſuaded, that by defending Henry, he defended his own rights; and the people of England had beheld theſe tranſactions in ſilence, not thro' principle, but convenience. But a criſis now approached, when they were obliged to declare their real ſentiments. The biſhop of Rome reſolved to draw from England, ſomething more ſubſtantial than bare homage, and dutiful acknowledgments; ſomething more permanent than precarious collections, and incidental perquiſites. Acccordingly Otho, the Roman legate, now demanded, that out of every cathedral church, the biſhop ſhould keep one prebend vacant, and the chapter another, the revenues of which were to be applied to the ſupport of the ſee of Rome; and that a monk's portion ſhould be granted out of every convent, and as much from every abbot, for the ſame purpoſe. This was intended to ſerve as a kind of ſtanding revenue, and to prevent, according to an expreſſion in the pope's letter, that ancient reproach to the ſee of Rome, of every thing being ſcandalouſly managed by bribery at that court. He did not pretend to deny the truth of the charge, but computed it entirely to the poverty of the holy ſee; and therefore recommended to his dutiful ſons of England, their preventing any ſuch reproach for the future, by allowing the ſucceſſor of St. Peter the required proviſion. This inſolent motion was treated with great indignation by the court of England; but, in order to conſider it with ſome decency, a parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter. In this aſſembly, after declaring the king to be of full age, the propoſition of the legate was taken into conſideration,

deration, when the archdeacon of Bedford, proctor for the clergy, told him, that the king being detained from the aſſembly by illneſs, and ſeveral of the biſhops alſo being abſent, no direct anſwer could be given to a demand, which ſo deeply affected the prerogatives of the crown, and the intereſt of the Engliſh church. Another aſſembly was therefore agreed to be called, as ſoon as the king was ſufficiently recovered from his indiſpoſition.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, as head of the Engliſh church, thought himſelf moſt concerned in oppoſing ſuch inſolent incroachments. The legate was now on a progreſs thro' the northern counties, collecting ſome arrears of procurations for the pope; and the archbiſhop managed his affairs ſo well at the court of Rome, that he procured his recall, but could not prevail upon the pontiff to lay aſide his favourite purpoſe. For the archbiſhop himſelf being appointed legate, received from the pope an injunction, that a ſynod of all the prelates ſhould be held in preſence of the king, in order to give a definitive anſwer to the demand made by Otho. The ſynod was accordingly held, and the following anſwer returned to the court of Rome: "That, as his "holineſs had made the ſame demands upon other "churches, that of England would follow their "example." This was by no means ſatisfactory to the pope, and he ſent inhibitory letters to Henry, commanding him not to attempt any thing againſt the dominions of France, becauſe Lewis had taken upon him the croſs againſt the Albigenſes.

A. D. 1227. Henry was, in no wiſe, turbulent or factious in his diſpoſitions: his ruling paſſion was to amaſs money, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, as to become, in time, the richeſt prince in Chriſtendom: yet his attention to gain, ſometimes threw him into acts of violence, and gave diſturbance to the government. There was a manor, which formerly belonged to the earldom of Cornwall, but had been given away to Waleran de Ties, before Richard had been inveſted with that dignity, and while the earldom remained in the hands of the crown. Richard claimed this manor, and expelled the proprietor by force: Waleran complained; the king ordered his brother to do him juſtice, by reſtoring him to his rights. The earl refuſed to ſubmit to theſe orders, till the cauſe was decided againſt him by the judgment of his peers: Henry replied, that it was firſt requiſite to re-inſtate Waleran in his poſſeſſion, before the cauſe could be tried; and accordingly re-iterated his orders to the earl. We may eaſily judge of the ſtate of the government, when this affair was like to produce a civil war. The earl of Cornwall, finding Henry peremptory in his demands, aſſociated himſelf with the young earl of Pembroke, who had married his ſiſter, and who was diſcontented on account of the king's requiring him to deliver up ſome royal caſtles that remained in his cuſtody. Theſe two noblemen, took into their confederacy the earls of Cheſter, Warrenne, Glouceſter, Hereford, Warwick, and Ferrers, who were all diſguſted on a ſimilar account. The malecontents aſſembled an army, which the king had neither the power nor courage to reſiſt; and he was accordingly obliged to make his brother ſatisfaction, by grants of much greater importance than the manor, which had been the firſt ground of the quarrel.

The character of the king, as he grew up to man's eſtate, became every day better known, and he was found, in every circumſtance, totally unqualified for maintaining a proper ſway among thoſe turbulent barons, whom the feudal conſtitution ſubjected to his authority. Gentle, humane, and merciful, even to a fault; he ſeems to have been ſteady in no other circumſtance of his character, but to have received every impreſſion from thoſe that ſurrounded him, and whom he loved, for the time, with the moſt imprudent and moſt unreſerved affection. Without activity or vigour, he was unfit to conduct war; without policy or art, he was ill fitted to maintain peace: his reſentments, tho' haſty and violent, were not dreaded, becauſe he was found to drop them with the greateſt facility: his friendſhips were little valued, becauſe they were neither derived from choice, nor maintained with conſtancy. A proper pageant of ſtate in a regular monarchy, where his miniſters could have conducted all affairs in his name and by his authority, but too feeble in thoſe diſorderly times to ſway a ſceptre, whoſe weight depended entirely upon the firmneſs and dexterity of the hand that held it.

A. D. 1229. England now ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, by the death of Stephen Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury. This prelate may be juſtly conſidered as one of the reſtorers of Engliſh liberty. He no ſooner had it in his power to be independent, than he acted with an independent ſpirit; and the part he performed in all public commotions, was ſuch as became the firſt peer of England, and a ſincere lover of his country.

The ſucceſſion to this ſee, was a point of the utmoſt importance to the court. The monks of Canterbury immediately choſe one Walter de Hemiſham, a perſon of mean birth, ſcandalous life, and groſsly ignorant in his function. The king refuſed to confirm their choice, but was at ſome loſs how to bring the pope over to his intereſt. He ſent the biſhops of Cheſter and Rocheſter, together with the archdeacon of Bedford, to the court of Rome to oppoſe Hemiſham, who had repaired thither in perſon for confirmation. But that mercenary ſee, regardleſs of every thing but intereſt, neglected the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances of the ambaſſadors, till they engaged, in their maſter's name, to pay his holineſs a tenth of all the moveables in England and Ireland, in order to ſupport him in his war againſt the emperor of Germany, who had been excommunicated. This argument prevailed, Hemiſham was found diſqualified, and his election invalid.

This convention with the pope was, however, ſo ſcandalous, that the court induſtriouſly concealed it, till one Stephen came over from the ſee of Rome, to collect the tenths which had been ſtipulated. The king and his miniſtry alone knew the occaſion of his viſit: and a meeting was ſummoned, of all the nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal, all the rectors of churches, and all who held of the king in chief, at Weſtminſter. In this aſſembly Stephen opened his commiſſion. The members in general, thinking that the inſolence of the demand would give as much offence to the king, as it did to themſelves, imagined, that he would receive a ſevere check from the throne, and thought it decent to let the firſt oppoſition come from that quarter. Stephen had purpoſely avoided any mention of the treaty, and therefore the aſſembly was the more amazed when Henry, by his eyes, ſeemed to approve the motion. They were therefore conſtrained to ſpeak themſelves, which they did in very loud

loud terms of diſſent. After many altercations, in all which the nobility abſolutely refuſed to ſubject their fees to the demands of the Roman Pontiff; it was propoſed, that a piece of money ſhould be given, in full of the pope's demand; but this falling far ſhort of what was required, the collector of the court, made a ſecret compact with one Stephen Seagrave, who was in great credit with the other party; but, on this occaſion, he betrayed them: for, by his management, the demands of the pope were, at laſt, complied with; the party in the oppoſition being intimidated by repeated threatenings of excommunication. But the avarice of the ſee of Rome always increaſed in proportion as it was gratified: accordingly, the collector now produced letters from the pope, impowering him to collect the tenths, without the leaſt deduction, either for debts or expences, and out of all profits whatever. The ſame powers implied, that the prelates and others ſhould immediately lay down what was due for the tenths of the clergy and their fees; and afterwards indemnifying themſelves, by levying it on the people by way of tax: and all this was to be done under pain of excommunication and interdiction. Stephen had likewiſe provided uſurers, who advanced money upon the goods of the needy, and upon church plate, to the utter ruin of the one, and the great loſs of the other. The dread of excommunication was now ſo ſtrong upon the ſpirits of the Engliſh, who had experienced its effects, that this intolerable exaction was ſubmitted to by all the kingdom, except the earl of Cheſter, who would never ſuffer it to be paid by the clergy or laity within his earldom.

Thoſe ſhameful oppreſſions, however, ſeem to have opened the eyes of the king, young and unthinking as he was, to the conduct of the miniſter. He ſaw himſelf reſtrained by a diſadvantageous truce with France, while all his ſubjects, of the ancient inheritance of his family there, were calling upon him to come to their relief, He could therefore be no longer impoſed upon. It was evident, the miniſter had entered into a dangerous and unnatural connection with the court of France; and Henry was privately informed, that he had received a bribe of five thouſand marks, to embarraſs the Engliſh councils. Henry therefore, reſolving no longer to be directed as formerly, gave orders for all his military tenants to rendezvous at Portſmouth, with an intention of paſſing over to France. The Engliſh were then highly exaſperated againſt the French. The great barons, and other military tenants, were animated with the hopes of recovering their family eſtates in Normandy: and the king, openly diſclaiming the conduct of his miniſter, reconciled all ranks of people ſo entirely to his ſervice, that he collected a more numerous army than had ever been ſeen, at one time, under the command of a king of England. But we are to remark, that the declared intention of this expedition induced many foreigners to join the Engliſh. Great numbers of the Normans, during the ſeveral revolutions and changes of government, both in France and England, had ſettled in Wales, Ireland, and particularly in Scotland. Henry, therefore, by publiſhing his deſign of recovering his French dominions, all who had, or who imagined they had, the moſt diſtant pretenſions to eſtates in France, flocked to his ſtandard: and by theſe concurrent cauſes, ſo vaſt an army was collected.

But the whole was fruſtrated by the neglect of the miniſter, who had neither iſſued the proper writs to the Cinque ports, nor taken the uſual methods for aſſembling a ſufficient number of tranſports. Henry was ſo incenſed at this diſappointment, that he branded the miniſter with the name of traitor, upbraided him with the five thouſand marks he had received as a bribe from the court of France, and, drawing his ſword, would have killed him on the ſpot, had not the earl of Cheſter interpoſed.

The intention of the expedition being thus fruſtrated, the earl of Britany, who was ſtill in arms againſt the French, came over to England about the beginning of October. He was a bold turbulent nobleman; but finding the ſeaſon of the year too far advanced, he adviſed Henry to put off his intended invaſion till the following ſpring. In the mean time, the irreſolution of Henry got the better of his reſentment againſt his miniſter; whoſe faults were buried in oblivion. The earl of Britany was reſtored to his family eſtates in England, and Henry making him a preſent of five thouſand pounds, he returned to his own country.

A. D. 1230. As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted an army to take the field, Henry made a freſh demand upon his ſubjects for a ſupply, which was again granted. With this aſſiſtance, he collected a powerful army at Portſmouth, whence he ſailed on the laſt day of April, attended by the earl of Britany, who was now returned to England. The fleet, by ſome accident, was ſeparated, and put into different ports; but without receiving any damage. The king himſelf landed at St. Malo, where the earl of Britany not only renewed his homage, but ordered the gates of all the fortified places in his poſſeſſion to be delivered up to the Engliſh; and prevailed upon many of his nobles to follow his example.

The young king of France, who diſcovered a ſurpriſing genius, collected his army, and imagining Henry intended to penetrate into Poictou, poſted himſelf behind Angiers, which he had ſome time before reduced. But Henry waited at Mans, till his whole army was aſſembled, and by that means loſt the advantage reſulting from the diſſenſions among the French nobility, who were now laying waſte Champaigne with fire and ſword. This inaction encouraged the king of France to advance within four leagues of Nantz, and beſiege Ancennis. Animated by theſe favourable omens of ſucceſs, the nobility of Britany, who adhered to the French intereſt, renewed their homage; particularly Andrew, lord of Viterie, who fortified his caſtle, and whoſe example was followed by ſeveral others.

But nothing could rouze Henry from his lethargy. His conduct became ridiculous and contemptible; it was publicly ſaid, that he came into France with no other intention, than that of taking his diverſions. Ancennis had been loſt without his making one effort to relieve the place; the French army continued approaching towards Nantz, beſieged the caſtles of Oudon and Chauteauceaux, which they took in ſight of the Engliſh army, and afterwards extended their incurſions, even to the gates of Nantz. Feaſts, balls, and entertainments, dancing, revelling and riot, employed Henry and his court, when the time ſhould have been ſpent in the field againſt the enemy. By this conduct, the brave were diſguſted, the poor were ruined, and all joined in exclaiming againſt the government.

But

But an opportunity now offered, which, if Henry had ſeized, might ſtill have indemnified him for all the trouble and expence of this expedition. One Foukes Paganelle, and William his brother, two noblemen of vaſt intereſt in Normandy, came to Henry's court at Nantz, attended by ſixty knights, and invited him to enter Normandy with his army; at the ſame time laying before him the great probability of the undertaking being crowned with ſucceſs. The advantages of this offer were ſo evident, that Henry himſelf could not help approving of it, and hinting, that he was ready to embrace the propoſal. But Henry de Burgh, lately created earl of Kent, diſliked the propoſition, and the Normans were obliged to return diſappointed, tho' they had offered to drive the French out of Normandy, if Henry would ſend them two hundred knights.

After this inglorious campaign, Henry returned to England, leaving a conſiderable army in France, under the command of the earls of Cheſter, Mareſchal and Albermarle. But the king had no ſooner left the French coaſt, than his generals took the field with ſo much ſucceſs, that they made an irruption into Anjou, where they took the caſtle of Gontier, and laid the town in aſhes. They next fell into Normandy, where they took and razed the caſtle of Pontarſic, and burnt the town. But the winter being too far advanced for them to make any further progreſs, they returned to Britany loaded with booty; having ſufficiently demonſtrated what might have been effected by the whole army, had the king taken the field at a proper ſeaſon, and puſhed the operations with the ſpirit of an able general.

A. D. 1231. A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, early in the ſpring, when the king demanded a ſcutage of three marks for every knight's fee, from all his barons. This demand was agreed to by all, except the new archbiſhop of Canterbury, who oppoſed it, by alledging, that eccleſiaſtics ought not to be taxed with the laymen. In the mean time, the ſucceſs of the Engliſh generals in France, during the cloſe of the laſt campaign, had drawn the French king very early into the field at the head of his army. His intention was to invade Britany, as being the place of the head-quarters of the Engliſh, as well as of their principal reſources. But the Engliſh commanders took their meaſures ſo effectually, as to render his deſigns abortive, by intercepting all his carriages loaded with proviſions and military engines. Henry, however, was in no condition to improve thoſe favourable incidents. He found it very difficult to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies; and the pope backward to ſupport his cauſe, under pretence that thoſe quarrels in France prevented the zealous from proſecuting the cruſades. On the other hand, nothing was more deſirable to the French court, than a reſpite from war. A truce was therefore concluded for three years; and the Engliſh generals returned to their own country.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury continued ſtill to entertain a violent reſentment againſt the miniſter. He found it in vain to combat againſt the intereſt of the court, and therefore undertook a journey to Rome, in order to lay the ſtate of the kingdom and the church before the pope, as the ſuperior of both. He there remonſtrated againſt the unlimited power of the miniſter, who, without admitting any of the nobility into the council, engroſſed the ſole direction of affairs. He then enlarged upon the deplorable ſtate of the church of England, where the clergy were ſo engaged in ſecular affairs, as to neglect the duties of their function. The archbiſhop was anſwered by the miniſter's agents; but the pope paid ſo little regard to the remonſtrances of the latter, that the prelate gained his cauſe, but died in his return to England. Hugh Nevil, biſhop of Chicheſter, was elected archbiſhop in his room, but was refuſed confirmation by the pope, by which means, the archiepiſcopal ſee remained for ſome time vacant, a circumſtance favourable in many reſpects to the court of England.

A. D. 1232. A parliament was ſummoned to meet early in the year at Weſtminſter, where Henry laid before the aſſembly the low ſtate of his finances, and the neceſſity of diſcharging the heavy debts he had contracted by a general ſupply. The earl of Cheſter, who was choſen ſpeaker by the nobles, boldly anſwered the king, "That the earls, barons, "and knights, who held of the king in chief, had "expended their own money ſo laviſhly in his ſer-"vice, that they were almoſt reduced to beggary, "and, conſequently, in no condition to furniſh the "required ſupply." All the lay part of the aſſembly aſſenting to this declaration, took their leave and departed. But the anſwer given by the clergy on this occaſion, was at once both dilatory and unſatisfactory: they ſaid, "That they were not aſſem-"bled in a full body, many abbots, and others, "who had been ſummoned, being abſent, and there-"fore deſired farther time might be granted them "to conſider of the demand." The court eaſily perceived the reaſon for making this requeſt, but was obliged to comply, and the fifteenth day after Eaſter, was appointed for holding the next ſeſſion.

The condition of the Engliſh was, at this juncture, truly deplorable. The court of Rome had found the ſecret of balancing the parties of the court and the people, ſo as to throw the weight into which ever ſcale ſhe pleaſed. Perhaps both parties were ſenſible of this; but each was jealous of the other; and this jealouſy always gave at once both credit and influence to the papal power. Hence it happened, that his holineſs had found means of introducing Italian eccleſiaſtics into ſome of the beſt livings in England; and, by his favour, they lived in grandeur and affluence, amidſt the general penury and want of the people. But profeſſions, as will always be the caſe, where oppreſſions are violent, now gave way to the preſſure of the iron hand of uſurpation. The people neither would nor could any longer bear their abuſes. One William Witham, having been aggrieved by the pope, put himſelf at the head of a party againſt the Italian clergy. Their houſes and barns were broke open and plundered; their money and corn diſtributed; and nothing leſs than their general expulſion was threatened; but, before the hatred of the people was carried to that extremity, the pope had received intelligence of the whole affair. The pontiff was determined to check theſe diſorders, which ſeemed to threaten the utter extinction of his influence in England; eſpecially as there was ſufficient reaſon to think, that they were ſupported by the miniſter. He firſt wrote to Henry, reproaching him for ſuffering ſuch ſhocking enormities, and commanding him, under the pain of the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to make the ſtricteſt enquiry concerning the authors. But not thinking it prudent to truſt this inquiſition to the

king, he appointed a commiſſion of inqueſt, conſiſting of the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Durham, and John, an Italian prieſt, canon of York, for the northern diviſion; and the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the abbot of St. Edmundſbury, for the ſouthern. When this inqueſt came to examine into the cauſes of the late diſorders, it was diſcovered, that the whole had been ſecretly planned and fomented by the government. The king, indeed, ſeems to have been entirely ignorant of the deſign; but many of the Engliſh clergy, and civil magiſtracy, were found to be deeply concerned. Some of them were impriſoned, others fled, and at laſt the miniſter himſelf was found to have encouraged the inſurrection. With regard to the ring-leader Witham, he avowed the fact, and obtained the king's recommendatory letters to the biſhop of Rome, praying that he might receive ſome ſatisfaction for the grievances he pretended to have ſuffered.

The pope having thus obtained the neceſſary information with regard to the authors of the late diſorders, determined, at all events, to ruin Hubert; and purſued the intention with ſuch unwearied aſſiduity, that the miniſter fell a victim to the ſpiritual pride of the pontiff. Hubert, while he enjoyed his authority, had an entire aſcendant over Henry, and was loaded with honours and favours beyond any other ſubject. Beſides acquiring the property of many caſtles and manors, he married the eldeſt ſiſter of the king of the Scots, was created earl of Kent, and, by an unuſual conceſſion, was made chief juſticiary of England for life.

But now Henry, by the inſtigations of the Roman pontiff, and his own capricious diſpoſition, threw off his miniſter, who had always been faithful to the crown in the moſt difficult and dangerous times, and expoſed him at once to the malice and violent perſecutions of his enemies. Among other frivolous crimes, he was accuſed, by the Italian clergy, of gaining the king's favour by inchantment, and of purloining, from the royal treaſury, a gem, which had the virtue to render the wearer invulnerable, and of ſending this valuable curioſity to Llewellyn, prince of Wales. The nobility, who hated Hubert, on account of his reſuming the rights and poſſeſſions of the crown, no ſooner perceived the proſecution opened, than they inflamed the king's animoſity againſt him, and preſſed him to complete the total ruin of his miniſter. Hubert, finding himſelf abandoned by the king, took ſanctuary in a church. Henry ordered him to be dragged from thence: he recalled theſe orders: he afterwards renewed them: he was obliged by the clergy to reſtore him to his ſanctuary: he ſoon after obliged him to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner, and confined him to the caſtle of the Devizes. Hubert made his eſcape, was expelled the kingdom, was again received into favour, recovered a conſiderable ſhare of the king's confidence; but never ſhewed the leaſt inclination of reinſtating himſelf in his former power and authority. Perhaps he had too deeply experienced the capricious temper of Henry, ever more to expoſe himſelf to the ſame dangers.

The perſon who ſucceeded him in the government, was Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter, a native of Poictou, who had been raiſed by the late king, and who was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his arbitrary principles and violent conduct, than by his courage and abilities. This prelate had been left by John, juſticiary and regent of the kingdom, during an expedition which that prince made into France; and his illegal adminiſtration, was one principal cauſe of that great combination among the barons, which finally extorted from the crown, the charter of liberties, and laid the foundation of the Engliſh conſtitution. Henry, tho' incapable from his character, of purſuing the ſame violent maxims, which had governed his father, had imbibed the ſame arbitrary principles; and in proſecuting of Peter's advice, he invited over a great number of Poictovins, and other foreigners, who, he believed, could be more ſafely truſted than the Engliſh, and who ſeemed requiſite to counter-balance the great and independent power of the nobility. Every office and command was beſtowed upon theſe ſtrangers; their rapacity exhauſted the revenues of the crown, already too much impoveriſhed; they invaded the rights of the people, and their inſolence, ſtill more provoking than their power, drew on them the hatred and envy of all orders of men in the kingdom.

A. D. 1233. The barons, unable to behold the tyrannical proceedings of theſe foreigners, formed a combination againſt this odious miniſtry; and withdrew from their attendance in parliament, on pretence of the danger to which they were expoſed, from the machinations of the Poictovins. When again ſummoned to attend, they gave for anſwer, that the king ſhould diſmiſs his foreigners from court; otherwiſe they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and place the crown on another head, more worthy of wearing it: ſuch was the ſtile they uſed to their ſovereign! They, however, at laſt, came to parliament, but ſo well attended with their armed followers, that they ſeemed in a condition of preſcribing laws to the king and his miniſtry. Peter de Roches had, however, in the interim, found means of ſowing the ſeeds of diſſention among the barons, and of bringing over to his party, the earl of Cornwall, as well as the earls of Lincoln and Cheſter. This diſconcerted the meaſures of the confederates. Richard, earl mareſchal, who had ſucceeded to that dignity, on the death of his brother, William, was driven into Wales, he thence withdrew into Ireland, where he was treacherouſly murdered by the contrivance of the biſhop of Wincheſter. The eſtates of the more obnoxious barons were confiſcated, without legal ſentence or trial by their peers, and beſtowed, with the moſt profuſe liberality, on the Poictovins. Peter even carried his inſolence ſo far, as to ſay publicly, that the barons of England muſt not pretend to put themſelves on the ſame footing with thoſe of France, or aſſume the ſame liberties and privileges, the monarch having a more abſolute power in the one country than in the other. It would, however, have been more juſtifiable for him to ſay, that men, ſo unwilling to ſubmit to the authority of laws, could, with worſe grace, claim any ſhelter or protection from them.

When the king, at any time, was checked in his illegal practices, and the authority of the great charter was objected to him, he uſed to anſwer, "Why ſhould I obſerve a charter, which is neglected by all my great men, both prelates and nobility?" It was very reaſonably replied, "You ought, Sir, to ſet them the example?"

So

So violent a miniſtry, as that of the biſhop of Wincheſter, could not be of any long duration; but its fall proceeded at laſt from the influence of the Engliſh church, not from the efforts of the nobles.

A. D. 1234. A parliament was ſummoned to meet on Candlemas-day, when the king, by the advice of his miniſter, loudly charged ſome of the prelates with holding correſpondence with the confederated barons; but he found the aſſembly in a very different temper from what he imagined. The prelates joined, as one man, in the common cauſe, and were well ſeconded by the temporal nobility. Nor was there a ſingle perſon in the whole aſſembly bold, or abandoned enough to ſcreen the miniſter and his foreign counſels. Henry, amazed at the deſertion, now found how he had been deceived. To come to any deciſive reſolution at once, was too terrible to the irreſolution of his temper. But the prelates perſiſting in a reſolution of excommunicating all who ſhould dare to oppoſe the ſubjects of England, in directing Engliſh councils, he was at laſt obliged to promiſe, that he would reform his adminiſtration, as ſoon as his miniſters had given up their accounts. This condeſcenſion was ſufficient to pacify men who oppoſed the court, merely for the ſake of juſtice, and they accordingly all departed ſatisfied with the king's promiſe.

At the next meeting of the parliament, which was held on the ninth of April at Weſtminſter, Edmond, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the other prelates and noblemen, remonſtrated ſo firmly and effectually, that a happy reconciliation at laſt took place between the king and the people of England. The miniſter was ordered to retire to the ſpiritual concerns of his biſhopric; his nephew, by being inveſted with the character of a clergyman, eſcaped an ignominious puniſhment, but was obliged to ſurrender all his caſtles, and quit the court. The Poictovins, and other foreigners, were diſmiſſed the king's ſervice with diſgrace, and driven out of the kingdom. The natives were reſtored to their places in council, and the primate, who was a man of prudence, and who took care to execute the laws, and obſerve the charter of liberties, bore the chief ſway in the government.

A. D. 1236. But it was in vain for the Engliſh to flatter themſelves with being long free from the dominion of foreigners, under the government of ſo capricious a prince as Henry; who about this time married Eleanor, daughter to the count of Provence. This connection introduced, from that country, a great number of ſtrangers, whom the king carreſſed with the fondeſt affection, and enriched by an imprudent and ill-timed generoſity. The biſhop of Valence, deſcended from the houſe of Savoy, and maternal uncle to the queen, became his chief miniſter, and had recourſe to every art for amaſſing wealth for himſelf and relations. Peter de Savoy, another brother of the ſame family, was inveſted with the honour of Richmond, and received the rich wardſhip of earl Warrenne. Theſe favours, with ſeveral others, conferred on foreigners, rendered the nobility ſuſpicious of an alteration in the public councils; and they, accordingly, expreſſed their complaints pretty loudly. In the mean time, the king, contrary to the uſual cuſtom, had ordered a parliament to be held in the tower of London. This the nobility and the other members oppoſed ſo firmly, that not a ſingle perſon among them could be prevailed upon to attend. The king had, for once, diſcretion enough to comply with his people; he removed from the tower to his palace: and all appearance of reſtraint on their proceedings being thus removed, the members of parliament repaired to Weſtminſter, and attended the buſineſs of the nation.

In the mean time new factions were daily fomenting in the Engliſh court. A difference happened between the earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, and Richard Siward; which ended in the baniſhment of the latter, by the king's expreſs and arbitrary command. Ralph Fitz-nicholas was removed from his poſt of ſteward; and many other officers of the crown were diſplaced. But when the king ſent to require the biſhop of Chicheſter, then chancellor, to deliver up the great ſeal, he refuſed the order, as having received it from the parliament, whoſe authority alone, as he alledged, could reſume it. Hence it appears, that while Henry was on good terms with his parliament, the latter had adviſed, nay directed him, in his choice of the great officers of ſtate.

But Henry had, by this time, relapſed into all his ſcandalous partiality for foreigners and favourites. The creatures of the biſhop of Wincheſter were found the moſt proper tools for anſwering the purpoſes of the biſhop of Valence; the public poſts were again diſgraced, by being filled with worthleſs men; and the public money was diſſipated in ſhameful expences. By theſe prepoſterous methods, the exchequer was ſoon exhauſted; and his ſavoyard miniſtry had recourſe to Rome for a ſupply. They obtained a bull from the pope, permitting Henry to reſume all paſt grants; abſolving him from the oath he had taken to maintain them, and even enjoining him to make ſuch a reſumption, by repreſenting theſe grants as invalid, on account of the prejudice which enſued from them to the Roman pontiff, in whom the ſuperiority of the kingdom was veſted. This bull being read in a parliament held at Weſtminſter, the members retired aſhamed and confounded at the weakneſs of the king; reſolving, at the next meeting of that aſſembly, to aſſert their rights in a manner becoming the ſubjects of England.

It was now eaſy for the government to perceive, that a very ſmall ſpark would be ſufficient to light up the flames of civil war in every part of the kingdom: for the whole body of the nation was uneaſy, and under the moſt terrible apprehenſions from foreign influence. The creatures of the pope were continually exorting money from the people under one pretence or other; and the king was afraid to call a parliament, tho' he found it impoſſible to provide the neceſſary ſupplies of government without their aſſiſtance.

A. D. 1237. At laſt a parliament was ſummoned to meet at London on the 13th of January: and as the expectations of all were very great, the aſſembly was remarkably full. One William Kele, a clerk, and a domeſtic to the king, was pitched upon as the moſt proper inſtrument for reconciling the parliament to the king's meaſures. Accordingly, at the opening of the ſeſſions, he made the following ſpeech to the aſſembly. "His majeſty (ſaid "he) commands me to aſſure you, that notwith-"ſtanding his former conduct, he will, without "reſerve, ſubmit himſelf to the council and direc-"tion of his true natural born ſubjects, in all mea-

"ſures

" ſures which he ſhall purſue, either now or here-
" after. But thoſe who have been intruſted with
" the management of his finances have proved un-
" faithful, and delivered in falſe accounts. Our
" lord the king being therefore entirely deſtitute of
" money; without which every prince muſt be a
" helpleſs creature, moſt humbly prays, that you
" would grant him ſome ſupply; but upon this
" condition, that it ſhall be collected in whatever
" manner you ſhall propoſe, and expended ac-
" cording to the direction of a committee, choſen
" from among yourſelves, for the neceſſary pur-
" poſes of the kingdom."

This ſpeech, ſo extraordinary, and ſo unexpected, was received with great indignation by the whole aſſembly. They looked for ſome time on one another with aſtoniſhment; and told the king, that they were wearied out with repeated payments of ſubſidies. They added, that it was mean and ſcandalous in themſelves, to ſuffer a king, ſo eaſily ſeduceable, one who had never checked even the weakeſt enemy of the kingdom; a king, who inſtead of enlarging, had ſtraitened the limits of his territories, to harraſs natural-born Engliſhmen, and treat them in the manner of ſlaves, by repeated extortions for enriching his foreign favourites. In anſwer to this, the king engaged himſelf by oath, that if they would ſupply him with the thirtieth part of their moveables, in order to recruit his exchequer, which had been exhauſted by a large ſum he had lately remitted to the emperor, he would never more provoke or moleſt his nobility. This conceſſion, together with his promiſing to obſerve the great charter, and maintain the public liberty, a thirtieth part of all moveables was granted in the uſual manner, with this difference only, that the collectors were ſworn to depoſit the money in ſome abbey, church, or caſtle, that it might be reſtored to the people, in caſe the king ſhould fail to obſerve his promiſe. At the ſame time they paſſed a reſolution, that the king ſhould diſplace all foreigners from his councils, and be ſolely guided by the advice of natural-born Engliſhmen.

The king readily ſubmitted to every thing propoſed by the parliament, tho' he never intended to keep his promiſes any longer than neceſſity obliged him. Beſet, as he was, with foreign counſellors, he beheld with envy, the power, riches, or credit, of the Engliſh; and determined to humble them, tho' he was obliged to have recourſe to a baſe and mean expedient. He privately deſired the pope, to ſend over a legate into England, whoſe authority might counterbalance the power of the Engliſh barons. The pope very readily complied, and cardinal Otho was ſent into England about the middle of June. The intention of the legate's coming was ſoon perceived, and loudly condemned by all the Engliſh nobility, in general, and by the archbiſhop of Canterbury in particular. But their remonſtrances were fruitleſs and vain: while Henry, thinking himſelf ſecure under ſo great a protection, violated all the promiſes he had made to the laſt parliament. The money collected was rapaciouſly ſeized, and profuſely ſquandered, by the king, upon ſtrangers and favourites; and he again threw himſelf entirely into the arms of foreign counſellors. The earl of Cornwall, at the head of the Engliſh nobility, ſharply upbraided Henry with this breach of faith and honour. He laid before him the exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom, the perpetual demands of his exchequer, tho' his revenues were large, and abundantly ſufficient to ſupport the royal dignity; and, laſtly, the ſhameful ſtep he had taken in calling in the legate of the pope, under whom he acted, with only a ſubordinate power. But theſe remonſtrances had very little effect on Henry; he heard them with patience, promiſing amendment, and, as ſoon as the noblemen were departed, relapſed into his former indolence, and forgot his reſolutions.

A. D. 1239. The earl of Cornwall's great intereſt aroſe from his being conſidered as heir apparent to the crown; but this year, on the 16th of June, the queen was ſafely delivered of a prince, who was named Edward, afterwards the famous Longſhanks. The eaſineſs of the government, and the perpetual fluctuations of Henry's councils, had introduced into the ſtate great corruption of officers. An inquiſition was therefore now erected, and one of the king's ſervants, was found guilty, and condemned to ſuffer death. But as this perſon was only a tool to perſons of higher rank, he made ſeveral diſcoveries, in order to ſave his life. The treaſurer was ſeized, and confined in the tower of London: but being a clergyman, this violence was reſented by the heads of the church; and the king was, at laſt, obliged to diſcharge him from priſon, and drop the intended proceſs.

The Romiſh ſee had now carried its exactions to ſuch an intolerable height, that a meeting of all the Engliſh biſhops was held at London, to conſider of the proper means of relieving themſelves; but the legate, inſtead of abating, roſe in his demands, and peremptorily inſiſted on another ſupply. This was, however, reſolutely denied; the aſſembly broke up; and he was obliged to extort the money from the religious houſes, which were immediately under the authority of the pope.

A. D. 1240. But tho' the legate had failed in his attempt, he was not diſcouraged; he renewed his demands in a parliament held this year at London, on the 13th of January. This demand appeared intolerable to the biſhops, who repaired in a body to the aſſembly, where they indirectly attacked the pope's authority, thro' the ſides of the king: ſo fatally fortified, in thoſe days, was the papal power, by civil, as well as eccleſiaſtical, bulwarks. The biſhops taxed the king, to his face, with his breach of oaths and charters; with oppreſſing, injuring, and deſolating the church; with oppoſing canonical elections; and, with ſeizing for his own uſe, the revenues of vacant benefices. No ſatisfactory anſwer being given to theſe charges, the prelates proceeded ſo far as to excommunicate the miniſters, who had thus eſtranged the king from his true and natural intereſts.

The legate, however, diſregarded all the complaints of both the clergy and laity; his oppreſſions were redoubled; immenſe ſums were levied, under pretence of procurations, and of compenſation money, to abſolve thoſe who had undertaken the cruſade, and were unable to fulfil their engagements from the performance of their vow.

The earl of Cornwall's intereſt was now ſo low at court, that he declared his deſign of taking the croſs. This reſolution was extremely agreeable to the king; but very mortifying to the Engliſh party, who found they ſhould be thereby deprived of their chief ſupport. The archbiſhop, and other prelates, applied to him in the moſt earneſt manner,

ner, to lay aſide his intention, repreſenting, with tears, the deſolate condition in which he would leave all his friends; but the earl, in anſwer to theſe preſſing intreaties, addreſſed himſelf to the archbiſhop of Canterbury in theſe memorable words: "My "lord and father! believe me, I would certainly "leave this kingdom, even tho' I were not ſigned "with the croſs, that I might thereby avoid ſeeing "the miſeries of my countrymen, and the deſola-"tion of England; which I am really unable to "prevent, tho' the world believes the contrary."

A. D. 1241. The abſence of the earls of Cornwall and Saliſbury, and ſeveral other noblemen, who embarked at Dover with an intention of going to the Holy Land, removed the greateſt impediment, which the pope and the king's foreign favourites had in England. But the legate's affairs in Italy obliging him to return thither, was ſome alleviation to the pillaged Engliſh. The ſums he had drawn from them were immenſe; and the king was ſo conſcious of his own miſconduct, that he ſeemed to give himſelf up for loſt on his departure, the protection of the pope being all the king's foreign favourites had to depend upon. But tho' no legate reſided in England, yet Peter Ruby, and Peter de Sapine, armed with the pope's bull, behaved with all the haughtineſs and pontifical pride of legates. Their extortion and inſolence were carried to ſo great a height, that even Henry himſelf, careleſs and unfeeling as he was, commiſerated the ſufferings of his people; for on the refuſal of the abbot of Peterborough, to pay an exorbitant demand made by the pope, and the agents of the latter preſſing it in the moſt vigorous manner, the king interpoſed his authority, and iſſued orders, that they ſhould proceed no farther in ſuch monſtrous oppreſſions.

A. D. 1242. The king's partiality and profuſe bounty to his foreign relations, and to their friends and favourites, would have appeared more tolerable to the Engliſh, had any thing been done for the honour of the nation, or had Henry's enterprizes been attended with any ſucceſs or glory, either to himſelf or to the public: at leaſt, ſuch military talents in the king would have ſerved to keep his barons in awe, and have given weight and authority to his government. But tho' he this year declared war againſt Lewis IX. and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his father-in-law, the earl of Marche, who promiſed to join him with all his forces; he was unſucceſsful in his attempts againſt that powerful monarch; he was defeated at Taillebourg, deſerted by his allies, loſt what remained to him of Poictou, and was obliged to return, with diſgrace into England.

A. D. 1244. A prodigious ſcheme was now on foot, but by whom it was formed does not clearly appear; it tended to nothing leſs than annulling the royal prerogative, and therefore could not be vindicated on the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution. For Henry finding it neceſſary to call a parliament early in the year, he laid before them the neceſſities of the government. He obſerved, that the behaviour, both of the Scotch and Welſh had, for ſome time paſt, been ſo inſolent, as to require immediate chaſtiſement. He then informed them of the great debt he had contracted during his late expedition into France, and which, he pretended, had been undertaken by their advice; concluding with a demand for a ſpeedy ſupply. The anſwer of the aſſembly was, that they would conſider the king's requeſt. They accordingly ſeparated into three bodies, the clergy, the earls, and the barons. This ſeems to be the firſt clear and unexceptionable diviſion of the four ranks compoſing the parliament of England, viz. the king, lords ſpiritual, lords temporal, and commons. And as the three latter choſe committees out of their own number, it is plain that they conſidered themſelves in ſome meaſure as ſeparate. But however that be, it is certain, that the members had entered upon a very deep and dangerous ſcheme. Four perſons of the higheſt credit in the kingdom, for riches and reputation, were to be choſen by parliament, and ſworn into the king's council. Theſe perſons were to be ſole miniſters; ſo that very little more than the mere name of royalty would have remained to the king. Two of them, at leaſt, were to be preſent about his perſon. Without their conſent, nothing civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical, was to be tranſacted. They were to hear all complaints, and redreſs all injuries. By them the public treaſury was to be managed, and public taxes levied. But what would have rendered them ſtill more dangerous was, that they were to be removeable only by the ſame authority by which they were choſen; and in caſe of the death of any one of them, his place was to be filled up within two months by another choſen by the remaining three. Theſe men were to be ſtiled the conſervators of public liberty; and by them, not only the parliament was to be ſummoned, but alſo the great offices of ſtate were to be filled up.

It is eaſy to perceive the danger of corruption and tyranny to which this new model of Engliſh government would have been expoſed. The foundation of the ſcheme was, the inefficacy of the great charter for ſecuring their liberties, by obliging the king to obſerve the articles, and inforce the obſervance of them on others. It was therefore propoſed, that another charter ſhould be prepared for this form of government, and that the prelates ſhould be ſolemnly inveſted with the authority of excommunicating all perſons, who ſhould endeavour to divide the king and his people. But this great ſcheme of government not being yet ripe for diſcovery, they prepared a kind of petition, complaining of the adminiſtration of juſtice, on the part, both of the high juſticiary and chancellor, demanding that theſe two great officers ſhould be removed, and their places filled by ſuch perſons as were agreeable to the people, and, by their abilities, capable of reſtoring the conſtitution to its full vigour. It is highly probable, that either the king himſelf, or ſome of the more diſcerning courtiers about his perſon, had received ſome hints of the intended alteration of the government; for tho' Henry, eſpecially when ſurrounded with difficulties, was very ready to diſplace or employ miniſters, as he found them moſt convenient for his purpoſe; yet he held out, on this occaſion, with ſurpriſing conſtancy; and all that could be obtained by the petition was, a general promiſe from the king, to reform upon proper information, whatever appeared amiſs. A reſolution was then taken in council to adjourn the aſſembly; but the members, being determined to carry their point before the ſeſſion was cloſed, came to a previous reſolution, that if the king did not diſplace the miniſtry, and chuſe others in their ſtead, who ſhould be agreeable to the people, they would grant him no ſupply; and that, even in caſe they ſhould com-

ply with the king's requeſt, it ſhould be on theſe conditions: That the money ſhould be applied and diſpoſed of, under the inſpection and direction of a committee, conſiſting of twelve members, for the benefit of the kingdom.

Theſe diviſions between Henry and his parliament, encouraged the pope to ſend Martin, one of his publicans, into England, as his nuncio, furniſhed with powers, exceeding thoſe of all his predeceſſors in extortion. He was empowered to excommunicate all whom he ſhould find refractory to the papal commands, as contained in a bull he carried with him; and, that the creatures and dependents on the ſee of Rome, ſhould be provided with livings in England, worth, at leaſt, thirty marks a year. Beſides the oppreſſion, the inſolence of Martin was intolerable; all eccleſiaſtics who refuſed to gratify his vanity, were ſuſpended; and all who would not gratify his avarice, were excommunicated.

But as the parliament was ſitting, while Martin was exerciſing all this inſolence, Henry feared leſt his own wants ſhould remain unſupplied, while thoſe of the pope's were ſatisfied. This produced a breach between Martin and the court, which, perhaps, was the principal reaſon that induced the parliament to grant the king a ſupply: for, on Martin's endeavouring to make this ſupply granted to the king a precedent for granting another to the pope, he was told by the clergy, that the matter was of ſo much importance, and affected ſo many different intereſts, that they could not, at that time, give him any poſitive anſwer. At the ſame time, Henry ſent a meſſage to the ſpiritual peers, enjoining them ſtrictly not to ſubject their lay-fees to the pope. The griping publican, being thus diſappointed by the firmneſs of the clergy, he was obliged to be contented with what ſums he could amaſs from eccleſiaſtical vacancies, and thoſe perſons, who were more immediately under the pope's authority.

A. D. 1245. But the pontiff being, about this time, driven out of Italy, by the prevailing arms of the emperor, the princes of Europe became, in ſome degree, on a level with his holineſs. He was now reduced to the neceſſity of imploring refuge at the courts of England and France, but was denied it at both; and obliged to take up his reſidence at Lyons, which was then under the immediate government of its own archbiſhop. There he ſummoned a general council, that he might proceed with the greater effect againſt the emperor. In the mean time, his agent, Martin, was continuing his oppreſſions and exactions in England; nor had Henry the virtue or courage to oppoſe him with reſolution. For, when ſome of the nobility took upon them to give orders that no more bulls for money ſhould be executed, and when they had actually ſeized a meſſenger, who had brought a parcel of thoſe bulls, he was, on Martin's complaining to the king, releaſed by Henry's expreſs order. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that his noblemen could prevail upon him, during this depreſſed eſtate of the papal power, to enter upon an inquiſition into the value of the livings poſſeſſed by Italians in England. Thoſe he found to amount to ſixty thouſand marks a year; a ſum exceeding the actual revenues of the crown, in thoſe days of profuſion and neceſſity. This evident demonſtration of papal exactions awakened Henry to a ſenſe of his own condition, and that of his people. A letter was immediately ordered to be written to the council at Lyons, in the name of the parliament of England; and a reſolution was taken, to drive Martin out of the kingdom by force, if he could not be prevailed upon to depart by perſuaſion. The nobility therefore agreed to hold a tournament at Luton and Dunſtable, in order to concert the neceſſary meaſures for carrying the above ſcheme into execution. In the mean time Henry's irreſolution got the better of his determination; and he ſent a meſſenger to forbid the meeting. The noblemen, however, diſregarded the royal mandate; they met according to appointment, and Fulk Fitz-warrenne, a man very proper for executing ſuch a commiſſion, was ſent to deliver the commands of the meeting to Martin, who was then at the New Temple in London. Fitz-warrenne, on his arrival, ordered, with a ſtern countenance, the publican to be gone. The Italian, unuſed to ſuch treatment, demanded by whoſe orders? "Not by mine, replied Fitz-war-" renne, but by thoſe of a body of Engliſh knights " now in arms; therefore, I repeat it, be gone " immediately; for if you, or any of your follow-": ers, are found in England after three days, you " will be cut in pieces." Martin made uſe of the ſhort interval allowed him in applying to the king for protection; but Henry told him he was hardly able to protect himſelf from the reſentment of his own barons, againſt the robberies and oppreſſions of the Romiſh ſee. The publican, confounded at this declaration, did not chuſe to face the ſtorm: he demanded a paſs-port, which was readily granted him by Henry; but it was alſo thought neceſſary to ſend a royal officer with him to the ſea-ſide, to protect him from the ill-uſage of the juſtly incenſed people.

In the mean time the parliament's commiſſioners arrived at Lyons, with their letters to the pope, and general council. That directed to the council was, preſented in full aſſembly, by the ſecretary of the commiſſion, one William Poweric, and contained a narrative of all the oppreſſions the church and ſtate of England had laboured under from the Italians, the prodigious revenue they enjoyed in the kingdom, together with the inſolence and exactions of the publican, Martin. The charge was introduced by a very bold and animated ſpeech from the ſame ſecretary; who loudly diſclaimed the tribute which had been conſtantly paid, and the ſubmiſſion which had been made to the ſee of Rome, as having been granted, or rather extorted from the king, without the conſent of the barons, and great council of the kingdom. The pope appeared confounded during the ſpeech and reading the letter; and his confuſion was heightened by an additional charge from the commiſſioners, for his frequently cancelling his own acts by clauſes of *non obſtante* inſerted in his bulls and deeds. The pontiff did not attempt a ſatisfactory or even an evaſive anſwer; he only replied, that the matters were of ſuch important conſequence, as to require a very cloſe deliberation. But this anſwer was far from ſatisfying the commiſſioners: they inſiſted upon immediate ſatisfaction; and finding they were trifled with, took their leave of the council, after entering a ſolemn proteſt againſt any future payments of the ſhameful tribute, or allowing any money to be paid out of the revenues of churches, to which lay-men preſented. The pope thought it prudent to diſſemble his

his reſentment againſt theſe proceedings; but perceiving himſelf in danger of loſing all his intereſt and revenues in England, he ſent over a bull, requiring the prelates to confirm the charter of ſubmiſſion made by John to the ſee of Rome; nor had the biſhops the courage to oppoſe this requeſt of his holineſs: they obeyed the mandate; and by that means cancelled great part of the merit they had acquired by their late behaviour.

A. D. 1247. Henry's court was now crowded with needy foreigners, among whom were Baldwin, emperor of Jeruſalem, and four of the king's uterine brothers, ſons to the earl of Marche, by his mother Iſabella. The good nature and affectionate diſpoſition of Henry was moved at the ſight of ſuch near relations: he conſidered neither his own circumſtances, nor the diſpoſitions of his people, in the honours and riches he conferred upon them. Complaints therefore now roſe as loud againſt the credit of the Gaſcon, as they had ever done againſt the Poictovin and Savoyard favourites: all their meaſures appeared criminal and exceptional, to a nation prejudiced againſt them. Violations of the great charter were frequently complained of; and it is indeed more than probable, that foreigners, ignorant of the laws, and relying on the boundleſs affections of a weak prince, would, in an age, when a regular adminiſtration was not any where known, pay more attention to their own preſent intereſt, than to the liberties of the people. It is ſaid, that the Poictovins, and other ſtrangers, when the laws were, at any time, appealed to, in oppoſition to their oppreſſions, ſcrupled not to reply, "What "do the Engliſh laws ſignify to us? We pay no "regard to them." And as words are often more offenſive than actions, this open contempt of the Engliſh conſtitution, tended greatly to aggravate the general diſcontent, and made every act of violence committed by foreign favourites, appear at once an injury, and an affront to the whole nation.

Perhaps the arbitrary exertions of prerogative, which Henry's neceſſities obliged him to practice, and which were uniformly continued by all his ſucceſſors, till the laſt century, ſhould not be conſidered as violations of the great charter. The parliament often refuſed him ſupplies, and ſometimes in a rude and indecent manner; the neceſſities of the ſtate therefore forced him to have recourſe to meaſures which neceſſity only could juſtify: he obliged his opulent ſubjects, particularly the citizens of London, to grant him loans of money; and it is natural to imagine, that the ſame want of œconomy, which reduced him to the neceſſity of borrowing, would prevent him from being very punctual in the payment. He alſo demanded benevolences or pretended voluntary contributions from his nobility and prelates. He was the firſt king of England ſince the conqueſt, who could properly be ſaid to lye under the reſtraint of law; and he was alſo the firſt who practiſed the diſpenſing power, and employed the famous clauſe *non-obſtante* in his grants and patents. When objections were made to the novelty, he replied, that the pope exerciſed that authority, and he thought it prudent to imitate the example. But the abuſe which the pope made of his diſpenſing power, in violating the canons of general councils, in invading the privileges and cuſtoms of all particular churches, and in uſurping on the rights of patrons, was more likely to excite the jealouſy of the people, than to reconcile them to a ſimilar practice in the civil government. Roger de Thurkeſby, one of the king's juſtices. was ſo diſpleaſed with the precedent, that he exclaimeed, "Alas! what times are we fallen "into? Behold the civil court is corrupted in imi-"tation of the eccleſiaſtical, and the river is "poiſoned from that fountain."

A. D. 1248. The truth is, Henry had, for ſome years, ſubſiſted entirely on the revenues of the crown eſtates. Theſe were indeed very large, and amply ſufficient for ſupporting the grandeur and dignity of the crown, could he have been prevailed upon to have kept his expences within any reaſonable bounds: but his prodigality to foreigners ſtill ſubſiſting, forced him once more to the diſagreeable neceſſity of having recourſe to his parliament for a ſupply.

The aſſembly, which met on the 9th of February, was very full: and the profeſſed intention of their meeting was to conſult the beſt methods for redreſſing the grievances of the people; though it was generally underſtood, that the king intended to demand a pecuniary ſupply. He accordingly applied for that purpoſe; but was ſeverely rebuked by the aſſembly, for demanding any aſſiſtance of that kind, after he had ſo often broke his promiſes, openly violated the great charter of their liberties, and refuſed to abandon his deſtructive partiality to foreigners. They alſo accuſed him of diſcouraging commerce, by directing his officers to commit robberies on the merchants; and to extend their oppreſſions to every degree of traders in the kingdom. They added, that by keeping eccleſiaſtical vacancies in his own hands, he defrauded the church; and by not appointing, as his predeceſſors had done, ſuch great officers of ſtate, as were agreeable to the nation, he had broken the oaths and promiſes he had ſo often made to the parliament.

The king, who did not expect ſuch plain language, was greatly confounded, eſpecially as he was conſcious that all theſe allegations were ſtrictly true. He, however, endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the aſſembly by repeated promiſes, that he would, for the future, faithfully obſerve all the articles of the great charter: but the members were too well acquainted with his real ſentiments to be eaſily deceived. They accordingly ſlighted all his aſſeverations, telling him, that they had too often found his promiſes of no effect, ever to truſt to them again: promiſing, however, to comply with every reaſonable requeſt, as ſoon as they were ſenſible of an alteration in his meaſures and conduct. With theſe promiſes the aſſembly was adjourned till Midſummer.

But Henry's diſappointment had exaſperated him ſo highly, that he kept no appearances with the Engliſh. He every day diſcovered greater averſion to their perſons; and ſeemed determined to conquer their obſtinacy by ill treatment. It is therefore reaſonable to imagine, that at the meeting of the parliament, after their adjournment, the members were, if poſſible, leſs inclined to grant the king's requeſt than before. Nor was this ill humour mitigated by the king's ſpeech to the aſſembly. He reproached them for treating him like a ſlave: he expoſtulated on the hardneſs of his condition of being deprived of the privilege enjoyed by every private gentleman, that of chuſing his own ſervants: he reminded them of his own dignity as king of England, and of their

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own ſtation as ſervants: he promiſed, at a proper opportunity, to conſider and redreſs all their real grievances: and concluded, with expatiating on the prudence, as well as juſtice, of their furniſhing him with ſupplies for recovering his patrimonial dominions in France.

But all his rhetoric was ſpent in vain. The king, by trifling with his former oaths and promiſes, had forfeited the eſteem of his people; his character was without dignity, and his power without authority. The parliament conſidered him in this diſgraceful light, and treated him accordingly. They plainly told the king, that they would no longer, on ſpecious but falſe pretences, impoveriſh themſelves for the emolument of ſtrangers; and put him in mind of his contemptible and diſgraceful behaviour, during his laſt expedition into Poictou and Gaſcony.

Henry finding it in vain to labour any longer in removing this ſpirit of oppoſition, diſſolved the parliament. But his finances were reduced ſo low, that he was obliged to exchange his family jewels and plate for bullion. But it is neceſſary to obſerve, that, this diſtreſsful ſituation of Henry's affairs was, entirely owing to his own miſmanagement. The actual revenues of the crown at that time, independent of all the gifts or ſupplies from the public, amounted to upwards of eight hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, of our preſent money, after all charges for collection were deducted. This enormous ſum was wholly applied to the maintenance of the king's houſehold. His troops coſt him nothing, as they took the field in virtue of their feudal tenures. His family was yet too young to be a burden to his revenue; and his officers of ſtate were paid either by the fees annexed to their poſts, or by the public. How inſatiable then muſt his foreign favourites have been, when this immenſe treaſure was not ſufficient to ſatisfy them!

After Henry had ſold his plate and jewels, he aſked who had been the purchaſers? It was replied, the citizens of London. "On my word, (replied "the king) if the treaſury of Auguſtus could be "brought to market, the citizens of London are "able to be the purchaſers: Theſe clowns, who "aſſume to themſelves the name of barons, abound "in every thing, while we are reduced to the ut-"moſt neceſſity." And he was ſo firmly perſuaded of the opulence of London, that he took every opportunity of fleecing the citizens.

Notwithſtanding the pernicious correſpondence between the courts of England and Rome, was now much leſs than formerly, yet, the pope's oppreſſions, levied on both the clergy and people, were as great as ever. Ethelmar, the king's uterine brother, had been bred to the church, and was, now, a riſing favourite at the court. Henry's intention was, to place him at the head of the Engliſh church; but the pope prevented him in this deſign, by beſtowing the greater dignities, as they became vacant, on his own countrymen. Nor was this the only mortification which Henry now received from this haughty prelate; for Lewis, king of France, having, about this time, embarked on his expedition againſt the Infidels in the Holy Land, was apprehenſive leſt the court of England ſhould take advantage of his abſence, by invading his territories. The approaching period of the truce concluded between the two nations, heightened this apprehenſion; and he was obliged to have recourſe to the friendſhip of the pope for the peace and ſafety of his dominions. His holineſs accordingly admoniſhed Henry in private, that he ſhould not, under the pain of excommunication, invade the dominions of France, during the abſence of Lewis. An approaching rupture with France was, however, made uſe of as a pretence for raiſing farther contributions on the people.

A. D. 1249. Early in the ſpring, Henry declared his intentions of invading France for the recovery of his patrimonial dominions, and demanded a ſupply for that purpoſe. But the many rebukes and refuſals he had met with from his parliament determined him to have recourſe to other methods; and accordingly he firſt demanded a ſupply from the city of London, by way of new-year's gift. This was granted, and amounted to a very conſiderable ſum; but was far from being ſufficient to ſupply the craving neceſſities of Henry's court. He afterwards cloſeted the principal and richeſt of his ſubjects ſeparately; laid before them his neceſſities; preſſed them for money; and promiſed to reimburſe them out of the eſtates he hoped to recover in France. By this means a farther ſupply was obtained, but ſtill far ſhort of what his rapacious favourites demanded. The bad œconomy of the court had indeed rendered the whole country a ſcene of rapine and robbery. The neceſſities of Henry's affairs had long kept his guards and menial ſervants without pay; this obliged numbers of them to have recourſe to robbery for ſubſiſtance; ſo that the roads were infeſted with highwaymen in royal liveries. Many of them were apprehended, and about thirty executed.

A. D. 1250. Notwithſtanding the many fatal examples of impracticable cruſades, and fatal expeditions to Paleſtine, that pernicious ſpirit ſtill prevailed in Europe. Lewis, king of France, had now acquired great reputation by his ſucceſſes againſt the Saracens: he had taken the city of Damiata in Egypt, and had a fair proſpect of extending his conqueſts to the Holy Land; when the pope, tho' the patron of all the cruſades, found means to ſacrifice that prince, and his whole army, to his own private revenge and reſentment. His quarrel with Frederic the emperor of Germany and his family, made that haughty prelate conſider them as more dangerous enemies than the Turk or Saracen; he therefore publiſhed a cruſade againſt the emperor, in the ſame terms, and with the ſame pains and penalties annexed, as were commonly uſed in cruſades againſt the Infidels. This not only diſconcerted, but ruined all the ſchemes of the French cruſaders: their army was ſoon after defeated in Egypt, and Lewis himſelf, and his two brothers, were taken priſoners. As the firſt ſucceſs of that prince had raiſed the expectations of the French to the higheſt pitch, ſo this reverſe of fortune ſunk them in proportion. The firſt emotions of their reſentment againſt the authors of this fatal event, were levelled at the pope, whom they blamed for preventing the Engliſh and others from following Lewis, whoſe army, had not that prelate interpoſed, would have received ſuch powerful reinforcements, as muſt have rendered it victorious over the Infidels. The French court were ſo thoroughly perſuaded of this, that the earls of Poictou and Province, brothers to Lewis, came to Lyons, and upbraided the pope to his face, for betraying their brother: They even threatened the ſafety of his perſon, if he continued

ſhued any longer in France. Conſcious how ſhamefully he had behaved in this affair, the pontiff became apprehenſive of his own ſafety. He therefore applied to Henry for leave to reſide at Bourdeaux. In the mean time the queen mother, regent of France, acted with more prudence and moderation. Penetrated with the ſincereſt concern for her ſon's deliverance, ſhe ſoothed and encouraged, inſtead of exaſperating and intimidating the pope. She begged him to uſe all his credit and authority for haſtening the expedition of the other European cruſaders, that if the methods of negotiation ſhould prove abortive, thoſe of force might prevail, for the delivery of her ſon. The pope, pleaſed with the proſpect of ſaving at once his reputation, and inſuring his own ſafety, granted her requeſt. He wrote the moſt preſſing letters to all the courts of Europe, requeſting them to haſten their preparations, and to all the prelates and nobility of France, who had already taken the croſs, tho' they had not yet carried their vows into execution. But being ſtill afraid of the reſentment of the emperor on one hand, and that of the French princes and nobility on the other, he again preſſed Henry for leave to reſide at Bourdeaux. This requeſt laid the court of England under great difficulties. The truce had been lately renewed with France, and affairs were not ſo well ſettled in Gaſcony and Henry's other dominions, but the leaſt ſpark was ſufficient to raiſe the flames of inteſtine diſcord and civil war. On the other hand, the emperor continued the determined and inveterate enemy of the pope, and had often hinted, that he ſhould conſider any power, as his mortal enemy, who ſhould eſpouſe the pontiff's intereſt. But there was ſtill a ſource of greater uneaſineſs to Henry. The pope had often hinted his deſire of paying a viſit in perſon to the Engliſh, from whom he derived ſo conſiderable a part of his revenues. The paſſage between Bourdeaux and England was, at once, both open and eaſy, and Henry was ſufficiently ſenſible of the fatal conſequences that muſt attend his own authority and his people's tranquillity, ſhould the pope ever ſet his foot in this kingdom, Henry therefore, upon mature deliberation, told his holineſs, That the requeſt was of ſuch a nature, as demanded a more attentive conſideration; and the death of the emperor, which ſoon after happened, together with the meaſures purſued by the court of France, delivered him from all his uneaſineſs.

A. D. 1251. Henry's neceſſities, which ſtill continued as preſſing as ever, were, in ſome reſpects, uſeful to his ſubjects, who, notwithſtanding all the ſcandalous exactions of both the king and the pope, carried on a very extenſive and advantageous trade during this long interval of peace, while the reſt of Europe was either torn in pieces by domeſtic broils, or involved in mad unavailing cruſades. The city of London, in particular, profitted by this extenſive commerce, and the citizens this year purchaſed, for five hundred marks, the privilege of having their mayor ſworn into his office before the barons of the exchequer, and not before the king in perſon. Henry alſo confirmed a-new all their rights and privileges; and the citizens, in return, ſwore an eventual allegiance to prince Edward.

A. D. 1252. But notwithſtanding theſe advantages derived by a few individuals from commerce, the kingdom was become a ſcene of civil rapine; the foreign favourites of the king gave a looſe to their extortions, which they extended even to cruelty; and what was ſtill worſe, the people ſeemed callous to the injuries and inſolence of theſe ſtrangers, and public ſpirit ſeemed to be entirely baniſhed from among the great. Even ſome of the firſt nobility countenanced thoſe foreign robberies; while the Gaſcons and Poictovins made a merit of ſcoffing at the laws of England, from which they inſolently pleaded exemption. It ſhould, however, be remembered, that the king was not only under the immediate protection of the ſee of Rome, but had alſo, under pretence of the cruſade he had undertaken, found means to collect a conſiderable army. This, together with the anathemas fulminated againſt all thoſe who ſhould dare to diſturb the peace of a king who had taken up the croſs, was ſufficient to ſtifle all civil commotions, and to leave the foreigners at liberty to indulge themſelves in the exerciſe of rapine, as being protected by the king's favour.

The biſhop of Lincoln, the perpetual oppoſer of courtly and papal exactions, now ordered another eſtimate to be made of the revenues enjoyed by foreign clergymen in England; and they were found to amount to ſeventy thouſand marks a year; ſo immenſely had they been increaſed ſince the laſt review of the ſame kind. But eccleſiaſtical abuſes were not confined to foreigners only; for one John Manſel, a favourite of the king, had engroſſed the revenues of no leſs than ſeven hundred preferments at one time, and enjoyed an income of four thouſand marks a year.

A. D. 1253. The king now thought proper to call a parliament, which accordingly met fifteen days after Eaſter, when the king laid before the aſſembly his wants, and earneſtly requeſted them to give him their advice concerning the perplexing ſtate of the kingdom. The meeting was very full, and upon the king's demanding a ſum of money to ſupply his army while he was engaged in his intended expedition to the Holy Land, many debates aroſe, and very ſevere ſpeeches were made by ſeveral of the members. "What reaſon is there, "(ſaid they) for a prince who was never trained up "in the martial exerciſes of the field, who never "managed a horſe, nor drew a ſword, nor charged "a ſtaff, nor ſhook a target, to hope for victory "over the Saracens, whom even the cavalry of "France attacked in vain? Or why ſhould he "dream of recovering kingdoms in the eaſtern part "of the world, who was unable to keep his patrimonial dominions, tho' ſituated on the borders of "his own kingdom?" At laſt a committee was choſen from among the ſpiritual peers, conſiſting of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of Carliſle, Wincheſter, and Saliſbury, to treat with the king, and, if poſſible, to perſuade him to fulfil his repeated and ſolemn oaths, in ſuffering the church to enjoy her privileges, eſpecially in matters of election; and, at the ſame time, to aſſure him, that if their late grievances were redreſſed, according to the tenor of the great charter, they would endeavour to gratify the king's demands. Henry received the deputies with an affected humiliation; he profeſſed repentance; promiſed amendment; and exhorted the prelates, who had all of them been elected by ſtretches of the royal prerogative, to imitate his example. This deputation had very little effect on the aſſembly; as it was eaſy to perceive from the king's behaviour, that he was in no

very ſerious humour. But at laſt, after fifteen days debate and negotiation, he found means to perſuade the parliament ſo effectually of his ſincerity, that they granted him a ſupply, conſiſting of a tenth part of all eccleſiaſtical revenues, and a ſcutage of three marks on every knight's fee, to be paid as ſoon as he ſhould embark with his army for the Holy Land. The king, on his part, promiſed, without any mental reſervation or cavil, to obſerve inviolably the great charter in all its articles. He alſo confirmed this promiſe by the moſt ſolemn oaths, and repeated aſſeverations.

But where neither piety nor juſtice ſubſiſt, as they did not in the breaſt of Henry, the moſt ſacred obligations are of no effect. The king had no ſooner obtained his requeſt from the parliament, than he again threw himſelf into the arms of his foreign favourites; and theſe ſuggeſted to him, that he was no longer king; that his royalty in England was now nothing more than a ſhadow; and that he had done a thing which his father had died to avoid. They therefore adviſed him to offer the pope a ſum of money in order to obtain an abſolution from his oath; laying before him, at the ſame time, the vaſt advantages which would follow on his being releaſed from ſuch diſgraceful conditions. And Henry determined to follow their advice as ſoon as his affairs would permit.

In the mean time he ſummoned all his military tenants to meet him at Portſmouth, where a thouſand ſail of tranſports were ready to receive them. The late reconciliation between the king and his parliament brought together a fine army; but it was ſome time before Henry reached Bourdeaux, where the citizens, as well as many other inhabitants of Gaſcony, continued ſtill in his intereſt. The other inhabitants of that province were ſoon after reduced to their duty; and Henry, after laviſhing the ſupplies that had been granted him, prepared to return to England, without having performed a ſingle act relating to the avowed motive of the expedition, which was the deliverance of the king of France. That monarch, after a captivity, in which his behaviour and firmneſs did him more honour than conqueſt has done others, was obliged to deliver up Damiata, which he had taken, beſides paying a large ranſom for his own liberty, and that of his two brothers, and the other Chriſtian captives. After this he ſpent ſome time in Paleſtine, and then returned to France, where he had an interview with Henry.

A. D. 1255. But however expenſive this pretended expedition for the delivery of Lewis might be to the nation, the pope now found means of embarking Henry in an enterprize of far greater conſequence to England. This was an attempt to conquer part of the kingdom of Naples, or, as it was then called, Sicily on this ſide the Faro, an affair which threw diſgrace upon the king, and involved him, during ſome years, in great trouble and expence. The Romiſh church, taking advantage of favourable incidents, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the ſame ſtate of vaſſallage, which ſhe pretended to extend over England, and which, by reaſon of the diſtance, as well as high ſpirit of this latter kingdom, ſhe was not able to maintain. After the death of the emperor, Frederic the ſecond, the ſucceſſion of Sicily devolved to Conrad, grandſon to that monarch; and Mainfroy, his natural ſon, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the infancy of the prince, had formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing his own authority. Pope Innocent the fourth, who had carried on a violent war againſt the emperor, Frederic, and endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs him of all his dominions in Italy, ſtill continued hoſtilities againſt his grandſon; but being diſappointed in all his ſchemes by the diligence and activity of Mainfroy, he found that his own force alone was not ſufficient to bring ſo great an undertaking to an happy iſſue. He pretended to diſpoſe of the Sicillian crown, both as ſuperior lord of that particular kingdom, and as vicar of Chriſt, to whom all the kingdoms of the earth were ſubjected; and he made a tender of it to Richard earl of Cornwall, whoſe immenſe riches, he flattered himſelf, would be ſufficient to ſupport the military operations againſt Mainfroy. But as Richard had the prudence to refuſe the preſent, his holineſs applied to the king, whoſe levity and thoughtleſs diſpoſition gave him more hopes of ſucceſs; he offered him the crown of Sicily for his ſecond ſon, Edmund. Henry, allured by ſo magnificent a gift, without reflecting on the conſequences, without conſulting either with his brother or the parliament, accepted this inſidious propoſal; and gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever ſums he thought neceſſary for completing the conqueſt of Sicily. Innocent, who was engaged by his own intereſt to continue the war againſt Mainfroy, was glad to carry it on at the expence of his ally: Alexander the fourth, who ſucceeded him on the papal throne, purſued the ſame policy: and Henry was ſurprized to find himſelf involved in an immenſe debt, which he had never been conſulted in contracting. The ſum already amounted to one hundred thirty-five thouſand, five hundred and forty-one marks, beſides intereſt; and, if he anſwered this demand, he had only the melancholy proſpect of being ſoon loaded with more exorbitant expences; if he refuſed payment, he was ſure of incurring the pope's diſpleaſure, and loſing the crown of Sicily, which he hoped ſoon to have the glory of fixing on the head of his ſon.

In this dilemma he applied to the parliament for a ſupply; and in order to ſecure himſelf from meeting with the uſual oppoſition, he omitted ſending ſummons to the more refractory barons: but even thoſe who were ſummoned, ſenſible of the ridiculous cheat impoſed by the pope, determined not to laviſh their money in ſuch chimerical projects; and making a pretence of the abſence of their brethren, refuſed to take the king's demands into conſideration. Reduced to this extremity, he had no other reſource than the clergy; and as both their temporal and ſpiritual ſovereign concurred in laying on the burden, they were little able to defend themſelves againſt this united authority.

The pope now publiſhed a cruſade for the conqueſt of Sicily; and required every perſon who had taken the croſs againſt the Infidels, or had vowed to advance money for their enterprize, to turn their arms againſt Mainfroy, a more terrible enemy to the chriſtian faith than any Saracen. He levied a tenth on all eccleſiaſtical benefices in England for three years; and gave orders to excommunicate all biſhops, who ſhould fail in making punctual payments. He granted to the king, the goods of inteſtate clergymen; the revenues of vacant benefices; and the incomes of all non-reſidents. But theſe taxations, being levied by ſome rule, were conſidered as

as leſs grievious than another arbitrary impoſition, which aroſe from a ſuggeſtion of the biſhop of Hereford, and which might have opened a door to endleſs and intolerable abuſes.

That prelate, who reſided at the court of Rome, by a deputation from the Engliſh church, drew bills of different values, but amounting in the whole to one hundred and fifty thouſand five hundred and forty marks, on all the biſhops and abbots of the kingdom; and granted theſe bills to Italian merchants, who, it was pretended, had advanced money for the ſervice of the war againſt Mainfroy. As there was no likelihood of the Engliſh prelates ſubmitting, without compulſion, to ſuch an extraordinary demand, Ruſtand, the pope's legate, was charged with the office of employing his authority for that purpoſe: and he accordingly ſummoned an aſſembly of the biſhops and abbots, whom he acquainted with the pope's and the king's pleaſure. It is much more eaſy to imagine than to deſcribe the ſurprize and indignation of the aſſembly at this impoſition: the biſhop of Worceſter exclaimed, that he would ſooner loſe his life than comply: the biſhop of London ſaid, that the pope and the king were more powerful than he; but if the mitre was taken off his head, he would ſupply its place with a helmet. On the other hand, the legate was no leſs violent; and told the aſſembly, in plain terms, that all eccleſiaſtical benefices were the pope's, and he might diſpoſe of them either in whole or in part, as he thought proper. At laſt the biſhops and abbots being threatened with excommunication, in which caſe all their revenues would fall into the king's hands, were forced to comply with this ſhameful and extravagant demand: and the only mitigation allowed them by the legate was, that the tenths already granted, ſhould be accepted as a partial payment of the bills. But even this ſupply was inſufficient for the pope's purpoſe: the conqueſt of Sicily was, as remote as ever: the demands which came from Rome were endleſs: pope Alexander became ſo urgent a creditor, that he ſent over a legate into England; threatening the kingdom with an interdict, and the king with excommunication, if the arrears, which he pretended to be due to him, were not inſtantly remitted. This imperious demand opened the eyes of Henry; he now became ſenſible of the cheat, began to think of breaking off the agreement, and of reſigning that crown, which was never intended by Alexander, for him or any of his family. The earl of Cornwall had now reaſon to value himſelf on his foreſight in refuſing the fradulent bargain with Rome, and in prefering the ſolid honour of a powerful and opulent prince of the blood in England, before the empty and precarious glory of a foreign dignity. But he had not always firmneſs ſufficient to adhere to this reſolution. His vanity and ambition prevailed at laſt over his prudence and his avarice, and he was engaged in an enterprize equally expenſive and vexatious as that of his brother, and not attended with much greater probability of ſucceſs.

The immenſe opulence of Richard having made the German princes caſt their eyes on him as a candidate for the empire, he was tempted to expend vaſt ſums of money on his election, and ſucceeded ſo far as to be choſen king of the Romans, which ſeemed to render his ſucceſſion to the imperial throne infallible. He went even into Germany, and carried out of the kingdom no leſs a ſum than ſeven hundred thouſand marks, if we may believe the account of ſome ancient authors, which is probably much exaggerated. His money, while it laſted, procured him friends and partizans; but it was ſoon drained from him by the rapacity of the German princes; and having no perſonal or family connections in that country; no ſolid foundation of power, he found, at laſt, that he had laviſhed away the frugality of a whole life in order to ſecure a ſplendid title; and that his abſence from England, joined to the weakneſs of his brother's government, gave reins to the factious and turbulent diſpoſitions of the Engliſh barons, and involved his own country and family in infinite calamities.

A.D. 1258. In the mean time the numberleſs imprudent meaſures purſued by Henry afforded a pretence to Simon Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, to attempt an innovation in the government, and to wreſt the ſceptre from the feeble and irreſolute hand which held it. This nobleman was a younger ſon of that Simon Mountfort, who had conducted, with ſuch valour and renown, the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, and who, though he had tarniſhed his famous exploits by cruelty and extortion, had left a name very precious to all the bigots of that age, particularly to the eccleſiaſtics. A large inheritance in England fell by ſucceſſion to this family; but as the elder brother enjoyed ſtill more opulent poſſeſſions in France, and could not perform fealty to two maſters, he transferred his right to Simon his younger brother, who came over into England, did homage for his lands, and was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Leiceſter. In the year 1238, he married Eleanor, dowager of William earl of Pembroke, and ſiſter to the king; but the marriage of this princeſs with a ſubject and a foreigner, though concluded with Henry's conſent, was loudly complained of by the earl of Cornwall, and all the barons of England; and Leiceſter was ſupported againſt their violence entirely by the king's favour and authority. But he had no ſooner eſtabliſhed himſelf in his poſſeſſions and dignities, than he acquired, by inſinuation and addreſs, a ſtrong intereſt with the nation, and gained equally the affections of all orders of men. He loſt, however, the friendſhip of Henry, from the uſual levity and fickleneſs of that prince: he was baniſhed the court: he was recalled: he was intruſted with the command of Guienne, where he did good ſervice and acquired honour: he was again diſgraced by the king, and his baniſhment from the court ſeemed now final and irrevocable. Henry called him a traitor to his face; Leiceſter gave him the lie; and told him that if he were not his ſovereign, he would ſoon make him repent of that inſult. This quarrel was, however, accommodated, either through the good nature or timidity of the king; and Leiceſter was again admitted into ſome degree of favour and authority. But as this nobleman was become too great to preſerve an entire complacency to Henry's humours, and to act in ſubſerviency to his other minions, he found more advantage in cultivating his intereſt with the public, and in inflaming the general diſcontent, which prevailed againſt the adminiſtration. He filled every place with complaints againſt the infringement of the great charter; the violences committed on the people; the combination between the pope and the king in their tyranny and extortion; Henry's neglect of his native ſubjects and barons; and, tho' himſelf a foreigner, he was more loud

loud than any in repreſenting the indignity of ſubmitting to the dominion of foreigners. By his hypocritical pretenſions to devotion, he gained the favour of the zealots and clergy; by his ſeeming concern for the public good, he acquired the affections of the public; and beſides the private friendſhips which he had cultivated with the barons, his animoſity againſt the favourites, bred an union of intereſts between him and that powerful order.

Soon after a quarrel, which broke out between Leiceſter and William de Valence, Henry's half brother and chief favourite, brought matters to extremity, and determined the former to give full ſcope to his bold and unbounded ambition, which the laws and the king's authority had hitherto with difficulty reſtrained. He ſecretly called a meeting of the moſt conſiderable barons, particularly Humphrey de Bohun, high conſtable, Roger Bigod, earl Mareſchal, and the earls of Warwick and Gloceſter; men, who, by their families and poſſeſſions, ſtood in the firſt rank of the Engliſh nobility. He repreſented to this company, the neceſſity of reforming the ſtate, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands, than thoſe which had hitherto appeared, from repeated experience, ſo unfit for the charge, with which they were intruſted. He exaggerated the apprehenſions of the lower orders of the ſtate; the violations of the barons privileges; the continued plunder of the clergy; and, in order to aggravate the enormity of this conduct, he appealed to the great charter, which Henry had ſo often ratified, and which was calculated to prevent for ever the return of theſe intolerable grievances: he magnified the generoſity of their anceſtors, who, at an infinite expence of blood, had extorted that famous conceſſion from the crown: but lamented their own degeneracy, who allowed ſo great an advantage once obtained, to be wreſted from them by a weak prince, aſſiſted by inſolent ſtrangers: and he inſiſted, that the king's word, after ſo many ſubmiſſions and fruitleſs promiſes on his part, could no longer be relied on; and that nothing but his abſolute inability to violate national privileges, could henceforth inſure their regular obſervance.

Theſe topics, which were founded in truth, and ſo well ſuited to the ſentiments of the company, had the deſired effect. The barons entered into a reſolution of redreſſing the public grievances, by taking into their own hands, the adminiſtration of the government.

The king having ſummoned a parliament, in expectation of receiving ſupplies for his Sicilian project, the barons appeared in the hall, clad in compleat armour, and with their ſwords by their ſides. And the king, on his entry, ſtruck with this unuſual appearance, aſked them what was the meaning, and whether they intended to make him their priſoner? Roger Bigod replied, in the name of the reſt, That he was not their priſoner, but their ſovereign; that they even intended to grant him large ſupplies, in order to fix his ſon on the throne of Sicily; that they only expected ſome return for this expence and ſervice: and that, as he had frequently made ſubmiſſions to the parliament; had acknowledged his paſt errors, and had ſtill allowed himſelf to be carried into the ſame path, which gave them juſt reaſon of complaint; he muſt now ſubmit to more ſtrict regulations, and confer authority on thoſe who were able and willing to redreſs the grievances of the public. Henry, partly allured by the hopes of ſupply, partly intimidated by the union and martial appearance of the barons, agreed to their demand; and promiſed to ſummon another parliament at Oxford, in order to digeſt the new plan of government, and to elect the perſons who were to be intruſted with the principal authority.

This parliament, which the royaliſts, and even the nation, from the experience of the confuſion that attended its meaſures, afterwards called the *Mad Parliament*, met on the day appointed; and as all the barons brought with them their military vaſſals, and appeared with an armed force, the king, who had taken no precautions againſt them, was, in reality, a priſoner in their hands, and obliged to ſubmit to all the terms they were pleaſed to impoſe upon him. Twelve barons were ſelected from the king's council, twelve more were choſen by parliament: to theſe twenty-four, unlimited authority was granted to reform the ſtate; the king himſelf, taking an oath, that he would maintain whatever ordinances they ſhould think proper to enact for that purpoſe. Leiceſter was at the head of this ſupreme council, to which the legiſlative power was thus, in reality, transferred, and all their meaſures were directed by his ſecret influence and direction.

Their firſt ſtep bore a ſpecious appearance, and ſeemed well calculated for the intention, which they profeſſed to be the end of all theſe innovations. They ordered that four knights ſhould be choſen by each county; that they ſhould make enquiry into the grievances of which their neigbourhood had reaſon to complain, and ſhould attend the next enſuing parliament, in order to give information to that aſſembly, of the ſtate of their reſpective counties. A nearer approach to our preſent conſtitution had been made by the barons in the reign of king John, when the knights were only appointed to meet in their counties, and there to draw up a detail of their grievances. Mean while the twenty-four barons proceeded to enact ſome regulations, in order to provide a redreſs for ſuch grievances as were ſuppoſed to be notorrious to all the world. They ordered that three ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be regularly held every a year, in the months of, February, June, and October; that a new ſheriff ſhould be annually elected by the votes of the freeholders in each county; that the ſheriffs ſhould have no power of fining the barons who did not attend at their courts, or the circuits of the juſticiary; that no heirs ſhould be committed to the wardſhip of foreigners; nor any caſtles intruſted to their cuſtody; and that no new warrens or foreſts ſhould be created, nor the revenues of any county or hundred be let to farm. Such were the regulations which the twenty-four barons enacted at Oxford, for the redreſs of public grievances.

But the earl of Leiceſter and his aſſociates, having advanced ſo far to ſatisfy the nation, inſtead of continuing to purſue theſe popular meaſures, or granting the king that ſupply they had promiſed, immediately made proviſion for the extenſion and continuance of their own exorbitant authority. They rouzed a-freſh the popular clamour, which had long prevailed againſt foreigners, and fell, with the utmoſt violence, on the king's half-brother, who was ſuppoſed to be the author of all the national grievances, and whom Henry had no longer any power to protect.

protect. The four brothers, ſenſible of their danger, fled from court, with an intention of making their eſcape out of the kingdom; but they were eagerly purſued by the barons. Aymer, one of the brothers, who had been elected to the ſee of Wincheſter, took ſhelter in his epiſcopal palace, carrying the others with him. They were ſurrounded in that place, and threatened to be dragged out by force, in order to receive the puniſhment due to their crimes and miſdemeanors; and the king, pleading the ſacredneſs of an eccleſiaſtical ſanctuary, was glad to extricate them from this danger, by baniſhing them from the kingdom. In this act of violence, as well as in the former uſurpation of the barons, the queen and her uncles were thought to have ſecretly concurred, being jealous of the credit acquired by the brothers, which they imagined had eclipſed and annihilated their own.

But the ſubſequent proceedings of the twenty-four barons, were ſufficient to open the eyes of the whole kingdom, and to prove their intention of reducing, for ever, both the king and the people, under the arbitrary power of a very narrow ariſtocracy, which muſt, at laſt, have terminated either in anarchy, or in a violent uſurpation and tyranny. They pretended, that they had not as yet digeſted all the regulations neceſſary for the reformation of the ſtate, and for the redreſs of grievances; and that they muſt ſtill retain their power till that great purpoſe was thoroughly effected. Or, in other words, that they muſt perpetually govern, and muſt continue to reform, till they were pleaſed to give up their authority. They formed an aſſociation among themſelves, and took a ſolemn oath to ſtand by each other with their lives and fortunes: they diſplaced all the chief officers of the crown, the high juſticiary, the chancellor, the treaſurer; and advanced either themſelves or their own creatures in their ſtead: even the offices of the king's houſhold were diſpoſed of at their pleaſure: the cuſtody of all the caſtles were committed to perſons in whom they had reaſon to confide: and the whole power of the ſtate being thus transferred to them, they ventured to impoſe an oath on every individual of the nation, in which the ſubjects were obliged to ſwear, under the penalty of being declared public enemies, that they would obey and execute all the regulations, both known and unknown, of the twenty-four barons, and all this for the greater glory of God, the honour of the church, the ſervice of the king, and the advantage of the kingdom. No one dared to withſtand this tyrannical authority: prince Edward himſelf, the king's eldeſt ſon, a youth of eighteen years of age, who now began to give indications of that great and manly ſpirit, which appeared through the whole courſe of his life, was, after making ſome oppoſition, obliged to take that oath, which really depoſed him and his family from the ſovereign authority. Earl Warrenne was the laſt perſon in the kingdom, who could be brought to give the confederated nobles this mark of ſubmiſſion.

But the twenty-four barons, not content with the uſurpation of the royal power, introduced an innovation in the conſtitution of parliament, which was of the utmoſt importance. They ordained, that the aſſembly ſhould chuſe a committee of twelve perſons, who ſhould, during the interval between the ſeſſions, poſſeſs the authority of the whole parliament, and ſhould, on a ſummons, attend the perſon of the king, in all his motions. And, ſo powerful were theſe barons, that even this regulation was ſubmitted to; the whole government was overthrown, or fixed on new foundations; and the monarchy was totally ſubverted, without it being poſſible for the king to make a ſingle effort in defence of the conſtitution againſt the newly erected government.

About this time an accident happened which diſcovered how much Henry trembled in his heart, at the power of theſe ambitious barons, eſpecially at that uſurped by the earl of Leiceſter. That nobleman reſided at Durham-houſe, when the king was overtaken on the river Thames with a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning. Henry, who was naturally timorous, ordered his watermen to ſet him aſhore at the firſt landing place they could make, which happened to be Durham-ſtairs. The earl, on being informed of the king's landing, ran down to receive him, and found him under all the marks of perturbation, at the danger he had juſt eſcaped. "Why ſhould your majeſty (ſaid Mont-"fort) be afraid, ſince the ſtorm is now over?" Henry anſwered, with a ſerious countenance, "I "own, Mountfort, I am greatly afraid of thunder "and lightning; but, by the head of God, I fear "thee more than all the thunder and lightning in "the univerſe." The earl anſwered this rebuke by ſaying, that it was both unjuſt and incredible that he ſhould fear him, who had been always a firm friend to his crown and kingdom; adding, that he ought to fear only plunderers and liars, becauſe theſe alone were his real enemies. This incident gives us a lively picture of Henry's ſituation of mind, at a juncture when all his flatterers and foreign favourites had been driven out of the kingdom; and the barons very careful to prevent their return, leſt they ſhould prevail upon the king to oppoſe their meaſures. But their greateſt apprehenſions aroſe from the biſhop of Wincheſter. They knew the effect his repreſentations might have at the court of Rome, and therefore cauſed a letter to be written to the pope, explaining the reaſons on which their conduct was founded. But not thinking this remonſtrance ſufficient, four knights were ſent as commiſſioners to his holineſs, with orders to oppoſe the biſhop and his brothers at the Roman court, and to lay before the pope a long catalogue of the crimes they had committed, ſome of which were ſhocking to humanity. This violent ſpirit in the barons, determined Mr. Helot, the pope's agent in England, to withdraw from the kingdom till the violence of the ſtorm was abated.

A. D. 1259. In the mean time, the great intereſt the king of the Romans enjoyed in England, would not ſuffer him to be a ſilent ſpectator of the late fundamental alteration of the Engliſh monarchy and conſtitution. He accordingly declared his intentions of ſpeedily viſiting his native kingdom, and loudly diſclaimed all that had been done by the intrigues of the barons. Had not Henry been of ſo abject a ſpirit, and ſo entirely governed by his own ſubjects, this prince's reſentment might have rendered all the ambitious ſchemes of the turbulent barons abortive; for the parliament being acquainted with his intentions, and dreading the effects of his reſentment, and the conſequence of their own diviſions, ſhould he land in England, and oppoſe their tyranny, entered into very ſerious deliberations on the moſt proper methods to divert him from his purpoſe. Accordingly, the biſhop of Worceſter, John Man-

ſel, and other commiſſioners, were ordered to treat with him, and to learn every thing they could, both with regard to the motives of his journey, and the time he propoſed to ſtay in England. They were likewiſe inſtructed, at all events, to declare, that he could not be admitted into the Engliſh dominions, without previouſly approving of the new model of government, and taking the ſame oath which had been already tendered to the inhabitants.

Theſe propoſitions enraged the king of the Romans to the higheſt degree, and he ſwore, by the throat of God, that he would never accept ſuch ſhameful conditions. On this refuſal, the barons made preparations for reſiſting him as a public enemy; they fitted out a fleet, aſſembled an army, and excited the inveterate prejudices of the people againſt foreigners, from whom they had lately ſuffered ſo many oppreſſions; ſpread a report, that Richard intended to reſtore by force the authority of his exiled brothers, and to violate all the ſecurities provided for public liberty. Theſe precautions had the deſired effect; and the king of the Romans perceiving that any oppoſition would be in vain, was, at laſt, obliged to ſubmit to the terms offered him by the barons.

The kingdom of France, the only ſtate, with which England had any conſiderable intercourſe, was now governed by Lewis IX. a prince of the moſt ſingular character, furniſhed by the records of hiſtory. This monarch united to the mean and abject ſuperſtition of a monk, all the courage and magnanimity of the greateſt hero; and what may be thought ſtill more extraordinary, the juſtice and integrity of the moſt diſintereſted patriot, the mildneſs and humanity of the moſt accompliſhed philoſopher. So far was this prince from taking advantage of the inteſtine diviſions of the Engliſh, or attempting to expel theſe dangerous rivals from the provinces they ſtill poſſeſſed in France, that he had entertained many ſcruples with regard to the forfeiture pronounced againſt the late king of England, expreſſed ſome intention of reſtoring the other provinces, and was prevented from taking ſo imprudent a reſolution, merely by the united remonſtrances of his own barons, who repreſented the extreme danger of ſuch a meaſure; and, what had ſtill a greater influence on Lewis, the juſtice of puniſhing, by a legal ſentence, the felony and barbarity of John. A treaty was now on foot between the courts of France and England; and the plenipotentiaries appointed to manage it, were, the earl of Leiceſter, the earl Mareſchal, and the biſhops of Worceſter and Lincoln; but the three laſt returning ſoon after, the whole was left to the earl of Leiceſter, who, after ſome difficulty, agreed to the terms of a treaty, which he now brought over to England, in order to its being ratified by the new government. The terms of this treaty, might, even in a more proſperous eſtate of the Engliſh affairs, have been conſidered as advantageous to that kingdom. Lewis yielded up ſome territories which had lately been conquered from Poictou and Guienne; he enſured the peaceable poſſeſſion of the latter province to Henry; he agreed to pay that prince a large ſum of money; and he only required that the king ſhould, in return, make a final ceſſion to France of Normandy, and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. This treaty was accordingly ratified by Henry, his two ſons, and two daughters, and by the king of the Romans, and his three ſons. This being performed, the parliament then appointed the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, John Manſel, Peter of Savoy, and Peter Walerand, as plenipotentiaries at the court of France, with full powers to determine all differences between the two nations. Nothing could be more impolitic than to join a perſon of Mountford's principles in this commiſſion. It ſoon appeared, that his views lay much deeper than the immediate redreſs of grievances, according to the tenor of the Oxford conſultations; for tho' he accepted of the commiſſion, and readily agreed to carry over Henry's renunciation to the court of France, yet, he abſolutely refuſed to renounce from himſelf and his heirs. This gave the earl of Glouceſter, and the other aſſociated barons, the firſt hint of that latent ambition which afterwards ſo dangerouſly diſtinguiſhed him. As he had married Henry's ſiſter, it was eaſy to foreſee that he aimed at nothing leſs than the ſucceſſion itſelf; ſince if he really deſired to promote the tranquillity of England, there could be no reaſon for his refuſing to renounce his right in the territories to which he had ſo diſtant a claim, after thoſe who were in the immediate poſſeſſion had ſet him the example. But this was not all; Montford was poſſeſſed of vaſt intereſts in France, eſpecially in the conteſted countries: if therefore, all the royal family, except his wife, had renounced their claims to theſe countries, he was, undoubtedly, the next claimant in right of blood. And where an ambition, ſupported with ſo much intereſt and abilities, as that of Montford might terminate, is not eaſy to ſay. In ſhort, the plenipotentiaries were ſo divided upon this point, that it was found abſolutely neceſſary for Henry himſelf and his family to paſs over into France. He accordingly took a ſolemn leave of the citizens in London, according to the cuſtom that then prevailed; and to quiet the minds of his people, he joined, before his departure, in excommunicating all perſons who ſhould dare to infringe the conſtitutions of Oxford during his abſence.

In the mean time, the barons began gradually to loſe that popularity, which had ſo greatly aſſiſted them in obtaining their exorbitant power; and the people exclaimed againſt the regulations becoming perpetual, which were only eſtabliſhed during the time neceſſary for the reformation of the ſtate, as they ſubverted entirely the ancient conſtitution. They dreaded that the power of the nobles, which was always oppreſſive, would now exert itſelf without controul, by removing the counterpoiſe of the crown; and their apprehenſions were encreaſed by ſome new edicts of the barons, which were plainly calculated to procure to themſelves an impunity in all their violences. They appointed, that the circuits of the itinerant juſtices, the ſole check on their arbitrary conduct, ſhould be held only once in ſeven years; and men eaſily ſaw that a remedy, which returned after ſuch long intervals, againſt an oppreſſive power, which was perpetual, would prove totally inſignificant and uſeleſs. The cry became loud in the nation, that the barons ſhould finiſh their intended regulations. The knights of the ſhires, who ſeem now to have been pretty regularly aſſembled in a ſeparate houſe, made remonſtrances againſt the ſlowneſs of their proceedings; they repreſented, that though the king had performed all the

the conditions required of him, the barons had hitherto done nothing for the public good, and had been only careful to promote their own private advantage, and to commit injury on the crown; and they even appealed to prince Edward, and claimed his interpoſal for the intereſts of the nation, and the reformation of the government. The prince replied that though it was from conſtraint, and contrary to his private ſentiments, he had ſworn to adhere to the proviſions of Oxford, he was determined to obſerve his oath: but he ſent a meſſage to the barons requiring them to bring their undertaking to a ſpeeding concluſion, and fulfil their engagements to the public; otherwiſe he menaced them that at the expence of his life, he would oblige them to do their duty, and would ſhed the laſt drop of his blood in promoting the intereſts and ſatisfying the juſt wiſhes of the nation.

The barons, urged by ſo preſſing a neceſſity, publiſhed at laſt a new code of ordinances for the reformation of the ſtate. But the expectations of the people were extremely diſappointed, when they found that theſe conſiſted only of ſome trivial alterations on the municipal law; and ſtill more ſo when the barons pretended that the taſk was not yet finiſhed, and that they muſt further prolong their authority, in order to bring the work of reformation to the deſired period. The current of popularity was now much turned to the ſide of the crown; and the barons had little more to rely on for their ſupport, beſides the private influence and power of their families, which, though exorbitant, was likely to prove inferior to the combination of king and people. Even this baſis of power was daily weakened by their inteſtine jealouſies and animoſities; their ancient and inveterate quarrels broke out when they came to divide the ſpoils of the crown; and the rivalſhip between the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, the chief leaders among them, began to diſjoint the whole confederacy. The latter, more moderate in his pretenſions, was deſirous of ſtopping or retarding the career of the barons uſurpations; but the former, enraged at the oppoſition he met with in his own party, pretended to throw up all concern in Engliſh affairs; and he retired to France.

A. D. 1261. But the ſituation of Henry changed ſoon after much to his advantage. The twenty-four barons had now enjoyed the ſovereign power near three years; and had viſibly employed it, not for the reformation of the ſtate, which was their firſt pretence, but for the aggrandizement of themſelves and families. The breach of truſt was apparent to all the world; every order of men felt and murmured againſt it; the diſſentions among the barons themſelves, which encreaſed the evil, made alſo the remedy more obvious and eaſy: and the ſecret deſertion in particular of the earl of Glouceſter to the crown, ſeemed to promiſe Henry certain ſucceſs in any attempt to reſume his authority. Yet dared he not to take that ſtep ſo reconcileable both to juſtice and policy, without making a previous application to Rome, and obtaining an abſolution from his oaths and engagements.

The pope was at that time very much diſſatisfied with the conduct of the barons; who, in order to gain the favour of the people and clergy of England, had expelled all the Italian eccleſiaſtics, had confiſcated their benefices, and ſeemed determined to maintain the liberties and privileges of the Engliſh church, in which the rights of patronage belonging to their own families, were alſo included. The extreme animoſity of the Engliſh clergy againſt the Italians, was alſo a ſource of his diſguſt to this order; and an attempt which had been made by them for further liberty and independencey on the civil power, was therefore leſs acceptable to the court of Rome. About the ſame time that the barons at Oxford had annihilated the prerogatives of the monarchy, the clergy met in a ſynod at Merton, and paſſed ſeveral decrees, which were no leſs calculated to promote their own grandeur at the expence of the crown. They decreed, that it was unlawful to try the eccleſiaſtics by ſecular judges; the clergy were not to regard any prohibitions from civil courts; that lay patrons had no right to confer ſpiritual benefices; that the magiſtrate was obliged, without farther enquiry, to impriſon all excommunicated perſons; and that ancient uſage, without any particular grant or charter, was ſufficient authority for any clerical poſſeſſions or privileges. About a century ago, theſe claims would have been ſanctified by the court of Rome beyond the moſt fundamental articles of faith: they were the chief points maintained by the great martyr Becket; and his reſolution in defending them had exalted him to the high ſtation which he held in the catalogue of Romiſh ſaints. But principles were changed with the times. The pope was become ſomewhat jealous of the great independence of the Engliſh church, which made them ſtand leſs in need of his protection, and even emboldened them to reſiſt his authority, and complain of the preference given to the Italian courtiers, whoſe intereſts, it is natural to imagine, were the chief object of his concern. He was ready, therefore, on the king's aplication, to annul theſe new conſtitutions of the church of England. And at the ſame time, he abſolved the king and all his ſubjects from the oath which they had taken to obſerve the proviſions of Oxford.

Prince Edward, whoſe enlarged thoughts, though in ſuch early youth, had taught him the great prejudice which his father had incurred by his levity, inconſtancy, and frequent breach of promiſe, refuſed, for a long time, to take advantage of this abſolution; and declared that the proviſions of Oxford, however unreaſonable in themſelves, and however abuſed by the barons, ought ſtill to be adhered to by thoſe who had ſworn to obſerve them. He himſelf had been conſtrained by violence to take that oath; yet was he determined to keep it. By this ſcrupulous fidelity, the prince acquired the confidence of all parties, and was afterwards enabled to recover fully the royal authority, and to perform ſuch great actions both during his own reign and that of his father.

The ſituation of England, during this period, as well as that of moſt European kingdoms, was ſomewhat peculiar. There was no regular military force maintained in the nation: the ſword was not, however, properly ſpeaking, in the hands of the people: the barons were intruſted entirely with the defence of the community; and after any effort, which they made, either againſt their own prince or againſt foreigners, as the military retainers departed to their own home, the armies were diſſolved, and could not ſpeedily be re-aſſembled at pleaſure. It was eaſy therefore, for a few barons, by a combination, to get the ſtart of the other party, to collect ſuddenly their troops, and to appear unexpectedly

edly in the field with an army, which their antagoniſts, though equal or even ſuperior in power and and intereſt, would not dare to encounter. Hence the ſudden revolutions, which were obſervable in theſe governments. Hence the frequent victories obtained without a blow, by one faction over another. And hence it happened that the ſeeming prevalence of a party, was ſeldom a prognoſtic of its long continuance in power and authority.

A. D. 1262. The king, ſo ſoon as he received the pope's abſolution from his oath, which was accompanied with menaces of excommunication againſt all oppoſers, truſting to the countenance of the church, to the ſupport promiſed him by many conſiderable barons, and to the returning favour of the people, immediately took off the maſk, and after juſtifying his conduct by a proclamation, in which he ſet forth the private ambition, and the breach of truſt conſpicuous in Leiceſter and his aſſociates, declared that he had reſumed the government, and was determined thenceforth to exert the royal authority for the protection of his ſubjects. He removed Hugh le Deſpencer and Nicholas de Ely, the high juſticiary and chancellor appointed by the barons: and put Philip Baſſet and Walter de Merton in their place. He ſubſtituted new ſheriffs in all the counties, men of character and reputation. He placed new governors in moſt of the caſtles. He changed all the officers of his houſhold. He ſummoned a parliament, in which the reſumption of his authority was ratified, with only five diſſenting voices. And the barons, after making one fruitleſs effort to take the king by ſurprize at Winchеſter, were obliged to acquieſce in thoſe new regulations.

A. D. 1263. This acquieſcence diſabled the earl of Leiceſter from making any head againſt Henry this year, which gave the king of the Romans an opportunity of returning to Germany before autumn, and left Henry and his queen at liberty to paſs over to their dominions in France about the ſame time. There he fell violently ill of a quartan ague, which delaying his return, gave Leiceſter encouragement and leiſure to purſue his plan of oppoſition. For that turbulent nobleman had, upon his returning from England, applied either in perſon, or by his agents, to the new pope, who was venal enough to recall the abſolution he had given to Henry from obſerving the proviſions of Oxford.

A parliament was holding at London when he landed in England, which was towards the beginning of October; and Baſſet, the king's juſticiary, preſided in it, as being one of the regents. In the intermediate time the old earl of Glouceſter died; but ſo zealous was he for the conſtitutions of Oxford, that, on his death-bed, he made his ſon ſwear, he would never depart from obſerving and inforcing them. This was a favourable incident for Leiceſter; he appeared in the aſſembly with great aſſurance, and produced the order of revocation from the ſee of Rome. It was in vain for the high juſticiary to oppoſe its being read: Montford's vaſt intereſt bore down all oppoſition, but we do not meet with any great effects it immediately procured, for Leiceſter ſoon after returned to the continent. But Henry being recovered from his diſtemper, came back to England, and this year they ſeem to have kept their Chriſtmas at Canterbury. By this time the young earl of Glouceſter had joined the party of barons, and was upon ſuch good terms with Leiceſter, that they now thought themſelves a match for all Henry's intereſt. They again urged the obſervation of all the Oxford proviſions, which was as loudly refuſed by Henry and his party, who was ſupported by his brother, now returned to England, and his ſon, prince Edward. Theſe, very properly, inſiſted upon the compromiſe which had been made the year before; and Henry went ſo far as to iſſue his writs, commanding, that thenceforth, they ſhould be no longer obſerved throughout this kingdom.

While thoſe tranſactions were paſſing, the Welſh were making a terrible progreſs, on the confidence, that the diviſions of England would prevent all oppoſition. Roger Mortimer, indeed, after his late defeat, had called in the lords marchers to his aſſiſtance, and cut in pieces a body of four or five hundred of the enemy, who ſoon were revenged, not only by killing a like number of the Engliſh, but by making a powerful party with the barons upon their borders, who adhered to the Oxford proviſions, and altogether fell upon the earldom of Cheſter, belonging to prince Edward. There they took the caſtle of Dyſert, and Tyganwy; the laſt, one of the ſtrongeſt on the marches. This obliged the prince to take the field, at the head of the foreigners he brought over, but it was too late for him to prevent a prodigious ravage of the Welſh, who wiſely returning to their faſtneſſes about Snowden, diſappointed all his aims, and obliged him to agree to an inglorious truce.

The king was, at this time, entirely in the hands of John Manſel, an able, though a dangerous, miniſter, and one Walerand, a Fleming, to whom he had given the cuſtody of Dover, and its caſtle, with all the Cinque-ports. This profuſion of favour to an unmeriting foreigner once more alamed the barons, who made it a handle againſt Henry, as if, notwithſtanding all his late declarations, he was reſolved to continue their chief grievance, by encouraging foreigners. Another incident happened at this time, which was highly detrimental to Henry. The ravages of prince Edward's eſtates had diſabled him from paying his foreign mercenaries. They had lately performed a piece of ſervice to the crown, by ſecuring the inhabitants and barons of the Cinque-ports, who were wavering in their fidelity; but being ſtill deſtitute of money, upon his return from thence, he marched to London, where he broke violently into the treaſury of the knights-templars, and carried away to Windſor-caſtle ten thouſand pounds, belonging to different noblemen, and other proprietors. This raiſed him a ſtorm of envy, as the money had been lodged there upon the faith of that treaſury, being an inviolable ſanctuary to the effects of both parties. Thoſe proceedings again turned the ſcale of public affections, which a little while before inclined to Henry, who, though he diſapproved of what his ſon had done, was obliged to keep himſelf within the tower of London.

The city of London, however, remained attached to the barons; and, at Whitſuntide, in purſuance of the powers veſted in them by the Oxford proviſions, a parliament, or rather a great aſſembly, of nobility and others, was held at London. Here the king and the prince were declared guilty of perjury; manifeſtoes were iſſued for raiſing forces; all who refuſed to join them were to be treated as enemies,

enemies, and the earl of Leiceſter was named to command in chief. The woeful experience of civil calamity had inſtructed the more experienced part of the nation, what they might expect from thoſe proceedings: they ſaw the king needy, deſtitute, and ill-adviſed; the barons, bold, determined, and powerful. Some therefore, to prevent their own deſtruction, and others, that they might be ſeviceable in making matters up, at this time, joined the barons. But the leaders of the latter, finding, from the pulſe of the nation, but more eſpecially the city of London, that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to avoid as much as poſſible the imputation of rebellion, and to ſhelter themſelves under the name of conſtitutional reſiſtance, firſt ſent a petition to the king, deſiring him to obſerve the Oxford proviſions, and defying all who oppoſed them; the royal family alone excepted.

This petition being unſucceſsful, the barons immediately took the field; and to make their cauſe the more popular; their firſt fury was ſpent upon the eſtates and perſons of foreigners. Firſt, Peter Egueblank, biſhop of Hereford, was ſeized by Roger de Clifford, Roger Leyburn, and ſome of the moſt active barons in thoſe parts. They next took Gloceſter, Worceſter, and Bridge-north; and then marching to Briſtol, made themſelves maſters of that city, though the caſtle ſtill held out for the king; and then directed their march towards Windſor, which they intended to beſiege.

The king of the Romans, all this time, was acting the part of a good patriot. He had declared himſelf for neither party, thinking, perhaps, that both were in the wrong. He had naturally an averſion to Manſel, and the other miniſters, and therefore his chief aim ſeems to have been to reſcue his brother out of the hands of the foreign and wicked counſellors. When the barons firſt took the field, he followed them from Chippenham to Wallingford, where he had a conference with them, and wrote to his brother, earneſtly begging him to forbear entering into any hoſtilities till he heard farther from him, and prevailed with the barons to deſiſt from the ſame on their part. A plan of accomodation accordingly was drawn out, and ſent by the biſhop of Wincheſter, to William de Mertin, Henry's chancellor, earneſtly recommending it as the moſt ſolid baſis of a peace. But the power of the barons was too unconnected and widely diſperſed, and they themſelves too independent of controul, for them to abſtain from hoſtilities throughout all the kingdom. Their reſentment indeed fell chiefly upon ſtrangers; and all who could not ſpeak Engliſh felt it ſeverely. Manſel, finding his maſter could not protect him, thought it moſt prudent to withdraw out of the kingdom; but he was purſued, even into France, by Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, who was himſelf, by the contrivance of the queen of England, taken priſoner at Boulogne.

But, by the mediation of the king of the Romans, and the moderation of the city of London, Leiceſter, and the principal barons, ſtill kept up a ſhew of conduct and readineſs to accommodate matters. Their main army lay then at Iſleworth, in the neighbourhood of London, with which city they kept cloſe correſpondence. The citizens, on the other hand, applied themſelves to Henry, who continued ſtill in the tower. They laid before him the reaſons why they could not depart from the proviſions at Oxford, nor admit any foreigners within the city. At the ſame time, they preſented a very modeſt petition on the part of Leiceſter, and the chief barons, humbly beſeeching his majeſty to obſerve the proviſions ſo often confirmed by his own oath, and that of the prince; but withal promiſing, if, upon mature inquiry of worthy perſons, thoſe proviſions ſhould appear detrimental to the public good, that they ſhould receive ſuch alterations and amendments, as that all the noxious part ſhould be annulled, and the ſalutary alone preſerved; concluding with a moſt earneſt requeſt, that the kingdom might thenceforth be governed by its native ſubjects, as was the practice in all other nations. The contents of this petition, ſeems to have been built upon the plan, which had been recommended by the biſhop of Worceſter.

Prince Edward was all this time with an army in the field, and had retaken the caſtle of Brecknock, and ſome other important places in the marches of Wales. The north in general, was well affected to the royal cauſe. The Bruces, the Cummins, the Baliols, and the Piercies, were all ready to join Nevill, who was governor of all the provinces north of the Trent; and many other great fortreſſes of the kingdom were defended for Henry by their governors. All theſe conſiderations infatuated him ſo much, that at firſt he rejected the barons petition, which gave them a plauſible handle for continuing their hoſtilities, and obliging the Cinque-ports, both to receive their troops, and the governors to take an oath of fidelity to their cauſe, even until death. This turn in favour of the barons, and the diſtant proſpect of relief, which Henry now had, either from the weſt or the north, diſpoſed the latter to think of an accommodation; tho' it was powerfully oppoſed by the queen and her faction. That princeſs had received perſonal injuries and affronts from the citizens of London, who conſidered her as the principal cauſe of all the preſent troubles, eſpecially as ſhe had now entered into a cloſe correſpondence with her ſon Edward for carrying on the war, without regarding the tranſactions of her huſband. For Henry ſtill remaining cloſely ſhut up in the Tower of London, and the ſtrength of the barons daily increaſing, began to be afraid of the ſafety of his own perſon, and therefore once more ſigned an accommodation with his nobles; but far more diſadvantageous and diſhonourable than what he might have obtained a few weeks before. The terms of this accommodation were, that Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould be ſet at liberty; that the king's caſtles ſhould be put into the hands of the barons; that the conſtitutions of Oxford ſhould be inviolably obſerved; and that all ſtrangers, except ſuch as the well-affected ſhould think proper to indulge, ſhould immediately quit the nation, and never more return. It was eaſy to forſee that theſe diſhonourable conditions had no other tendency then to procure Henry a temporary relief from his preſent difficulties. The earl of Leiceſter, however, ſet out immediately to take the neceſſary meaſures for reſtoring prince Henry to his liberty: and his abſence gave prince Edward a fair opportunity for breaking the accommodation. His mercenaries accordingly made a ſally upon the eſtates of the friends of the barons, lying in the neighbourhood of Windſor, plundering and deſtroying the country, while the prince himſelf marched to throw a reinforcement into the caſtle of Briſtol; but a difference

happening between him and the citizens, who were in the intereſt of the barons, they took up arms, and forcing the prince to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle, made preparations for a general aſſault. Edward being thus in the moſt imminent danger of falling into the enemy's hands, applied to the biſhop of Worceſter, who ſtill acted as a mediator, tho' he remained with the barons. But while the articles for an accommodation were drawing up, Edward found means of eſcaping from the beſiegers, and returned to Windſor. The biſhop complained heavily of this behaviour as an unprincely breach of faith, and had ſoon an opportunity of reſenting it effectually: for the earl of Leiceſter being now returned, he put himſelf at the head of a body of forces, and marched as far as Kingſton, with an intention of beſieging Windſor. Edward being in no condition to reſiſt him, and finding that the nation were unanimouſly determined on the expulſion of foreigners, advanced from Windſor to Kingſton, in order to negotiate an accommodation. The biſhop of Worceſter, perceiving a fair opportunity now offered for revenging the prince's breach of faith at Briſtol, perſuaded the barons, that the ſeizing the prince's perſon, was a lawful repriſal, and accordingly, on his refuſing to agree to the terms offered by the nobles, he found himſelf under an arreſt. In conſequence of this meaſure, the prince was obliged to ſurrender Windſor-caſtle to the barons, diſmiſs his foreign mercenaries, and agree to a reconciliation with the earl of Lieceſter and his party. Hugh d'Eſpenſer was made high juſticiary of England, the earl of Leiceſter high ſteward, and Henry had the mortification of ſeeing his inveterate enemy, Sir Roger de Leyburn, appointed ſteward of his houſhold.

A parliament was now ſummoned, and, in that aſſembly, the conſtitutions of Oxford were confirmed, and the ſtate of foreigners, who were impriſoned, or enjoyed benefices in England, was taken into conſideration. Boniface, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was then in a kind of exile at Boulogne, on account of his being a foreigner; and was not only making inſtances at the court of France againſt the barons; but had alſo excommunicated the two ſons of the earl of Leiceſter, and a ſon of the earl of Hereford, as well as ſeveral others of the barons, who had offered violence to churches, and eccleſiaſtical perſons. The parliament were therefore determined to proceed with ſome ſhew of moderation. The biſhop of Hereford and Matthias de Bezile, governor of Gloceſter, were ſet at liberty, and the eccleſiaſtical depredations ordered to be made good.

In the mean time Edward, having recovered his liberty, exerted all his abilities in the defence of the prerogatives of his family. Nor were his unwearied endeavours in vain: he gained a large party even among thoſe who had firſt adhered, with the greateſt zeal, to the cauſe of the barons. His couſin Henry d'Allmaine, Roger Bigod, earl Mareſchal, earl Warrenne, Humphry Bohun, earl of Hereford, John lord Baſſet, Ralph Baſſet, Hamon l'Eſtrange, Roger Mortimer, Henry de Piercy, Robert de Brus, Roger de Leyburn, with almoſt all the lords marchers, as they were called, on the borders of Wales and Scotland, the moſt warlike parts of the kingdom, declared in favour of the royal cauſe; and hoſtilities, which were ſcarce well compoſed, were renewed in every part of England. The earl of Leiceſter remained at the head of a conſiderable army in London; and prince Edward lay with his forces at Merton. The prince being joined by his father, and his army by that junction rendered ſuperior to that of Mountford, determined to attack the earl; and a deciſive action was every day expected. But the near balance of the parties, joined to the univerſal clamour of the people, obliged the king and barons to open a-new, the negotiations for peace; and it was agreed on both ſides to ſubmit their differences entirely to the arbitration of the king of France.

That virtuous prince, the only man, who, in like circumſtances, could ſafely have been intruſted with ſuch an authority by a neighbouring nation, had never ceaſed to interpoſe his good offices between the Engliſh factions; and had even, during the ſhort interval of peace, invited over to Paris, both the king and the earl of Leiceſter, in order to accommodate the differences between them; but found, that the fears and animoſities on both ſides, as well as the ambition of Leiceſter, were ſo violent, as to render all his endeavours ineffectual. But when this ſolemn appeal, ratified by the oaths and ſubſcriptions of the leaders in each faction, was made to his judgment, he was not diſcouraged from purſuing his honourable purpoſe: he ſummoned the ſtates of France at Amiens; and there, in the preſence of that aſſembly, as well as in that of the king of England and Peter de Mountford, Leiceſter's ſon, he brought this great cauſe to a trial and examination.

A. D. 1264. It appeared to him, that the proviſions of Oxford, even had they not been extorted by force, had they not been ſo exorbitant in their nature and ſubverſive of the antient conſtitution, were expreſsly eſtabliſhed as a temporary expedient, and could not without breach of truſt, be rendered perpetual by the barons. He therefore annulled theſe proviſions; reſtored to the king the poſſeſſions of his caſtles, and the power of nomination to the great offices; allowed him to retain what foreigners he pleaſed in his kingdom, and even to confer on them places of truſt and dignity; and, in a word, re-eſtabliſhed the royal power on the ſame footing, on which it ſtood before the meeting of the famous parliament at Oxford. But while he thus ſuppreſſed dangerous innovations, and preſerved unimpared the prerogatives of the Engliſh crown, he was not negligent of the rights of the people; and, beſides ordering that a general amneſty ſhould be granted for all paſt offences, he declared, that his award was not any wiſe meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties, which the nation enjoyed by any former conceſſions or charters of the crown.

This equitable ſentence was no ſooner known in England, than Leiceſter and his confederates determined to reject it, and to have recourſe to arms, in order to procure to themſelves more ſafe and advantageous conditions from the king. Without regard to his oaths and ſubſcriptions, that enterprizing conſpirator ordered his two ſons, Richard and Peter de Mountford, in conjunction with Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, to attack the city of Worceſter; while Henry and Simon de Mountford, two others of his ſons, aſſiſted by the prince of Wales, were ordered to commit ravages on the eſtate of Roger de Mortimer. He himſelf reſided at London; and employing, as his inſtrument, Fitz-Richard, the ſeditious mayor, who had violently,

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and illegally prolonged his authority, he wrought up that city to the higheſt ferment and agitation. The populace formed themſelves into bands and companies; choſe leaders; practiſed all the military exerciſes; committed violence on all the royaliſts: and to give them greater countenance in their diſorders, an aſſociation was entered into between the city and eighteen great barons, never to make peace with the king but by common conſent and approbation. At the head of thoſe who ſwore to maintain this aſſociation, were, the earls of Leiceſter, Gloceſter, and Derby, with Le Deſpenſer, the chief juſticiary; men, who had all previouſly ſworn to ſubmit to the award of the French monarch. Their only pretence for this breach of faith was, that the latter part of Lewis's ſentence was, as they affirmed, a contradiction to the former: he ratified the charter of liberties, and, at the ſame time, annulled the proviſions of Oxford; which, they maintained, were ſolely calculated to preſerve that charter; and, without which, in their eſtimation, they had no ſecurity for its being obſerved.

A civil war being thus inevitable, the king and prince prepared themſelves for defence: they ſummoned their military vaſſals from all quarters, and being reinforced by Baliol, lord of Gallaway, Brus, lord of Annandale, Henry Piercy, John Cummin, and other barons of the north, they compoſed an army, formidable at once for its number, ſtrength, and experience.

The firſt enterprize of the royaliſts, after they had received this reinforcement, was the attack of Northampton, which was defended by Simon de Mountford, with many of the principal barons of that party: and a breach being made in the walls, by Philip Baſſet, the place was carried by aſſault, and both the governor and garriſon were made priſoners of war.

Having thus reduced Northampton, the royaliſts marched to Leiceſter and Nottingham, both which places opened their gates at the approach of the royal army; and prince Edward proceeded with a detachment into the county of Derby, in order to lay waſte the eſtates of the earl of that name, and take revenge on him for his diſloyalty. The ſame operations of war were performed by both parties, in different parts of England; and the kingdom was, in a moment, plunged into all the horrors of a civil war, and expoſed to greater devaſtations, from the animoſities of the rival barons, than it would have ſuffered for many years of foreign, and even domeſtic hoſtilities, conducted on more humane, and more generous principles.

The ſiege of Rocheſter was undertaken by the earl of Leiceſter, and the operations puſhed with the utmoſt vigour, as being the only place that held out for the king in thoſe parts, and, beſides the earl of Warrenne, the governor, was garriſoned by many noble and powerful barons of Henry's party. This place was therefore of the utmoſt importance to the royal cauſe; and, accordingly, the king and prince haſtened from Nottingham, where they had taken up their quarters, to its relief. At their approach, Leiceſter raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to London, that city being the center of his power, and which he feared, might, in his abſence, fall into the king's hands; eſpecially, as many of the principal citizens were ſecretly inclined to the royal cauſe. As ſoon as he reached the city he muſtered all his forces; and being joined by fifteen thouſand citizens, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to hazard a general battle with the royaliſts, and determine the fate of the nation by one ſingle engagement; which muſt, if it proved ſucceſsful, be deciſive againſt the king; while Leiceſter himſelf, in caſe of any ſiniſter accident, could eaſily take ſhelter in the city.

But in order to give a better colouring to his cauſe, he previouſly ſent a meſſage, with conditions of peace to Henry, ſubmiſſive indeed in the language, tho' exorbitant in the demands. The meſſenger, after delivering the propoſals, was ſent back with the lye, and defiance from the king and and prince, and the king of the Romans. Upon which Leiceſter ſent a ſecond meſſage, renouncing, in the name of himſelf and the aſſociated barons, all fealty and allegiance to Henry. After ſending this meſſage, he marched out of the city with his army, which he divided into four bodies: the firſt was commanded by his two ſons, Henry and Guy de Mountfort, with Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, who had now deſerted the royal party, and joined the aſſociated barons; the ſecond diviſion was led by the earl of Gloceſter, William de Montcheſney and John Fitz-John; the third, compoſed wholly of Londoners, was commanded by Nicholas Seagrave; and the fourth by himſelf in perſon. The biſhop of Chicheſter gave a general abſolution to the army, accompanied with aſſurances, that if any of them fell in the action, they ſhould infallibly be received into heaven, as the reward of their ſuffering in ſo meritorious a cauſe!

Leiceſter, who was an accompliſhed maſter in the art of war, conducted his march with ſo much art and ſecrecy, that he had almoſt ſurprized the royaliſts in their quarters at Lewes in Suſſex: but the activity of prince Edward ſoon repaired this negligence; and he immediately drew up his royal army in three bodies, and led them out to the field of battle. He himſelf, attended by earl Warrenne and William de Valence conducted the van; the main body was commanded by the king of the Romans and his ſon Henry: the king himſelf, with his principal nobility were placed in the rear. Prince Edward ruſhed upon the Londoners, who had demanded the poſt of honour, in leading the rebel army; but who, from their want of diſcipline and experience, were ill qualified to reſiſt the military troops of the prince's diviſion. They were broke in an inſtant: chaſed off the field of battle; and Edward, tranſported by his martial ardour, and eager to revenge the inſolence of the Londoners againſt his mother, put them to the ſword without mercy, ſtrewing the roads for four miles with their dead bodies: without reflecting on the fate which in the mean time, attended the reſt of the army. The earl of Leiceſter perceiving the diſorder and confuſion of the royaliſts, occaſioned by their eagerneſs in the purſuit and plunder, led on his remaining troops againſt the two diviſions of the enemy, commanded by the two royal brothers: he defeated with great ſlaughter the diviſion commanded by the king of the Romans; and that monarch, was obliged to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner to the earl of Glouceſter. In the mean time Leiceſter penetrated to the body where the king himſelf was placed, threw it into diſorder, purſued his advantage with the utmoſt activity, drove the troops into the town of Lewes, and took the king himſelf priſoner.

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On prince Edward's return to the field of battle from the purſuit of the Londoners, he was aſtoniſhed to find it covered with the dead bodies of his friends, and ſtill more to hear that his father and uncle were defeated and taken priſoners, and that Arundel, Cummin, Brus, Hamon, l'Eſtrange, Roger Leyburn, and all the conſiderable barons of his party, were in the hands of the victorious enemy. Earl Warrenne, Hugh Bigod, and William de Valence, ſtruck with deſpair at this event, had recourſe immediately to flight, hurried to Pevenſey, and eſcaped to the coaſt of France. But the prince, intrepid amidſt the greateſt misfortunes, exhorted his troops to revenge the death of their friends, to relieve the royal captives, and to ſnatch an eaſy conqueſt from an enemy, diſordered by their own victory.

But his followers were deaf to the call of honour, and intimidated by their ſituation; while Leiceſter, afraid of a ſudden and violent blow from the intrepid prince, amuſed him with a pretence of a negotiation, till he was able to recall his troops from the purſuit, and to reduce them into order. There now appeared no farther reſource to the royal party; ſurrounded by the army and garriſons of the enemy, deſtitute of forage and proviſions, and deprived of the preſence of their ſovereign as well as of their principal leaders, who could alone animate them to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. The prince was therefore obliged to ſubmit to Leiceſter's terms, which were ſhort and ſevere, properly adapted to the neceſſity of the ſituation. He ſtipulated that the prince and Henry d'Allmain ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, as pledges for the two kings; that all other priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed; and that, in order to ſettle fully the terms of agreement, application ſhould be made to the king of France, that he ſhould name ſix Frenchmen, three of them prelates, and three noblemen: Theſe ſix to chooſe two others of their own country: and theſe two to chooſe one Engliſhman, who, in conjunction with themſelves, were to be inveſted by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the ſettlement of the kingdom.

Theſe terms, however ſevere, were accepted; and the prince and young Henry delivered themſelves into Leiceſter's hands, who ſent them immediately under a ſtrong guard to Dover caſtle.

Leiceſter had no ſooner obtained this great advantage, and got the whole royal family into his power, than he violated every article of the treaty, and acted as ſole maſter, or rather tyrant of the kingdom. He ſtill in effect detained the king as a priſoner, and made uſe of that prince's authority to the prejudice of the royal prerogative, and the oppreſſion of the people. He diſarmed all who favoured the royal party, and kept his own partizans in a poſture of defence. The ſame partial conduct was obſerved in the delivery of the captives, and he even committed many of the royaliſts to priſon, beſides thoſe who were taken at the battle of Lewes: he carried the king from one place to another, and obliged all the royal caſtles, under pretence of Henry's commands, to receive a governor and garriſon of his own appointment. All the officers of the crown, and even thoſe of the houſhould, were named by him; and the whole authority, as well as arms of the ſtate, were lodged in his hands: he inſtituted, in the different countries, a new kind of magiſtracy, furniſhed with new, and arbritary, powers, and whom he called conſervators of the peace. At the ſame time, his rapacious avarice was conſpicuous to the whole nation: he ſeized no leſs than the eſtates of eighteen barons, as his ſhare of the ſpoil, gained in the battle of Lewes: he engroſſed to himſelf the ranſom of the priſoners; and told his barons, with an air of wanton inſolence, that it was ſufficient for them, that he had, by that victory, prevented the forfeitures and attainders with which they were then threatened. He even treated the earl of Gloceſter in the ſame injurious manner, and turned to his own profit the ranſom of the king of the Romans, who had, on the field of battle yielded himſelf a priſoner to that nobleman.

At the ſame time his eldeſt ſon Henry monopolized all the wool in the kingdom, the only valuable commodity at foreign markets, produced at that period in England. The inhabitants of the Cinque ports, during this diſſolution of government, had recourſe to the moſt licentious piracy, made a prey of the ſhips of all nations, threw the mariners over-board, and, by theſe unjuſt and inhuman practices, ſoon baniſhed all the merchants from the Engliſh coaſts and harbours. The price of every foreign commodity roſe to a moſt extravagant height; and woollen-cloaths, which the Engliſh had not then the art of dying, were worn white, and in the ſtate they came from the loom, without receiving any improvement from the hand of the manufacturer.

It is natural to imagine, that theſe enormities muſt occaſion complaints; but they were little regarded by Mountfort, who only replied, that the kingdom could very well ſubſiſt within itſelf, and therefore ſtood in need of no intercourſe with ſtrangers. And, it was afterwards found, that he even combined with the pirates of the Cinque ports, and received the third of their prizes as his own ſhare.

Nor was there any further mention made of the reference to the king of France, tho' ſo eſſential an article, and even the very baſis of the treaty of Lewes. Inſtead of performing this agreement, Leiceſter ſummoned a parliament, compoſed entirely of his own partizans, in order to fix, by their authority, that power which he had acquired by ſo much violence, and which he uſed with ſo much tyranny and injuſtice. In this aſſembly, an ordinance was paſſed, to which the king's conſent had been previouſly extorted, that every act of royal power ſhould be exerciſed by a council of nine perſons, who were to be choſen and removed by another council compoſed of three perſons, Leiceſter himſelf, the earl of Gloceſter, and, the biſhop of Chicheſter. By this intricate plan of government, the ſceptre was, in reallity, put into Leiceſter's hands; as he had the entire direction of the biſhop of Chicheſter, and conſequently, commanded all the reſolutions of the council of three, who could appoint or diſcard at pleaſure, every member of the ſupreme council.

But it was impoſſible that things ſhould remain long in this ſtrange ſituation. It was abſolutely neceſſary for Leiceſter, either to deſcend, with ſome danger, into the rank of a ſubject, or to mount up, with greater danger, into that of a ſovereign; and his exorbitant ambition, unreſtrained by any fear or principle, gave too much reaſon to ſuſpect him of the latter intention. This was, however, a taſk too great for all his abilities to accompliſh, notwithſtanding

withſtanding his faction had taken the ſureſt method of bringing over the common people to their intereſt. This was the force of enthuſiaſm, which was uſed as an engine to deſtroy every ſentiment of of duty, virtue, and honour. The nation indeed had greatly ſuffered, but theſe ſufferings were not irremediable. The people had been highly provoked; but it was poſſible to efface theſe provocations by reducing the government to the principles laid down in the great charter of liberty, Mountford and his party at once deſpiſed and dreaded this. They preached up the meritorious deaths of all who had fallen in their quarrel: and the party they had formed among the lawleſs vulgar, placed them above all regard to duty or decency. Henry was threatened with perpetual impriſonment, ſhould he refuſe to confirm whatever the rebels thought proper to lay before him. The high quality of the king of the Romans, the former merits of his ſon in the ſame cauſe, the innocence and inoffenſive years of Edmond, the titular king of Sicily, could not protect them from the miſeries of a priſon, embittered by the inſolence of the Mountford faction. They were carried about from one loathſome dungeon to another, as the will of their imperious keeper, Henry de Mountford directed; and all the beſt ſubjects of the kingdom, who preſerved any ſentiments, either of liberty or royalty, were forced to bow the head to the ſame tyrannical maſters,

In the mean time the great charter, which had been the fundamental and conſtitutional ground of the quarrel, was forgot; the conſtitutions of of Oxford diſregarded; and even the late regulation, tho' ſo greatly in favour of Mountford and his party, was now, in ſome meaſure, ſet aſide, that Leiceſter might the better keep pace with the carreer of his ambition. He was very ſenſible that the whole of his intereſt lay among the inferior clergy and people; that it depended entirely upon his wearing the maſk of hypocriſy; and that all Europe beſides were his enemies. He knew that Henry's queen, Eleanor, was ſpiriting up every ſtate in Chriſtendom, to revenge the injuries offered to the royal blood of England, by audacious and faithleſs rebels: and, conſequently, that the gathering ſtorm would ſoon burſt upon his head, unleſs ſome method could be found to prevent it.

The pope could not without concern ſee the government of England overturned; he liſtened to the remonſtrances of Eleanor, and ordered cardinal Guido, a man of more than papal virtue, to repair, as his legate to England, in order to ſettle the affairs of that kingdom on its ancient baſis, and compoſe the violent factions that raged in that unhappy country. But Mountford denied the legate entrance into England; ſo that Guido thought proper to ſummon the prelates of that kingdom to attend him at Boulogne.

But the Engliſh prelates, who had long laboured under a continual courſe of papal oppreſſions, diſregarded the ſummons; and the legate pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt them. Upon this, the biſhops of, London, Wincheſter, and Worceſter, together with the high juſticiary, and other barons, repaired to Boulogne to juſtify their conduct. But the legate diſregarded all they advanced in favour of the government, ordered them to return to England, and there pronounce a ſpecial ſentence of excommunication againſt the earl of Leiceſter, his ſons, favourites, abettors, and accomplices. They were alſo commanded to lay the city of London, the eſtates of the earl of Gloceſter, and the Cinque-ports, under an interdict. Had thoſe ſentences taken effect, they might, perhaps, have blaſted the bloſſoms of rebellion: but Mountford and his ſons were not to be intimidated with every difficulty: they were in poſſeſſion of all the ſea-coaſts; and took care to ſeize the prelates before they landed; they took from them the papal ſentence; tore it to pieces, and committed its divided parts to the winds and waves, which, for once, diſſipated the thunder of the vatacan.

Leiceſter appealed from Guido to the pope in perſon; but before his ambaſſadors could reach Rome, to defend the cauſe of their maſter, the pope was dead, and they found the legate himſelf, from whom Mountford had appealed, ſeated on the papal throne, under the name of Urban IV. Leiceſter was, however, no way diſmayed by that event; and knowing that great part of his popularity depended on his oppoſition to Rome, now become odious, he perſiſted with the more obſtinacy in his meaſures.

In the mean time, the queen had collected in foreign parts, a conſiderable army of deſperate adventurers, and had aſſembled a great number of ſhips, in order to invade the kingdom, and bring relief to her unfortunate family. Lewis, deteſting Leiceſter's uſurpations and perjuries, and diſguſted by the Engliſh barons, refuſing to ſtand to his award, favoured all her enterprizes, and was generally believed to be making preparations for the ſame purpoſe. An Engliſh army was therefore aſſembled on the ſea-coaſt, by the pretended authority of the captive king, to oppoſe this projected invaſion; but Leiceſter owed his ſecurity more to contrary winds, which detained the queen's fleet, than to the ſtrength of his own forces, or to any reſiſtance, which, in their preſent ſituation, could be expected from the Engliſh.

The appearance, however, of an invaſion from abroad, encouraged the royal party, on the marches of Wales, to break the accommodation they had lately made with Mountford, and to commit terrible ravages on both ſides of the Severn. Hamon l'Eſtrange, a bold and cruel partizan, was at the head of this inſurrection; and the inſurgents were ſo ſucceſsful, that they took poſſeſſion, in Henry's name, of all the country between Briſtol and Cheſter.

This ſucceſs encouraged Robert Walerand and Walter de Baſſenburn, who commanded in Briſtol, which ſtill held out for the royal party, to form a ſcheme for the dilivery of the princes, Edward and Henry, who had ſome time ſince been removed from Dover to Wallingford-caſtle: but the garriſon being alarmed, and the barons not ſufficiently ſupported by the forces of the marchers, the attempt was rendered abortive. In the mean time Mountford, now free from the apprehenſion of a foreign invaſion, was advancing at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, in company with the captive king, to check the progreſs of l'Eſtrange and his party. As ſoon as the army of Mountford had reached Worceſter, the inſurgents perceived that there was no compariſon, either between the number of troops, or the ſkill of the leaders of both parties. They therefore repaſſed the Severn, broke down the bridge at Worceſter, deſtroyed all the ferry-boats, and encamped on the oppoſite ſide of the river.

But the politic Leiceſter had taken care to engage his conſtant friend, Llewellin prince of Wales, to raiſe an army, and attack them in the rear, while he made preparations for paſſing the river in their front. By this diſpoſition the marchers found it neceſſary to capitulate; which was effected upon the hard terms of ſurrendering their caſtles to Leiceſter, and promiſing to retire for a year out of England. Henry was obliged to be preſent during this expedition, and Mountford having now fully recovered all the marches of Wales, returned to England about the middle of December, and kept his Chriſtmas at Kennelworth, with a pomp unknown even to king's; while Henry celebrated that feaſt at Woodſtock in great obſcurity.

A. D. 1265. Leiceſter now ſummoned a new parliament in London, where he knew his power was uncontroulable; and fixed this aſſembly upon a more democratical baſis, than any which had ever been ſummoned ſince the foundation of the Engliſh monarchy. Beſides the barons of his own party, and ſeveral eccleſiaſtics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from every ſhire, and, what is ſtill more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs, which had hitherto been eſteemed of two mean rank to be allowed a place in the council of the nation. This period is generally eſteemed the æra of the houſe of commons in England; and, it is certainly the firſt time that any hiſtorians have mentioned repreſentatives ſent to parliament by the boroughs. But tho' the houſe of commons owed its firſt exiſtence to ſo invidious an origin as Leiceſter's uſurpation, it ſoon proved, when ſummoned by the legal princes, one of the moſt uſeful, and in proceſs of time, one of the moſt powerful members of the national conſtitution; and gradually reſcued the kingdom from ariſtocratical as well as from legal tyranny. But Leiceſter's policy, if indeed the happy eſtabliſhment ought to be aſcribed to him, only forwarded by ſome years an inſtitution, for which the general ſtate of things had already prepared the nation; and it is otherwiſe inconceivable, that a plant, ſet by ſo inauſpicious a hand, could have attained ſo vigorous a growth, and have flouriſhed in the midſt of ſuch tempeſts and convulſions. The feudal ſyſtem, with which the liberty, much more the power of the commons, was totally incompatible, began gradually to decline; and both king and people, who felt its inconveniencies, contributed to favour this new power, which was more ſubmiſſive than the barons to the regal authority of the crown, and, at the ſame time, afforded protection to the inferior orders of the ſtate.

Leiceſter having thus aſſembled a parliament on his own model, and truſting to the attachment of the London populace, ſeized the opportunity of cruſhing his rivals among the powerful barons. Richard de Ferrars, earl of Derby, was accuſed in the king's name, ſeized and committed to cloſe cuſtody, without being brought to any trial. John Giffard, menaced with the ſame fate, fled from London, and took ſhelter in the marches of Wales. Even the earl of Gloceſter, whoſe power and influence had ſo much contributed to the ſucceſs of the barons, but who was of late ſo extremely diſguſted by Leiceſter's arbitrary and inſolent conduct, who engroſſed the whole power of the party, found himſelf in danger from the prevailing authority of his ancient confederate; and he accordingly retired from parliament.

This diviſion among the leaders being publickly known, inſpired the royal party with hopes of being ſoon able to cruſh the power of the uſurpers, and revenge the many injuries they had ſuffered from Leiceſter and his party; eſpecially as they were now ſure of the protection of the powerful earl of Gloceſter. And tho' Roger Mortimer, Hamon l'Eſtrange,, and other powerful marchers of Wales, had been obliged to leave the kingdom, yet their authority ſtill remained over the territories ſubjected to their juriſdiction.

Nor were theſe the only friends to the royal party, there were many others well diſpoſed to give diſturbances to the new government.

Theſe animoſities, inſeparable from the feudal ariſtocracy ſoon broke out with freſh violence, and threatened the nation with all the miſeries inſeparable from a civil war. This appearance greatly embarraſſed Leiceſter, and forced him to have recourſe to a meaſure from which he hoped to derive ſome preſent advantages; but which, in the end, proved the ſource of all his future calamities. The active and intrepid prince Edward, had, ever ſince the fatal battle of Lewes, languiſhed in confinement; and being extremely popular in the kingdom, there aroſe a general deſire of ſeeing him again reſtored to his liberty. Leiceſter finding it very difficult to oppoſe the concurring wiſhes of the nation, ſtipulated with the prince, that, in return, he ſhould order his adherents, to deliver up to the barons, all their caſtles, particularly thoſe on the borders of Wales, and ſhould ſwear neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce into it any foreign forces. The king took an oath to the ſame effect; and alſo paſſed a charter, in which he confirmed the agreement or miſe of Lewis, and even permitted his ſubjects to riſe in arms againſt him, if he ſhould ever attempt to infringe it. So little care had Leiceſter taken, tho' he conſtantly made uſe of the authority of this captive prince, to preſerve to him any appearance of royalty, or kingly prerogative.

In conſequence of this treaty, prince Edward was brought into Weſtminſter-hall, where he was declared free by the barons. But inſtead of really recovering his liberty, as he had vainly expected, he found the whole tranſaction was nothing more than a fraud on the part of Leiceſter; that he ſtill continued a priſoner at large, and was ſtrictly guarded by the emiſſaries of that nobleman; and that while the faction reaped all the benefit from the performance of his part of the treaty, care was taken, that he himſelf ſhould reap no advantage from it.

As Gloceſter on his rupture with the barons had retired for ſafety to his eſtate on the borders of Wales, Leiceſter followed him at the head of an army to Hereford; continued ſtill to menace and negotiate; and, that he might add authority to his cauſe, carried with him, both the king and the prince. The earl of Gloceſter here concerted with young Edward, the manner of that prince's eſcape. He found means to convey to him a horſe of extraordinary ſwiftneſs, and appointed Roger Mortimer, who had returned into the kingdom, to be ready at hand, with a ſmall party, to receive the prince, and guard him to a place of ſafety.

In

In conſequence of this agreement, Edward pretended to take the air with ſome of Leiceſter's retinue, who were his guards; and making matches between their horſes, after he thought he had tired and blown them ſufficiently, he ſuddenly mounted Gloceſter's horſe, and calling to his attendance, that he had long enough enjoyed the pleaſure of their company, bid them adieu. They followed him for ſome ſpace, without being able to overtake him; and the appearance of Mortimer, at the head of his party, put an end to the purſuit.

The royaliſts, ſecretly prepared for this happy event, flew immediately to arms; and the joy of this gallant prince's delivery; the oppreſſions, under which the nation laboured; the expectation of a new ſcene of affairs; and the countenance of the powerful earl of Gloceſter, procured Edward an army, which Leiceſter was utterly unable to withſtand. That nobleman found himſelf in a remote quarter of the kingdom, ſurrounded by his enemies, debarred of all communication with his friends on the other ſide of the Severn, whoſe bridges Edward had broke down, and obliged to fight the cauſe of his party under ſo many diſadvantages. In this extremity, he wrote to his ſon Simon de Mountford, to haſten from London with an army for his relief, and Simon accordingly advanced to Kennelworth with that view; where imagining that all Edward's force and attention were directed againſt his father, he lay perfectly ſecure and unguarded. But the prince making a ſudden and forced march, ſurprized him in his camp, diſſipated his army, and took the earl of Oxford, with many other noblemen, priſoners, almoſt without reſiſtance.

In the mean time Leiceſter, ignorant of his ſon's fate, paſſed the Severn in boats during Edward's abſence, and lay at Eveſham, in expectation of being every hour joined by his friends from London; when the prince, who profited by every favourable moment, appeared in the field before him. Edward had cauſed a body of his troops to advance along the road which led to Kennelworth, and ordered them to carry the banners taken from Simon's army; while he himſelf, making a circuit with the reſt of the army, propoſed to attack the enemy from the other quarter. Leiceſter was long deceived by this ſtratagem, and took one diviſion of Edward's army for his friends; but, at laſt, perceiving his miſtake, and obſerving the great ſuperiority and excellent diſpoſition of the royaliſts, he exclaimed that they had learned from him their military order; adding, "The Lord have mercy upon our "ſouls, for I ſee our bodies are the prince's." The battle immediately began, tho' on very unequal terms. Leiceſter's army, from living in the mountains of Wales, without bread, which was then very little uſed by the inhabitants, had been extremely weakened by ſickneſs and deſertion, and was ſoon broke by the victorious royaliſts; while the Welſh allies, acuſtomed only to a deſultory kind of war, immediately betook themſelves to flight, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. Leiceſter himſelf, aſking for quarter, was ſlain in the heat of the action, together with his eldeſt ſon, Henry, Hugh le d'Eſpencer, and about one hundred and ſixty knights, with many other gentlemen of his party. The old king had been purpoſely placed by the rebels in the front of the battle, and being clad in armour, and by that means not known by his friends, he received a wound, and was in danger of his life; but crying out "I am "Henry of Wincheſter, your king," he was ſaved, and carried to a place of ſecurity by his ſon, who flew to his aſſiſtance.

Upon an impartial review of the preceding tranſaction, we ſhall form a very bad idea of the moral character of Leiceſter, from his violence, ingratitude, tyranny, rapacity, and treachery; and therefore his death muſt be regarded as the moſt happy event, which, in this conjuncture, could have happened to the Engliſh nation. He muſt, however, be allowed to have poſſeſſed great abilities; and, at the ſame time, to have maintained the appearance of great virtue; for, tho' a ſtranger to this country, he could, at a time, when ſtrangers were the moſt odious, and the moſt univerſally decried, acquire ſo extenſive an intereſt in the kingdom, that he had almoſt mounted the throne. His military capacity and his political artifices are equally eminent. He poſſeſſed at once the art of governing men, and conducting buſineſs: and tho' his ambition was boundleſs, it ſeems to have exceeded neither his courage nor his genius. At the ſame time he enjoyed the happineſs of making the low populace, as well as the haughty barons, co-operate towards the ſucceſs of his ſelfiſh and dangerous purpoſes. A prince of greater abilities and vigour than Henry, might have directed the talents of this nobleman, either to the glory of his throne, or the good of his people; but the advantages given to Leiceſter, by the weak and variable adminiſtration of the king, brought on the ruin of royal authority, and produced in the kingdom infinite confuſions, which, however, in the end, preſerved, and infinitely improved the national liberty and conſtitution. His popularity, even after his death, continued ſo great, that, tho' excommunicated by the ſee of Rome, the people believed him to be a ſaint; and many miracles were pretended to be wrought at his tomb.

The important victory of Eveſham was followed by the deliverance of the king of the Romans, and moſt of the royal party, who had been confined by the Mountford family ever ſince the battle of Lewes. The tower of London was given up by the wife of Hugh d'Eſpencer, tho' the earl of Ferrars ſtill continued a priſoner in that fortreſs. But the caſtle of Kennelworth was ſtill kept by young Mountford, who had releaſed the king of the Romans, in order to procure more advantageous terms to himſelf.

Henry now returned from Eveſham to Worceſter, where he revoked all the grants, and other writings he had ſigned, to the prejudice of himſelf and his family. The citizens of Hereford were pardoned on paying a large fine; and the perſons who had been intruſted with poſts by Leiceſter, were diſplaced, and others of the royal party preferred in their room. During theſe tranſactions Henry received a reinforcement of troops from Ireland, and on their joining his army, he marched in triumph to Winchester, where a parliament was aſſembled; and all offenders allowed the liberty of making their peace with the king, who appointed commiſſioners to treat with them, eſpecially with the barons of the Cinque ports.

It was now in Henry's power to have put a final and glorious period to the civil commotions that had ſo long diſtracted his unhappy country. But that prince was a ſtranger to moderation: rapacious

ous and revengeful, instead of pardoning generously, or punishing justly; the estates of all who had carried arms against him were immediately confiscated; and thus despair, that fruitful source of civil calamity, became the only refuge of the proscribed. The parliament gave the king immediate possession of the confiscated estates, commissioners were sent for that purpose into the several counties where they lay, and the rents were sequestered into the hands of collectors.

But while the king and parliament were proceeding rigorously against the rebels, advice arrived that prince Llewellin had entered Cheshire, at the head of a considerable army, and taken and demolished the castle of Hameclin; after routing the forces of Hamon l'Estrange and lord Maurice Fitzgerald, who had been sent against him. This success of Llewellin revived the hopes of Leicester's party, and the nation was once more threatened with all the miseries of a civil war. But these symptoms of rebellion and confusion could not divert Henry from prosecuting his resentment against the city of London, in a manner unworthy a man or a king. Henry came from Winchester to Windsor; where the magistrates, after over-ruling the councils of the Mountford faction, who were desirous of burying themselves under the ruins of their city, met him by their deputies. They presented the king with an absolute submission to pleasure, in consequence of which, all the posts and chains, which had barricaded the city, were taken away. But Henry preferred an unmanly, tho' impotent, gratification of his resentment to wiser, or more conciliating measures. The deputies had obtained a safe conduct for presenting the submission of the city; but were immediately, on their arrival thrown into prison, and treated in the most ignominious manner; and the mayor, and four others of them, were obliged to pay a large fine for their estates, liberties, and lives. This severity, and notorious breach of faith, caused many of the principal citizens to retire with their effects; and Henry gave a further indication of his resentment, by displacing all the magistracy, and appointing Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, John de Baliol, Roger de Leyburn, and Roger de Walerand, guardians of the city.

The parliament now met at Westminster, where the king was actually vested with all the estates of the disinherited rebels; and prince Edmond, who had now renounced all pretensions to the crown of Sicily, was put into possession of the estates of the late earl of Leicester, and Nicholas de Seagrave. The city of London was fined fifty thousand marks, and sixty of the principal citizens deprived of their houses and effects, which were divided among the king's favourites.

This severe treatment of the citizens of London, so exasperated the inhabitants of the Cinque ports, that they fitted out a powerful squadron, laid the town of Portsmouth in ashes, and committed several other acts of piracy, highly detrimental to the commerce and navigation of the kingdom. Nor was their resentment lessened by the severity of prince Edward, who had hung up some of the citizens of Winchelsea; but, one favourable incident happened to the king at this time: the castle of Dover had been long in possession of the Mountford family; but the prince now received advice that fourteen gentlemen, who had been confined there for their adherence to the royal cause, had, with the assistance of their keeper, surprized the principal tower, and were bravely defending it against the garrison. Edward immediately marched thither; and the garrison, after a short resistance, delivered up the place upon honourable terms. Among those who surrendered was, the countess of Leicester, aunt to the prince, and who afterwards passed the remainder of her days in a foreign monastery.

This happy event encouraged the queen, who, with her son, prince Edmond, had, during these commotions, continued in France, to return to England. She was attended by Ottobon, the pope's legate, who came loaded with bulls against Mountford, and his accomplices, from the pope, who had not heard of Henry's success. But it was not long before the disaffection, occasioned by the late severities, broke out into a fresh rebellion. Simon Mountford was still in possession of the castle of Kennelworth, one of the strongest fortifications then in Europe, and had under him two intrepid barons, John d'Yvil, and John de Wake. The intercession of the king of the Romans in favour of young Mountford having proved in vain, that nobleman found himself a proscribed exile. But being at the head of a desperate body of men, he left a strong garrison in the castle of Kennelworth, and issuing out with the above barons, at the head of their remaining troops, seized upon Axholm, an island, which had been fortified by Mowbray, in the reign of Henry II. There they barricaded themselves so strongly, that the island became a receptacle to all the disaffected party.

Tho' it was now about the end of November, Henry was obliged to set out at the head of his army to crush this rebellion before it became too strong. He ordered his troops to rendezvous at Northampton, and prince Edward was charged with a commission for reducing the rebels. It was three days after Christmas before this service could be performed, and not till after great labour and difficulty. The terms granted to the rebels were, that Mountford, their leader, and his accomplices, should stand to the award of the king of the Romans and prince Edward, and submit to whatever they should decree, provided it did not extend to their lives, limbs, or perpetual imprisoment. On these conditions young Mountford surrendered himself, was presented to Henry, and pardoned at the earnest intercession of the king of the Romans, upon his promising to deliver up Kennelworth castle, and to retire out of England, upon his being paid five hundred marks a year out of the royal treasury.

A. D. 1266. Henry still continued at Northampton, where he was finally reconciled to the city of London; the fine was reduced to twenty thousand marks, and the citizens were restored to all their privileges, trade, and navigation. This treaty being settled, the king returned to London, carrying with him Simon de Mountford, as a prisoner at large. But that young nobleman, not chusing to accept his freedom or rather exile, on the stipulated terms, stole away to Winchelsea with several of his followers, and entering on board some ships, commenced a piratical life. He did not, however, long enjoy the protection of the Cinque ports; for prince Edward having soon after reduced the town, and having by the advice of the earl of Glocester, par-

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doned Henry Pehan, the ring-leader of their rebellion, his clemency had ſo good an effect upon the Cinque ports in general, that they ſubmitted to the government. And the terms they obtained were very honourable. They were to enjoy all their ancient privileges and immunities without any cenſure for their former conduct, and without being even obliged to make any reparation for their depredations on the merchants.

This act of clemency in the government was followed by another; for the proſcribed barons and others of that party were allowed till Eaſter following for their coming to court, and compounding with the king for their eſtates. Henry alſo wrote to the clergy of England, ordering them to pay into the hands of the biſhops of Bath and Litchfield, the tenths, which, while he was in Mountford's cuſtody, had been collected by them, that the money might be applied to the real defence of the kingdom.

But all theſe acts of popularity were not ſufficient to induce the nation to agree to the ſevere terms, with which the meaſures of the government in general were attended. The caſtle of Kennelworth ſtill held out; and the garriſon behaved with ſo much inſolence, that they cut off one of the hands of a royal herald, ſent to ſummon them to ſurrender. At the ſame time they ſent Henry word, that the agreement of young Mountford was not binding with regard to them; that they had received the cuſtody of the caſtle from the counteſs of Leiceſter, to whom it belonged, and to her alone they would ſurrender it. Theſe proceedings provoked Henry to ſummon all his military forces to meet him at Oxford, in order to reduce this caſtle. From Oxford he marched at the head of a powerful army to Northampton, where he received advice that ſome rebel barons had ſurprized and plundered the city of Lincoln; he was therefore obliged to remain at Northampton, from whence he detached prince Edward at the head of a body of troops to recover Lincoln. But the people's diſaffection at the meaſures purſued by the government was ſpread farther than either Henry or his court had conceived. The earl of Derby was now in arms, and had been joined by d'Ayville and Barnard de Wake. This intelligence diſconcerted Henry's ſcheme for reducing Kennelworth caſtle. All he could do was to ſend his ſon prince Edmond at the head of a flying party, to reſtrain the incurſions of the garriſon; while he diſpatched Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, with another body of forces to the north-weſt counties, which were now cruelly harraſſed and plundered by the earl of Derby and his aſſociates. Prince Henry was fortunate enough to ſurprize the rebels in Cheſterfield on Whitſun-eve, and after cutting great part of them in pieces, to take priſoner the earl of Derby, who was ſent to Windſor-caſtle, but de Ayville and Wake eſcaped by flight.

While Henry was thus employed in reducing two bodies of the rebels, prince Edward was engaged with a third, more dangerous than either, headed by Adam de Gourdon, a courageous baron, who, for ſome time, maintained himſelf in the foreſts of Hampſhire, committed depredations in the neighbourhood, and obliged the prince to lead a body of troops into that country againſt him. Edward attacked the camp of the rebels, and being tranſported by the ardour of action, leaped over the trench, with a few followers, and encountered Gourdon himſelf in ſingle combat. The victory was long diſputed between theſe valiant leaders; but ended, at laſt, in the prince's favour; who wounded his antagoniſt, threw him from his horſe, and took him priſoner. He, however, not only granted him his life; but introduced him that very night to the queen at Guildford, procured him his pardon, reſtored him to his eſtate, received him into favour, and was, ever after, faithfully ſerved by him.

In the mean time prince Edmond, who was ſent to reſtrain the incurſions of the deſperate garriſon of Kennelworth-caſtle, marched firſt to Warwick, and, advancing thence towards the caſtle, was attacked with ſo much fury by the garriſon, that he was obliged to retreat to Warwick with great loſs. Here he was joined by his father, at the head of a freſh body of troops, and all the engines neceſſary for battering the place. On Midſummer-eve the ſiege was formed: but, notwithſtanding the bravery of Henry's troops, he could make but very ſmall progreſs; and, after ſuſtaining many loſſes, was, at laſt, obliged to change the ſiege into a blockade. Ottabon, the papal legate, next endeavoured to perſuade the rebels to ſurrender, and his attempt was ſeconded by the inſtances of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, but all their endeavours proving in vain, Ottabon had recourſe to the ſentence of excommunication, which he pronounced upon the whole garriſon.

This obſtinate reſiſtance of a ſingle caſtle againſt a royal army, encouraged the rebels in other ports; and Barnard de Wake, with John d'Ayville, who continued ſtill in arms, ſeized, about the beginning of Auguſt, the iſland of Ely; from whence they extended their ravages over the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge.

Theſe diſorders ſufficiently demonſtrated, that moderate meaſures were wanting to calm the turbulent ſpirit of the times. The court was ſenſible of this, and a parliament was accordingly ſummoned to meet in the town of Kennelworth, on the 24th of Auguſt. In this aſſembly, the biſhops of Exeter, Bath, and Worceſter, Sir Alan de la Zouch, Sir Robert Sommery, and Sir Robert Walerand, were nominated to chuſe ſix other aſſociates out of the nobility or clergy; and to theſe twelve, the important taſk of ſettling the kingdom was committed. This was the more neceſſary, as the diſaffected had been very induſtrious in propagating the notion; that the diſinheriting the proſcribed barons was an arbitrary proceeding of the king, and had been executed without the advice or conſent of his council. Henry had indeed publiſhed a proclamation before, that all who thought themſelves aggrieved might complain, and be redreſſed according to the laws of the land; but this had little effect, and the committee were now furniſhed with full powers, both from the king and parliament, to determine the fate of the diſinherited nobles. A writing was drawn up, which has been ſince known by the name of the Dictum de Kennelworth, and contained the out-lines of a ſtate of thoſe caſes, which had incurred the penalties of treaſon. Theſe caſes are as follow:

All who began and perſevered in the war.

All who violently and maliciouſly kept Northampton againſt the king.

All that fought againſt the king at Lewes.

All who were taken at the battle of Kennelworth, under the command of young Simon Mountford; who had plundered Wincheſter; or were in any other place fighting againſt the king; and whom he had not pardoned.

All that fought againſt him at Eveſham.

All who were in the battle at Cheſterfield.

All who freely lent their ſervice, that is, their horſes and arms, againſt the king and his ſon.

All bailiffs and ſervants of the late earl of Leiceſter, who plundered their neighbours, killed them, burnt their houſes, or did other miſchief.

All who came under the denomination of one of the above caſes, were amerſed in the value of their lands for five years; or obliged to redeem the ſame by paying a ſum of money adequate to that value; in which caſe, their eſtates were reſtored, either wholly or in part, proportionably to the money they paid. Smaller offences were to be puniſhed with leſs ſeverity; and Henry was reſtored to the exerciſe of his royal authoriry, which had been abridged by the Oxford conſtitutions; all obligations in conſequence of them, being declared void. Such were the chief articles of this famous inſtrument, which was drawn up by the commiſſioners already named, with the earl of Gloceſter, the earl of Hereford, Philip Baſſet, John Bayloffe, Robert Wallop, and Warryn de Baſyngburn, one of whom, probably, acted in the room of Walerand, who was a foreigner; but all of them under the inſpection of the legate and the king of the Romans.

Tho' this inſtrument has been much applauded by our hiſtorians, yet, conſidering the exhauſted ſtate of the nation, nothing could be more unjuſt, or impolitic. It was, in effect, a proſcription of all who had born arms againſt Henry, without making any diſtinction as to thoſe periods, when oppoſition was lawful and unlawful. This ſeems to have ſo much diſguſted the earl of Gloceſter, one of the greateſt men of that age, that the enſuing interval of repoſe was but tranſitory. Perhaps he had promiſed his friends, who were ſtill in arms, or who had, on his perſuaſion, laid them down, that he would take care the cenſure inflicted on them ſhould be very ſlight; the ſureſt method of reſtoring the public tranquillity,

The caſtle of Kennelworth continued ſtill beſieged; nor had the Kennelworth proviſions at all abated the fury, either of the garriſon or the other rebels, who ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the iſle of Ely. But the former having conſumed all their proviſions, the conſequences were more alarming to the garriſon than all Henry's efforts againſt that impregnable place. They offered to capitulate and deliver up the caſtle if not relieved by Simon Mountford in forty days. This offer was readily accepted by Henry, notwithſtanding all their affronts and deſperate reſiſtance, Hoſtages were given by the garriſon for performing their offer, and on the 13th of December, the beſieged, whom famine had almoſt deprived of the figure of the human countenance, marched out of the caſtle, with all the honours of war, and were permitted to carry with them the rich booty they had taken in their various ſallies upon the adjacent countries. Thus ended a ſiege as remarkable as any mentioned in hiſtory; and Henry, having taken poſſeſſion of the caſtle, beſtowed it upon his ſon, prince Edmond, whom he created earl of Derby, and inveſted with the lands belonging to that attainted nobleman.

But neither this event, nor the excommunication denounced againſt them by the pope's legate, deterred the rebels in the iſle of Ely from purſuing their ravages; they even marched out in a body and plundered the city of Norwich, where they obtained a booty to the value of above twenty thouſand pounds. The town of Cambridge ſuffered the ſame misfortune; and the rebels even carried with them ſome of the moſt eminent citizens, whom they obliged to purchaſe their liberty at moſt exorbitant ranſoms.

A. D. 1267. In the mean time the earl of Gloceſter, diſguſted afreſh at the meaſures of the court, attempted to revive the dying flames of rebellion in the kingdom. The mutinous populace of London, at his inſtigation, took up arms; and the prince was obliged to collect an army of thirty thouſand men, in order to ſuppreſs them. But even this ſecond rebellion did not provoke the king to have recourſe to acts of cruelty; and the earl of Gloceſter himſelf eſcaped with a total impunity. He was only obliged to enter into a bond of twenty thouſand marks, that he would never more be guilty of rebellion: A ſtrange method of enforcing the laws, and a ſufficient proof of the dangerous independence of the barons in thoſe ages! Theſe powerful nobles were, from the danger of the example, totally averſe to the execution of the laws of forfeiture and felony againſt their brethren; tho' they could not, with any appearance of juſtice, refuſe to concur in obliging them to fulfil any voluntary contract or agreement, into which they had entered.

A. D. 1270. The prince finding the ſtate of the kingdom tolerably compoſed, was ſeduced, by his avidity, for glory, and by the prejudices of the age, as well as by the earneſt ſollicitations of the king of France, to undertake an expedition againſt the Infidels in the Holy Land; and he endeavoured previouſly to ſettle the ſtate in ſuch a manner as to dread no bad effects from his abſence. As the dangerous power and turbulent diſpoſition of the earl of Gloceſter gave him apprehenſions, he inſiſted on carrying him along with him, in conſequence of a vow which that nobleman had made to undertake the ſame voyage; and, in the mean time, he obliged him to reſign ſome of his caſtles, and to enter into a new bond, not to diſturb the peace of the kingdom. He ſailed from England with an army, and arrived at Lewis's camp, before Tunis, in Africa, where he found that great monarch already dead, from the intemperance of the climate, and the fatigues of his enterprize. The great, and indeed the only weakneſs of this prince was, his zeal for cruſades; but it was this prepoſſeſſion, chiefly, that procured him from the clergy, the title of St. Lewis, and by which he is known in the French hiſtory: and if that appellation had not been ſo ſhamefully proſtituted by the Romiſh church, as to become rather a term of reproach, it ſeems, by his uniform probity and goodneſs, as well as by his piety, to have fully merited the title. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Philip, ſurnamed the Hardy, a prince of ſome merit, tho' much inferior to that of his father.

Edward, perceiving the epidemical fluxes and fevers which raged in the camp of the Europeans, together with the ſultry heat of the climate, and the want of water, muſt ſoon deſtroy the whole army, was wiſe enough to aſk leave of Charles king of Sicily, who was then in the camp of the cruſaders, to winter in his dominions. This requeſt was granted with great politeneſs; and letters, both in french and latin, a ſafe conduct, and magnificent reception were ſent by Charles from Africa in favour of the prince and princeſs royal of England.

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It was, however, eaſy for Edward to perceive, that no hopes of ſucceſs remained for the cruſade. The king of Sicily at firſt grew cold and indifferent, and, at laſt, unwilling to proceed. The young king of France made the beſt of his way back to his own dominions; but a ſtorm ariſing, great part of his fleet was wrecked. But prince Edward was determined to fulfil his engagements, tho' of no conſequence to any other purpoſe than that of eſtabliſhing his character for truth and probity, and accquiring unprofitable glory.

A. D. 1271. About the middle of Lent, Edward embarked for the Holy Land with his ſmall army, which did not exceed a thouſand men, but thoſe choſen and experienced ſoldiers. He reachd Acon, which was then threatened with a ſiege, and landed three or four days before the time fixed by the infidels for inveſting the place. Intimidated by the rememembrance of the great Richard's actions; and the arrival of a prince deſcended from that intrepid leader, and who had given early proofs of equal courage blended with ſuperior virtue, the Saracens not only withdrew their troops, who had already aſſaulted ſome of the ſuburbs, but left Edward at liberty to refreſh his ſoldiers, tired with the fatigues of the voyage. His great reputation ſoon increaſed his ſmall party to an army of ſeven thouſand men; and Edward, diſdaining effeminate idleneſs, marched from Acon, and attacked Nazareth, about twenty leagues diſtant. Having made himſelf maſter of the place, he was attacked in his return to Acon, at a very diſadvantageous paſs, by an ambuſcade of the Saracens, whom he forced to retire with conſiderable loſs. His next expedition was to Cakcow, about fifteen miles from Acon; and marched ſo ſecretly at the head of his troops, that before daybreak he attacked the main body of the Saracens, killed a thouſand men, put the reſt to flight, and ſeized a large booty. Having paſſed the night after that engagement at the caſtle of Pilgrim, he returned the next day to Acon, and about the beginning of Auguſt, determined to attack the Saracens encamped at St. George's, gained a complete victory, and once more returned to Acon.

But thoſe vigorous actions were confined in too narrow a ſphere to ſatisfy the active courage of Edward. He therefore wrote to the government of Cyprus, which had been in vain applied to for the ſame purpoſe, by the king of Jeruſalem, deſiring them to ſend him a reinforcement of troops, that he might be able to extend his conqueſts. The Cyprians granted to the grand nephew of Richard, what they had denied to the ſucceſſor of Godfrey; they ſent him conſiderable ſupplies, with this compliment, That they ſhould always think themſelves obliged to obey the royal family of England, who had once been their maſters.

The Saracens ſeeing ſo many ſpecimens of Edward's valour, aſſiſted by a mere handful of men, now feared the conſequences that would in all probability attend his being placed at the head of a powerful army. Their leaders therefore formed the execrable deſign of diſpatching the prince by treachery. In order to this, one of the devoted enthuſiaſts, already mentioned in our account of Richard's expedition, was employed by the governor of Joppa, under pretence of managing a ſecret negotiation. This wretch having ſeveral times viſited Edward, his ſervants one day ſearched him with leſs precaution than uſual. He delivered his letters to Edward, who, in a looſe dreſs, unarmed, and bare headed, was enjoying the refreſhing breeze at a window. The aſſaſſin having executed his commiſſion, endeavoured to entertain the prince with ſome plauſible accounts of his maſter's intention to pay him a viſit. But during the converſation, he watched an opportunity of drawing a poiſoned dagger, which he aimed at Edward's heart. The prince was, however, quick enough to ward off the blow, and by that means diſappointed the villain's intention, but received a wound in the arm. And ſtriking the Saracen, who was preparing to repeat the ſtroke, on the breaſt with his foot, he threw him on the floor; but in wreſting the dagger from his hand, received another ſlight wound in the forehead. This provoked him ſo highly, that he diſpatched the aſſaſſin with his own dagger. The prince's wounds, tho' ſlight, were attended with very dangerous conſequences; and his cure was, at laſt, effected by the care and aſſiduity of his affectionate conſort, and the ſkill of an Engliſh ſurgeon. When Edward recovered, he found that his ſoldiers were ſo greatly intimidated by this attempt, that it would be in vain for him to think of proceeding. He had done enough for juſtice; enough for glory. The ſultan of Babylon ſent ambaſſadors, ſolemnly diſclaiming all knowledge of the baſe aſſaſſination; and Edward ſeemed to give credit to the aſſeveration; but was far from being ſatisfied that their maſter was not privy to the attempt. In the mean time the princeſs Eleanor was delivered of a daughter, who, from the place of her nativity, had afterwards the name of Joan of Acon, or Acre.

But while prince Edward was gathering laurels in the fields of Paleſtine, his abſence from England was attended with many of thoſe pernicious conſequences which had been dreaded from the time of his departure. The laws were not executed: the barons oppreſſed the common people with impunity: they gave ſhelter on their eſtates to bands of robbers, whom they employed to commit ravages on the eſtates of their enemies: the populous of London returned to their uſual licentiouſneſs; and the old king, unequal to the burden of government, called aloud for his gallant ſon to return, and aſſiſt him in ſwaying that ſceptre, which was ready to fall from his feeble and uncertain hand.

A. D. 1272. He attempted however to remove the diſorders, and reſtore peace to his kingdom; but without effect. The taſk required a more vigorous arm; and, at laſt, overcome with the cares of government, and the infirmities of age, he viſibly declined, and expired at St. Edmund's-bury, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-ſixth of his reign; the longeſt to be met with in the Engliſh annals. His brother, the king of the Romans, for he never attained the title of emperor, died about ſeven months before him.

The moſt obvious circumſtance in the character of this prince is, his incapacity for government, which rendered him as much a priſoner in the hands of his own miniſters and favourites, and as little at his own diſpoſal, as when detained a captive in the hands of his enemies. From this ſource, rather than from either inſincerity or treachery, aroſe his negligence in obſerving his promiſes; and he was too eaſily induced, for the ſake of preſent eaſe and convenience, to ſacrifice the laſting advantages ariſing from the truſt and confidence of his people.

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Hence were derived his profuſion to favourites, his attachment to ſtrangers, the variableneſs of his conduct, his haſty reſentments, and his ſudden forgiveneſs and return of affection. Inſtead of reducing the dangerous power of his nobles, by obliging them to obſerve the laws towards their inferiors, and ſetting them the ſalutary example in his own government, he was ſeduced to imitate their conduct, and to make his arbitrary will, or rather that of his miniſters, the rule of his actions. Inſtead of accommodating himſelf by a ſtrict frugality to the embarraſſed ſituation in which his revenue had been left, by the military expeditions of his uncle, the diſſipations of his father, and the uſurpations of the barons, he was tempted to levy money by irregular exactions, which, without enriching himſelf, impoveriſhed, or, at leaſt, diſguſted his people. He was, of all mankind, the leaſt fitted by nature for being a tyrant; yet there are inſtances of oppreſſion in his reign, which, tho' derived from the precedents left him by his predeceſſors, had been carefully guarded againſt by the great charter, and are inconſiſtent with all the rules of good government. And, upon the whole, we may ſay, that greater abilities, with his good diſpoſitions, would have prevented him from falling into his faults; or, with worſe diſpoſitions, would have enabled him to defend them.

He was, however, noted for his piety and devotion, and his regular attendance on public worſhip. A ſaying of his, on that head, is much celebrated by ancient writers. He was engaged in a diſpute with Lewis IX. of France, concerning the preference between ſermons and maſſes; he maintained the ſuperiority of the latter, and affirmed, he would ſooner have one hour's converſation with a friend, than hear twenty of the moſt elaborate diſcourſes pronounced in praiſe of him.

With regard to his perſon, it was of the middle ſize, compact and ſtrong, and the lid of one of his eyes hung over it in ſo extraordinary a manner, that part of the ball was concealed.

Henry left two ſons, Edward, who ſucceeded him in the throne, and Edmond, earl of Lancaſter; and two daughters, Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, dutcheſs of Britany. He had five other children, who died in their infancy.

EDWARD I.

A. D. 1272. EDWARD had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received the news of the death of his father; and the ſorrow he expreſſed on that occaſion, demonſtrated at once his tenderneſs and filial affection. A few days after advice arrived of the death of his infant ſon who died at Acre in Paleſtine. This misfortune, however, affected him much leſs than the former: and the king of Sicily expreſſing a ſurprize at this difference of ſentiment, was told by Edward, that the death of a ſon was a loſs he might hope to repair; but the death of a father was a loſs abſolutely irreparable.

In the mean time the Engliſh nobility repaired, immediately on the death of Henry, to the high altar at Weſtminſter; where they ſwore fealty to prince Edward his eldeſt ſon; and the government was veſted in the hands of the archbiſhop of York, the earl of Cornwall, ſon of Richard, king of the Romans, and Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloceſter. Theſe guardians proceeded peaceably to the exerciſe of their authority, without either meeting with any oppoſition from the people, or being diſturbed by emulation and faction among themſelves. The high character acquired by Edward, during the late commotions, his military genius, his ſucceſs in ſubduing the rebels, his moderation in ſettling the kingdom, had procured him great eſteem, blended with affection, among all orders of men; and no perſon could entertain any reaſonable hopes of taking advantage of his abſence, or raiſing diſturbances in the nation.

Edward was now on his journey homewards; but as he ſoon received advice of the quiet ſettlement of the kingdom, he was in no hurry to take poſſeſſion of the throne; but ſpent near a year in France before he made his appearance in England.

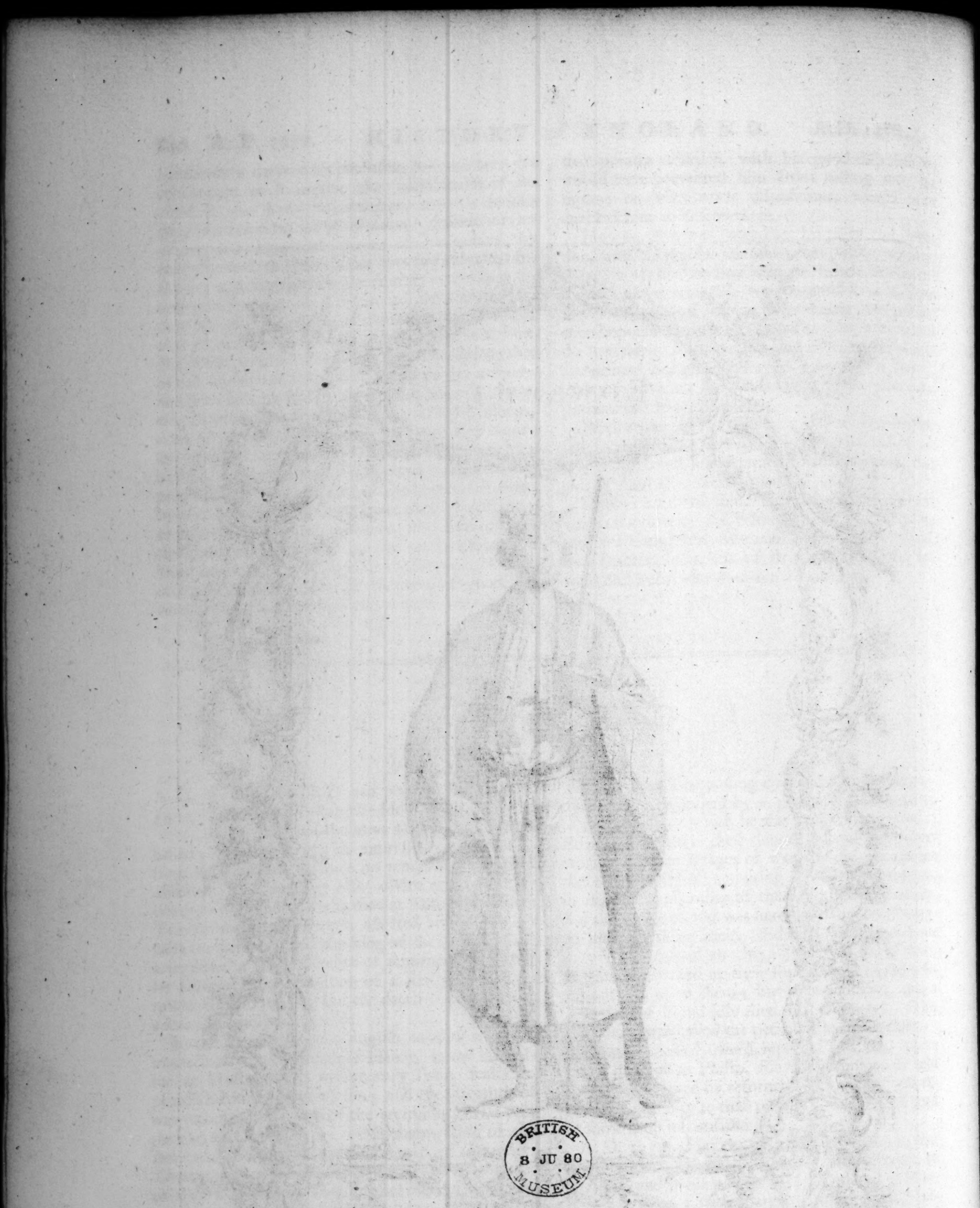
A. D. 1273. In paſſing near Chalons in Burgundy, he was challenged by a prince of that country to a tournament which he was preparing. And as Edward excelled in theſe dangerous and martial exerciſes, the true images of war, he did not decline the opportunity of acquiring honour and renown, in that great aſſembly of the neighbouring nobles. But the image of war was here unfortunately changed into the thing itſelf. Edward and his retinue were ſo ſucceſsful in the juſts, that the French knights, provoked at their ſuperiority, made a ſerious attack upon them; but were repulſed, and a good deal of blood idly ſhed in the quarrel. This rencounter was called the petit battle of Chalons.

From Chalons Edward repaired to Paris, where he did homage to Philip, for the dominions he held in France; thence he returned to Guienne, and reſtored tranquillity to that province, which had been for ſome time in confuſion.

A. D. 1274. Having ſettled the diviſions in that province, he purſued his journey thro' France to England, and in his paſſage accommodated at Montreuil a difference with Margaret, counteſs of Flanders, the heireſs of that territory. He was received at London with the joyful acclamations of his people, and ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter, by Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The ceremony of the coronation was no ſooner over, than the king applied himſelf to the re-eſtabliſhment of his kingdom, and to the correcting of thoſe diſorders, which the civil commotions, and the weak adminiſtration of his father, had introduced into every part of government. The plan of his policy was equally generous and prudent. He conſidered the great barons, both as the immediate rivals of the crown, and the oppreſſors of his people;

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.



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people; and propoſed, by an exact diſtribution of juſtice, and a rigid execution of the laws, to give at once, protection to the inferior orders of the ſtate, and to diminiſh the arbitrary power of the great, on which their dangerous authority was chiefly founded.

By making it a rule of his conduct to obſerve, except on very extraordinary occaſions, the privileges ſecured to them by the great charter, he acquired a right to inſiſt upon their obſervance of the ſame charter, towards their vaſſals and inferiors; and made the crown to be regarded by all the gentry and commonalty of the kingdom, as the great fountain of juſtice, and the general aſylum againſt oppreſſion.

A. D. 1275. Beſides enacting ſeveral excellent ſtatutes, in a parliament which he ſummoned at Weſtminſter, he took care to inſpect the conduct of all his magiſtrates and judges; to diſplace ſuch as were either negligent or corrupt; to provide them with ſufficient force for the execution of juſtice; to root out all bands and confederacies of robbers; and to repreſs thoſe more ſilent robberies, which were committed, either by the power of the nobles, or under the countenance of public authority. By this rigid adminiſtration, the face of the kingdom was ſoon changed, and order and juſtice took place of violence and oppreſſion. But amidſt the excellent inſtitutions, and public-ſpirited plans of Edward, there ſtill appears ſomewhat both of the ſeverity of his perſonal character, and of the prejudices of the times.

As the various kinds of malefactors, murderers, robbers, incendiaries, raviſhers, and plunderers, had become ſo numerous and powerful, that the ordinary miniſters of juſtice, eſpecially in the weſtern counties, were afraid to execute the laws againſt them, the king found it neceſſary to provide an extraordinary remedy for the evil; and accordingly created, for the puniſhment of crimes, a new tribunal, which, however uſeful, would, in times of more regular liberty, have been deemed a very great ſtretch of arbitrary power. It conſiſted of commiſſioners, who were empowered to enquire into diſorders and crimes of all kinds, and to inflict the proper puniſhment on the offenders. The officers, charged with this unuſual commiſſion, made their circuits throughout the counties of England, moſt affected with this evil, and carried terror into all thoſe parts of the kingdom. In their zeal to puniſh crimes, they did not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh between the innocent and the guilty: the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion became the ground of accuſation and trial; the ſlighteſt evidence was received againſt criminals; the priſons were crouded with malefactors, real or pretended; ſevere fines were levied for ſmall offences; and the king, tho' his exhauſted revenue was ſupplied by this expedient, found it neceſſary to ſtop the courſe of ſo great rigour; and, after terrifying and diſſipating, by this tribunal, the gangs of diſorderly people in England, he very prudently annulled the commiſſion, and never afterwards renewed it.

Among the various diſorders, to which the kingdom was ſubject, no one was more univerſally complained of, than the adulteration of the coin; and, as this crime required more art than the Engliſh of that age, who chiefly employed force and violence in their iniquity, were poſſeſſed of, the imputation fell chiefly on the Jews. Edward alſo ſeems to have indulged a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion againſt that people, and, with an ill-judged zeal for chriſtianity, naturally augmented by an expedition to the Holy Land, he let looſe the whole rigour of his juſtice againſt thoſe unhappy foreigners.

Two hundred and eighty of them were hanged at one time, in London only, beſides thoſe who ſuffered in other parts of the kingdom. The houſes and lands, for the Jews had of late ventured to make purchaſes of that kind, as well as the goods of great multitudes, were ſold and confiſcated: and the king, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected that the riches of the ſufferers were the chief part of their guilt, ordered one half of the money raiſed by the confiſcations to be ſet apart and beſtowed upon ſuch as were willing to embrace chriſtianity. But the reſentment of their injuries was more prevalent over their minds, than the temptation ariſing from their poverty; ſo that very few of them could be induced to embrace the religion of their perſecutors. But the miſeries of this people did not terminate here: tho' the arbitrary talliages and exactions levied upon them had yielded a conſtant and conſiderable revenue to the crown, Edward, prompted at once by his zeal and rapacity, reſolved ſome time after to purge the kingdom entirely of that hated race; and to ſeize to himſelf their whole property, as the reward for his labour. He left them only money ſufficient to defray the expences of ther journey into foreign countries, where new perſecutions and extortions awaited them. But the inhabitants of the Cinque ports, imitating the avidity of their ſovereign, deprived moſt of them of this ſmall pittance, and even threw many of the Jews into the ſea; a crime for which the king, who was determined to be the ſole plunderer in his dominions, inflicted a capital puniſhment upon them. No leſs than fifteen thouſand Jews were, at this time robbed of their effects, and baniſhed the kingdom.

The great poverty of the crown, tho' no excuſe, was poſſibly the cauſe of this egregious tyranny exerciſed againſt the Jews; but Edward practiſed other methods, more honourable indeed, of remedying that evil. He employed a ſtrict frugality in the management and diſtribution of his revenues; he engaged the parliament to vote him a fifteenth of all moveables; the pope to grant him a tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues for three years; and the merchants to conſent to a perpetual impoſition of half a mark on every ſack of wool exported, and a mark on three hundred ſkins. He alſo iſſued commiſſions to enquire into all encroachments on the royal demeſne, into the value of eſcheats, forfeitures, and wardſhips; and into the means of repairing or improving every branch of the revenue. The commiſſioners in the execution of their office began to carry matters too far againſt the nobility, and to queſtion the titles to eſtates which had been tranſmitted from father to ſon for ſeveral generations. Earl Warrenne, who had done ſuch eminent ſervice in the late reign, being required to ſhew them his title drew his ſword, and added, that William the baſtard had not conquered the kingdom for himſelf alone; his anceſtor was a joint adventurer in the cauſe, and he was himſelf determined to maintain what had from that period remained unqueſtioned in his family. The king, ſenſible of the danger, very prudently deſiſted from making any farther enquiries of this nature.

A. D. 1276. But the active ſpirit of Edward could not long remain without employment; he ſoon after

undertook an enterprize, more ſafe for himſelf, and more adantageous to his people. Llewellin prince of Wales, had been deeply engaged with the Mountford faction; had entered into all their conſpiracies againſt the crown; had frequently fought on their ſide; and till the battle of Eveſham, ſo fatal to that party, had employed every expedient to ſuppreſs the royal cauſe, and to promote the ſucceſs of the barons. In the general accommodation made with the vanquiſhed, Llewellin had alſo obtained his pardon; but as he was the moſt powerful, and therefore the moſt obnoxious vaſſal of the crown, he had reaſon for being anxious with regard to his ſafety, and to dread the future effects of reſentment and jealouſy in the Engliſh monarch. He had therefore determined to provide for his ſecurity, by maintaining a ſecret correſpondence with his aſſociates, and even made his addreſſes to a daughter of the earl of Leiceſter, who was ſent to him from beyond ſea, but being intercepted in her paſſage near the iſlands of Scilly, was detained in the court of England. This incident increaſing the mutual jealouſy between Edward and Llewellin, the latter when required to come to England, and do homage to the new king, ſcrupled to put himſelf into the hands of an enemy; deſired a ſafe conduct from Edward; inſiſted on having the king's ſon, and other noblemen delivered to him as hoſtages; and demanded that his ſpouſe ſhould be previouſly ſet at liberty. The king having now brought the ſtate to a full ſettlement, was not diſpleaſed with this occaſion of exerciſing his authority, and making a complete conqueſt of the principality of Wales. He refuſed all Llewellin's demands, except that of a ſafe conduct; ſent him repeated ſummons to perform the duty of a vaſſal; levied an army to reduce him to obedience; obtained a new aid of a fifteenth from parliament, and marched at the head of his army with certain aſſurances of ſucceſs againſt the enemy.

A. D. 1277. Beſides the great diſproportion of force between the kingdom of England and principality of Wales, the circumſtances of the two ſtates were now entirely reverſed, and the ſame inteſtine diſſenſions which had formerly weakened England, now prevailed in Wales, and had even taken place in the reigning family. David and Roderic, brothers to Llewellin, had been diſpoſſeſſed of their inheritance by that prince; had been obliged to have recourſe to the protection of Edward, and ſeconded with all their intereſt, which was very extenſive, the attempts of that monarch to enſlave their native country. The Welſh prince had no other reſource than the inacceſſible ſituation of his mountains, which had hitherto, during many ages, defended his predeceſſors againſt all the attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors; and he accordingly retired among the hills of Snowdun; determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. But Edward, at once both vigorous and cautious, entering by the north with a formidable army, penetrated into the heart of the country; and having carefully explored every road before him, and ſecured every paſs behind him, approached the Welſh army in its laſt retreat. He, however, ſtill avoided putting to the trial, the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independence, and inflamed with animoſity againſt its hereditary enemies, truſting to the ſlow, but ſure effects of famine, for reducing that people to ſubjection. The rude and ſimple manners of the natives, as well as the mountainous ſituation of their country, had rendered them entirly regardleſs of tillage; and truſt to paſturage alone for their ſubſiſtence: a method of life, which had hitherto ſecured them againſt all the irregular attempts of the Engliſh; but expoſed them to certain ruin, when the conqueſt of the country was ſteadily purſued, and prudently planned by Edward. Deſtitute of magazines, cooped up in a narrow corner, both they and their cattle ſuffered equally from famine; and Llewellin, without being able to make one effort for his independence, was, at laſt, obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and receive the terms impoſed upon him by the victor.

He bound himſelf to pay to Edward fifty thouſand pounds, as a reparation for damages; to do homage to the crown of England; to permit all the other barons of Wales, except four near Snowdon, to ſwear fealty to the ſame crown; to relinquiſh the country between Cheſhire and the river Conway; to ſettle on his brother Roderic a thouſand marks a year, and five hundred on David; and, to deliver ten hoſtages for ſecurity of his future ſubmiſſion.

On the performance of the other articles, however, Edward remitted the payment of the fifty thouſand pounds ſtipulated by treaty, and which, probably, the poverty of the country, rendered it abſolutely impoſſible for him to levy. But complaints of other hardſhips ſoon aroſe, on the ſide of the vanquiſhed: the Engliſh, inſolent on the eaſy and bloodleſs victory, cruelly oppreſſed the inhabitants of the ceded diſtricts: the lords marchers committed, with impunity, all kinds of violence on their Welſh neighbours: new, and moſt ſevere terms were impoſed upon Llewellin himſelf; and Edward, when that prince attended him at Worceſter, exacted a promiſe, that he would retain no perſon in his principality, who ſhould be diſagreeable to the Engliſh monarch. Beſides this, other perſonal inſults were offered to the Welſh chief, which raiſed the indignation of that people, and made them determine, rather to encounter a force, which they had already experienced to be much ſuperior to them, than to ſubmit any longer to the oppreſſions of the haughty victors.

David ſeeing the abject ſtate to which his country was reduced, and ſeized with the ſpirit of that ancient people, made peace with his brother, and promiſed to concur with him in defending the public liberty. The Welſh flew to arms, and Edward, not diſpleaſed with having an opportunity of rendering his conqueſt final and abſolute, ſummoned all his military tenants, and advanced into Wales with an army, which the inhabitants could not reaſonably hope to reſiſt. The ſituation of the country, however, gave the Welſh, at firſt, ſome advantages over Luke de Tony, one of Edward's captains, who had paſſed the Frith of Mencu with a large detachment.

This ſucceſs cut off the communication between the two diviſions of the Engliſh army; and Edward would have found it impracticable to have forced the enemy to have hazarded a general engagement, had not their late ſucceſs threw the Welſh entirely off their guard. The earl of Gloceſter, one of Edward's generals, had gained ſeveral advantages over the Welſh in South Wales, but being obliged to retire, the enemy ſufficiently revenged themſelves on the adherents of Edward in that country.

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In the mean time, the war on the part of the Engliſh ſeemed to be at a ſtand; and, tho' Edward was ſtill able to keep the communication open with his Engliſh dominions, yet, the thoughts of returning without abſolute conqueſt was, to him, worſe than death. He therefore ſent orders to be iſſued to the ſheriffs of all the counties of England, ordering them to ſummon all perſons in their reſpective bailiwics, capable of bearing arms, to join the king's army in their expedition againſt the Welſh. A ſufficient indication of the difficulties Edward had already encountered, and ſtill expected to meet with, in this expedition.

But Edward's fortune, and his amazing intrepidity, reſcued him from the neceſſity of ſuch applications. Unable to advance, and aſhamed to retire, he, perhaps, would have liſtened to the propoſitions of the Welſh, had they not, puffed up by their own ſucceſs, thought the time was now come when the doughty propheſy was to be fulfilled. "That their prince was to wear the crown of "Brute; that is, of all Britain." They urged Llewellin to fulfil the will of the fates, by ſhewing himſelf worthy of that diſtinguiſhed honour, and attacking the Engliſh in his turn. He knew this was impracticable without further reinforcements; and as he had entered into a large correſpondence with many of Edward's ſubjects, both in South Wales, and on the marches, he reſolved to aſſemble all the troops he could for one deciſive action. He therefore left his brother David to keep the paſſes of the mountains, while he detatched himſelf with a ſmall body into South Wales, to confer with thoſe of his party, whom he thought his ſucceſs would now encourage, to declare themſelves in his favour. It is more than probable that his march was diſcovered to Edward. He immediately ſent orders to lord Edmund Mortimer, and John Gifford, who lay with a body of forces on the marches of South Wales, to intercept him. Llewellin thinking himſelf entirely ſecure on the ſouth, endeavoured on ſecuring his retreat northward. For this purpoſe, he left the main body of his detachment at a place called Orewyn, a bridge which ſecured the paſſage over the river Wey. He then, attended by one ſervant only, rode to the place of conference, which was in the cantred of Buck. It was not long before he heard that his guards, at the bridge, were attacked by a party of the Engliſh, under lord Edmund Mortimer, and John Gifford. He returned with the greateſt expedition to head his men, who made a gallant reſiſtance; but before he could join them, the Engliſh, not being able to force the paſs at the bridge, had ſent a party to a ford, diſcovered to them by a treacherous Welſhman, where they paſſed. Thus the brave Welſh were attacked both in front and rear, and Llewellin was cut off from returning to his troops. He did all he could to join them, but was purſued by one Adam, ſome ſay Stephen, de Francton, who, not knowing him, run a ſpear through his body. He then left him as a cheap conqueſt till after the heat of action was over, he might ſtrip him at more leiſure. Returning for this purpoſe, and examining the body, which was not yet breathleſs, more narrowly, he knew it to be that of Llewellin, which cauſed a univerſal joy throughout the Engliſh camp. This brave prince, with the ſmall remains of life he had, called for a prieſt, and a white friar being preſent, he received that benefit. Upon ſtripping his body, they found in his pockets a paper, written in a kind of cypher; a tranſcript of which, the lord Edmund Mortimer immediately ſent to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was in Pembrokeſhire, and tranſmitted it to Edward, who was now encamped with his army near the abbey of Conway. This paper, together with a letter or two diſcovered at the ſame time, ſufficiently proved, that Llewellin had entered into ſome dangerous correſpondence with certain noblemen of the Welſh marches. But Edward prudently made no enquiry leſt he ſhould again raiſe the flame of civil diſcord, which he now hoped to extinguiſh.

Thus fell Llewellin in the nobleſt cauſe, for which a man or a prince could die, in endeavouring to retrieve the independence of his people. Had he ſurvived that day, it is hard to ſay, what might have been the event. He has, by Engliſh hiſtorians, been accuſed of inconſtancy; but with how much juſtice let the reader determine; who ſhall find the ſtrongeſt acts of oppreſſion urged in excuſe for his hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh; and not a ſingle argument againſt him, but thoſe which depended entirely on the ſword. Here every generous Engliſhman ought to drop a tear on the ruins of a brave people, ſo long ſtruggling for freedom with the greateſt princes of Europe. And, indeed, whether we conſider the duration of the conqueſt, the inequality of the forces, the motives of attacking, or the principles of reſiſting, we have, I think, in hiſtory, none that can parrallel the caſe of the Welſh. Their cauſe was the cauſe of freedom, and therefore a cauſe that affected the rights of human nature. Shame attend the writer who ſhall blend ſuch a cauſe with any partial or national conſideration. It is glorious for their memories, that, with all the diſadvantages they laboured under, they fell into dependence indeed, but not into ſlavery; and that, their dependence bears rather the appearance of union, than of conqueſt.

No ſooner was Llewellin dead, than his head, together with the news of the late victory, was ſent to the king, who remained ſtill at Conway. We could wiſh, for the ſake of this great monarch, and of the Engliſh, to omit recording, that Edward ordered the head to be ſent to London, where, with all the brutiſh inſolence of national rancour, it was conveyed, as a pageant, through the ſtreets, and, at laſt, crowned with a ſilver circle, in contempt of a prophetical tradition, which ſaid, that Llewellin's head ſhould ride down Cheapſide, encircled with a ſilver diadem. It was next placed upon the pillory in Cheapſide, from whence it was conveyed to the tower of London, crowned with ivy, in ridicule of the propheſy, which ſaid, that Llewellin ſhould wear the crown of Brute.

A. D. 1283. Prince David, brother to Llewellyn, wiſely kept himſelf in the faſtneſſes of Snowdon, without hazarding a battle; but no ſooner was the death of Llewellyn known, than the Welſh, entirely diſpirited, abandoned to the Engliſh arms, every part of their country. The caſtle of Bere held out indeed for ſome time, but was at laſt reduced by the earl of Pembroke, and the garriſon obliged to beg their lives of Edward. The Engliſh, who ſince the firſt loſs, at the Frith of Mencu, had never ventured again to attempt the paſſage between Angleſey and the continent, now compleated the bridge over that Frith; and the junction between them,

them, and the other diviſion of Edward's army being found, the king penetrated to the inmoſt receſſes of Snowdon, forced prince David, who had, ſince his brother's death, aſſumed the ſhadow of ſovereignty, to retire. This retreat rendered Edward maſter of all the mountainous parts, and the ſpirit of the Welſh now ſubſiding in proportion as it had ſwelled before, the unfortunate prince was driven from one place to another through the greater part of his country. Diſtreſs augmented danger into miſery. Edward found means to corrupt David's domeſtics; theſe betrayed him; about the end of the ſummer he was brought priſoner to Rothland caſtle, where Edward then reſided. That monarch was not yet ſo far immerſed in guilty ambition as to forget either decency or the calls of humanity: he had ſenſe ſufficient to regard the former, and virtue ſufficient to obey the dictates of the latter. He accordingly ordered David to be tried by his peers; but durſt not venture to admit the princely captive to his preſence, ſince the cauſe for which he ſuffered, added to the remembrance of his former ſervices, might awaken him into tenderneſs, and excite in his breaſt a generous compaſſion. Prince David, therefore, inſtead of being indulged in his repeated requeſts of being heard before Edward, was ſent priſoner to Cheſter caſtle. Summons were at the ſame time iſſued for a full meeting of parliament in October following to determine the fate of this unfortunate captive. The barons accordingly met, together with the repreſentatives from the ſeveral counties, cities and boroughs, purſuant to the ſummons. The judges, and civilians were alſo ordered to attend. And the reaſon for their meeting in all their writs was expreſſed to be, that they might give their advice with regard to the puniſhment due to the treaſon and ingratitude of David, brother to Llewellin, the late prince of Wales. The parliament accordingly met, and the king himſelf preſiding in perſon, prince David was formally tried and condemned by his peers, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, as a traitor for defending by arms the liberties of his native country, together with his own hereditary authority.

Edward, after the condemnation of David, met with very little reſiſtance in Wales, he fulfilled his engagement to his barons, in dividing among them part of the Welſh lands; and ſent Rhees ap Vaughan, a nobleman of great intereſt in ſouth Wales, who had ſurrendered himſelf, a priſoner to the tower of London. He then built two caſtles, one at Aberconway, and another at Caernarvon; and having ſettled the civil government of Wales, it was afterwards annexed to the crown of England.

A. D. 1284. The king, ſenſible that nothing kept alive the ideas of military valour and ancient glory, ſo much as the additional poetry of the people, which, aſſiſted by the power of muſic, and the jollity of feſtivals, made deep impreſſions on the minds of youth, gathered together all the Welſh bards, and from a barbarous, tho' not abſurd policy, ordered them to be put to death.

There prevails a vulgar ſtory, which, as it ſuits exactly the capacity of monkiſh writers, is carefully recorded by them; that Edward, aſſembling the Welſh, promiſed to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, a Welſhman by birth, and one who could ſpeak no other language. On their acclamations of joy, and promiſe of obedience, he inveſted in the principality his ſecond ſon Edward, then an infant, who had been born at Caernarvon. The death of his eldeſt ſon, Alphonſo, ſoon after, made young Edward heir apparent to the throne. The principality of Wales was fully annexed to the crown, and has always ſince that period, given a title to the eldeſt ſon of the kings of England.

A. D. 1286. The ſettlement of Wales appeared ſo complete to Edward, that in leſs than two years after, he went abroad, in order to make peace between Alphonſo, and Philip the fair, who had ſucceeded his father, Philip the hardy, in the throne of France, The difference between theſe two princes aroſe with regard to the kingdom of Sicily, which, the pope, after his hopes from England failed him, had beſtowed on Charles, brother to Lewis, and which was claimed from other titles by Peter, king of Arragon, brother to Alphonſo. Edward had powers from both princes to ſettle the peace, and ſucceeded in his endeavours, tho' not without conſiderable difficulty. He continued abroad above three years, and on his return, found many diſorders to have prevailed, both from open violence, and from the corruption of juſtice.

Thomas Chamberlain, a gentleman of ſome note, needy in his circumſtance, and abandoned in his morals, had aſſembled ſeveral of his aſſociates at Boſton, in Lincolnſhire, under pretence of holding a tournament, an exerciſe practiſed by the gentry only, but in reality, with a view of plundering the rich fair of Boſton, and robbing the merchants. To facilitate his purpoſe, he privately ſet fire to the town. and while the inhabitants were employed in quenching the flames, the conſpirators broke into the booths, and carried off the goods. Chamberlain himſelf was detected and hanged; but maintained ſo ſteadily the point of honour, with regard to his accomplices, that he could not be prevailed upon by any offers or promiſes to diſcover a ſingle perſon of the confederacy. Many other inſtances of robbery broke out in all parts of England, tho' the ſingular circumſtances attending this conſpiracy, have made it the only one particularly recorded by hiſtorians.

A. D. 1289. But the corruption of the judges, by which the fountains of juſtice were poiſoned, ſeemed ſtill of more dangerous conſequence. Edward, in order to remedy this prevailing abuſe, ſummoned a parliament, and brought the judges to a trial, where all of them, except two who were clergymen, were convicted of this flagrant iniquity; were fined and depoſed from their office. The amount of the fines levied upon them is, alone, a ſufficient proof of their guilt, amounting to above one hundred thouſand marks; an immenſe ſum in thoſe days, and ſufficient to defray the charges of an expenſive war between two great kingdoms. Edward afterwards made all the new judges ſwear, that they would take no bribes; but his expedient of depoſing and fining the old ones was the more effectual remedy.

It is now neceſſary that ſome account be given of the affairs of Scotland, as they proved the principal object of the remainder of Edward's reign. The government of that kingdom, tho' long expoſed to thoſe factions and convulſions incident to all barbarous kingdoms, as well as to many civilized nations; the true heir of the royal family had ſtill in the end prevailed, and Alexander III. who had married Edward's ſiſter, inherited, after a period of above eight hundred years, and thro' a ſucceſſion

ceſſion of males, the ſceptre of all the Scottiſh princes, who had governed the nation, ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of that kingdom. This prince died in 1286, by a fall from his horſe at Kinghorn, without leaving any male iſſue, and without any deſcendants, except Margaret, born of Eric, king of Norway, and of Margaret, a daughter of the Scottiſh monarch. This princeſs, commonly called the maid of Norway, tho' a female, an infant, and a foreigner, yet, being the lawful heir to the kingdom, had, thro' her grandfather's care, been recognized ſucceſſor by the ſtates of Scotland; and, on Alexander's death, the diſpoſitions which had been previouſly made againſt that event, appeared ſo juſt and prudent, that no diſorders, which might be naturally apprehended, enſued in the kingdom. Margaret was acknowledged queen of Scotland; five guardians, the biſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, the earls of Fife and Buchan, and James, ſteward of Scotland, entered peaceably on the adminiſtration; and the infant princeſs, under the protection of Edward, her great uncle, and Eric, her father, who exerted themſelves on this occaſion, ſeemed firmly ſeated on the throne of Scotland. The Engliſh monarch formed mighty projects on this event. He had lately ſubdued Wales; and now attempted, by the marriage of Margaret, with Edward, his eldeſt ſon, to unite the whole iſland under one monarchy, in order to render it at once ſecure againſt domeſtic convulſions, and foreign invaſions.

A. D. 1290. The friendly correſpondence, and mutual confidence, which had for ſome years prevailed between the two nations, and which, even in former times, had never been interrrupted by any violent wars or injuries, greatly facilitated the execution of this project, ſo favourable to the happineſs and grandeur of both kingdoms; and the ſtates of Scotland readily gave their aſſent to the Engliſh propoſals, and even agreed, that their young ſovereign ſhould receive her education at the Engliſh court. Anxious however for the liberty and independency of their country, they took care to ſtipulate very equitable conditions, before they threw themſelves into the arms of ſo great, and ſo ambitious a monarch. It was agreed, that they ſhould enjoy all their ancient laws, liberties, and cuſtoms; thar in caſe young Edward and Margaret ſhould die without iſſue, the crown of Scotland ſhould revert to the next heirs, and be inherited by them free and independent; that the military tenants of the crown ſhould never be obliged to go out of Scotland, in order to do homage to the ſovereign of the united kingdoms, nor the chapters of cathedral, collegiate, or conventual churches, in order to make elections; that the parliaments, ſummoned for the affairs of Scotland, ſhould always be held within the limits of that kingdom; and that, Edward ſhould bind himſelf under the penalty of an hundred thouſand marks, payable to the pope for the uſe of the holy wars, to obſerve all the articles of this convention.

It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive, that two nations could have treated more on the footing of equality than Scotland and England maintained during the whole courſe of this tranſaction; and tho' Edward gave his aſſent to the article, reſpecting the future independency of the Scottiſh crown, with "a ſaving of his former right," this reſerve gave no alarm to the nobility of Scotland, both becauſe theſe rights, having been hitherto little heard of, had occaſioned no diſturbance, and becauſe the Scots had ſo near a proſpect of ſeeing them entirely abſorbed in the right of their ſovereignty.

A. D. 1291. But this project, ſo happily formed, and ſo amicably conducted, failed of ſucceſs, by the ſudden death of the Norwegian princeſs, who expired in her paſſage to Scotland, and left a very diſmal proſpect to that kingdom. This event awakened all the ambition of Edward, and excited all his policy. That he had before this cataſtrophe an eye upon the ſovereignty of Scotland is ſcarcely to be doubted; but he hoped to acquire it in his family rather by compact than claim. He knew how eaſy it was, when the perſons of ſovereigns are united to unite their intereſts; and how naturally a people, enjoying the ſhadow of independency, forget its ſubſtance. The forms of liberty were taken care of by the late treaty with the Scots, and a little time would have baniſhed its ſpirit; but it was now no longer in Edward's power to proceed by gradual acquiſitions; all his dependence was founded on, exciting diviſions in that kingdom. The act of ſucceſſion, made in the reign of Alexander the third, was now void, and the legiſlature of Scotland had made no farther proviſion, by which the ſucceſſion could be determined. Edward knew he was well ſerved in Scotland, and that, the intereſts of the competitors were incompatible. His creature, the biſhop of St. Andrew's, was cloſely connected with Baliol, one of the greateſt of the Scots, and moſt powerful competitor for the crown: between him and Robert Bruce that kingdom was divided.

Baliol had a great eſtate in France, and in the north of England; his power in Scotland was not ſo conſiderable through perſonal, as through accidental, intereſt. For, being conſidered as the head of the Engliſh party there, he was joined by the Cummins, whoſe greatneſs rendered them obnoxious, and he was abetted by the regency, who had all along been extremely favourable to Edward's views. The death of the late queen fixed the attention of the public upon the poſterity of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to Malcolm the maiden, who died in December, 1165, and of William, who ſucceeded him, and died in the year 1214; the lawful iſſue of both being now extinct. This earl left three daughters, who had iſſue, Margaret, married to Allan, lord of Gallaway, whoſe daughter, Dervegild, by John Baliol, and her ſon, John Baliol, was now the competitor to the crown in right of his mother, who reſigned her claim in his favour. If we ſuppoſe the crown of Scotland to have been an allodial fief, deſcending equally to females as males, there can be no manner of doubt but this claim had, in point of juſtice, the preference of all others.

Bruce, as we have already hinted, put himſelf at the head of the party in oppoſition to the Engliſh, and was ſupported by what we may call the natural intereſt of his country. He too had a large eſtate in England, and in Scotland, his ſon having married the heireſs of Carrick, and himſelf being poſſeſſed of Annandale and Garioch, the connections of his family were very ſtrong, and their alliances extenſive. He founded his claim, on being the ſon of Iſabella, the ſecond daughter of the earl of Huntingdon, and younger ſiſter to John Baliol's grandmother. Thus the diſpute between theſe

two rivals for a crown may be brought to a very narrow compaſs, viz. whether the grandſon of an eldeſt daughter, by a daughter, or the ſon of a ſecond daughter, both from an indiſputed father, ought to have the preference with regard to the ſucceſſion.

As to the perſonal merit of theſe two competitors, Baliol ſeems to have had the advantage, though the weaker man; and Bruce's conduct, though virtuous, was founded on wicked principles. He had already agreed to that fatal intereſt Edward had obtained in Scotland, and his oppoſition afterwards was owing only to the preference which the milder virtues of his antagoniſt had obtained among the heads of the regency. He enjoyed great advantages from his having been conſidered, by the late king of Scotland, as heir apparent to the crown, provided his own iſſue ſhould fail, and from the prepoſſeſſion of the Scots in general, in favour of his proximity of deſcent from the royal ſtem.

A prince of Edward's ſagacity and quickneſs, could not fail of perceiving, at one view, all theſe conſiderations, and ſeeing on what hinge the controverſy muſt turn. The parties in this diſpute was ſoon ſenſible, that, without an umpire to decide their differences, their country, which had long enjoyed the bleſſings of peace, muſt ſoon become the ſcene of civil rage and devaſtation. It was natural for the Engliſh to propoſe Edward, a prince, uncle to the late queen, his family faithfully ſerved by Scottiſh arms, and his councils long ſupported by their intereſts; not to mention the near proſpect he lately had of being father to their princeſs. Accordingly, Fraſer, biſhop of St. Andrews, with other deputies, were ſent to notify to him their reſolution, and to claim his good offices in the preſent dangers, to which they were expoſed. His inclination, they flattered themſelves, led him to prevent their diſſenſions, and to interpoſe with a power, which none of the candidates would dare to withſtand. When this expedient was propoſed by one party, the other deemed it dangerous to object to it: indifferent perſons thought that the eminent perils of a civil war would thereby be prevented: and no one reflected on the ambitious character of Edward, and the almoſt certain ruin which muſt attend a ſmall ſtate, divided by factions, when it thus implicitly ſubmits itſelf to the will of ſo powerful a neighbour.

The temptation was too ſtrong for the virtue of the Engliſh monarch to reſiſt. He propoſed to ſeize the preſent favourable opportunity, and if not to create, at leaſt to revive, his claim of a feudal ſuperiority over Scotland; a claim which had hitherto lain in the deepeſt obſcurity, and which, if it ever had been an object of attention, or had been ſo much as ſuſpected, would have effectually prevented the Scottiſh barons from chuſing him for an umpire. He well knew, that, if this pretenſion was once ſubmitted to, as it ſeemed difficult, in the preſent ſituation of Scotland, to oppoſe it, the abſolute ſovereignty of that kingdom, which had been the caſe with Wales, would ſoon follow; and that one great vaſſal, cooped up in an iſland by his liege lord, without reſource from foreign powers, without aid from any fellow vaſſals, could not long maintain his dominions againſt the efforts of a mighty kingdom, aſſiſted by all the cavils which the feudal law afforded his ſuperior againſt him. In purſuing this great object, very advantageous to England, perhaps, in the end, no leſs benefical to Scotland, but extremely unjuſt and iniquitous in itſelf, Edward buſied himſelf in ſearching for proofs of his pretended ſuperiority; and, inſtead of looking into his own archives, which, if his claim had been real, muſt have afforded him numerous records of the homages paid by the Scottiſh princes, and could alone yield him any authentic teſtimony, he ranſacked all the monaſteries for old chronicles and hiſtories wrote by Engliſhmen, and collected all the paſſages, which ſeemed anywiſe to favour his pretenſions. Yet, even in this method of proceeding, which muſt have diſcovered to himſelf the injuſtice of his claim, he was far from being fortunate. He began his proofs from the time of Edward the Elder, and continued them through all the Saxon and Norman times; tho' he produced nothing concluſive.

But Edward had recourſe to ſtronger arguments than any that could be drawn from ancient records and hiſtories: the ſword was to enforce his proofs however feeble; and render thoſe reaſons concluſive, which, deprived of that aſſiſtance, were weak and puerile.

Thus determined to ſupport his pretenſions, and aſſiſted by a powerful army, Edward advanced to the frontiers; and invited the Scottiſh parliament, and all the competitors, to attend him in the caſtle of Norham, a fortreſs erected on the ſouthern banks of the Tweed, in order to determine the cauſe, which had been ſubmitted to his determination. At the ſame time, Edward reſolved not to give umbrage to the Scottiſh nobles, by producing his own claim, till it ſhould be too late for them to think of oppoſition. In order to this, he ſent an acknowledgement to the Scottiſh barons, that, tho' they paſſed the frontiers on this occaſion, ſuch a ſtep ſhould never be drawn into precedent, nor afford the Engliſh monarchs a pretence for exacting a like ſubmiſſion in any future tranſactions.

By this ſtratagem, the whole Scottiſh nobility put themſelves, unwarily, into the power of Edward, who immediately opened the conferences at Norham; and informed the parliament, by the mouth of Roger de Brabançon, his chief juſticiary, that he was come thither to determine the right among the competitors for the Scottiſh crown, and reſolved to do ſtrict juſtice to all parties; adding, that he was entitled to the exerciſe of this authority, not by virtue of the reference made to him by the ſtates of Scotland, but in quality of ſuperior and liege lord of the kingdom. He then produced his proofs of this ſuperiority, which he pretended to be unqueſtionable; and required the aſſembly to acknowledge this ſuperiority. The parliament of Scotland, aſtoniſhed at ſo new and unexpected a claim, anſwered only by their ſilence. But Edward, willing to preſerve the appearance of free and regular proceedings, deſired them to repair to Upſittleton, a place in their own country, ſituated on the northern banks of the Tweed, and there deliberate on his claim, examine his proofs, propoſe all their objections, and then to inform him of their reſolutions.

The Scottiſh barons now perceived, that they were betrayed into a ſituation, in which it was impoſſible for them to make any defence for the ancient liberty and independence of their country. They too late perceived the art by which the whole tranſaction had been conducted; and, tho' moved with indignation

indignation at the unexpected claim of the Engliſh monarch, they perceived that oppoſition would be madneſs: they ſaw a martial and politic prince at the head of a powerful army, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from them, ſeparated only by a river, fordable in many places: and they ſaw, that, tho' they might be able, by ſudden flight to make their eſcape, there remained no hopes of ſecuring their country from his future attempts. Without a head, without union among themſelves, all of them attached to different competitors, whoſe title they had raſhly ſubmitted to a foreign prince, and therefore reduced to an abſolute dependence on him; they could only expect by reſiſtance, to entail on themſelves and their poſterity, a more grievous and more deſtructive ſervitude. Yet, even in this deſperate ſtate of affairs, the Scottiſh barons had the courage to reply, that, 'till they had a king, they could take no reſolution on a point of ſuch conſequence to their country. This anſwer not ſatisfying Edward, he addreſſed himſelf to the ſeveral competitors, and required them to acknowledge his ſuperiority, previous to his pronouncing ſentence.

From the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland, it is evident, that there could be only three competitors about the ſucceſſion, Baliol, Bruce, and lord Haſtings, with regard to the crown of Scotland; yet, there appeared, on this occaſion, no leſs than nine claimants, beſides the above, who challenged the crown. John Cummin, or Comyn, lord of Badenoch, Florence, earl of Holland, Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, William de Veſcey, Robert de Pynkey, Nicholas de Soules, Patrick Galythly, Roger de Mandeville, and Robert de Roſs; not to mention the king of Norway, who claimed as heir to his daughter Margaret. Some of theſe competitors were deſcended from the more remote branches of the royal family; others were even ſprung from illegitimate children; and as none of them had the leaſt pretence of right, it is natural to imagine that Edward had ſecretely encouraged them to appear in the liſt of claimants, that he might, with more facility, ſow diviſions among the Scottiſh nobility, make the cauſe appear the more intricate, and be able to chuſe from a great number, the more obſequious candidate.

But on this occaſion, he found them all equally obſequious. Robert Bruce was the firſt who acknowledged Edward's ſuperiority over Scotland; and, he had ſo far foreſeen the king's pretenſion, that even in his petition, where he ſet forth his claim to the crown, he had previouſly applied to him as liege lord of the kingdom; but he was not followed in this particular by any other of the candidates. They did not, however, refuſe to acknowledge Edward's ſuperiority when applied to for that purpoſe; except Baliol, who, to prevent giving offence to the Scots nation, thought proper to abſent himſelf during the firſt days of the congreſs, and was, by that means, the laſt who recognized the title uſurped by the Engliſh monarch. Edward next deliberated concerning the method of proceeding in the diſcuſſion of this great controverſy. He appointed, that Baliol, and ſuch of the candidates who had adhered to him, ſhould chuſe forty commiſſioners. Bruce, and his adherents, other forty. And to theſe, the king added twenty-four Engliſhmen, ordering theſe hundred and four commiſſioners to examine the cauſe with great attention among themſelves, and make their report to him. And promiſing in the enſuing year to give a final deciſion. In the mean time he pretended, that it was neceſſary to have all the fortreſſes of Scotland delivered into his hands, in order to enable him, without oppoſition, to put the true heir into poſſeſſion of the crown; and even this exorbitant demand was complied with, both by the ſtates and the candidates. At the ſame time, the governors of all the caſtles immediately reſigned their commands, except Umfreville, earl of Angus, who refuſed, without a formal acquaintance from the parliament and the ſeveral claimants, to ſurrender his fortreſſes to ſuch a deſpotic arbiter, who had given ſo many juſt reaſons of ſuſpicion to the Scots nation. Before this aſſembly broke up, which had fixed ſuch a mark of diſhonour on the nation, all the prelates and barons there preſent, ſwore fealty to Edward; and that prince appointed commiſſioners to take the like oath from all the other barons, and perſons of diſtinction in Scotland.

This important acquiſition being made, Edward left the commiſſioners ſitting at Berwic, to examine the titles of the ſeveral candidates, who claimed the precarious crown, which Edward was willing, for ſome time, to permit the right heir to enjoy. He went ſouthward to aſſiſt at the funeral of his mother, queen Eleanor, who died about this time, and to compoſe ſome differences which had ariſen among his principal nobility. Gilbert, earl of Gloceſter, the greateſt baron in the kingdom, had married the king's daughter, and being elated by that alliance, and ſtill more by his own exorbitant power, which he imagined ſet him above the laws, he permitted his bailiffs and vaſſals to commit violences on the eſtates of Humphry Bohun, earl of Hereford, who retaliated the injuries by like violences. But this was not a reign in which ſuch illegal proceedings could paſs with impunity. Edward procured a ſentence againſt the two earls, committed them both to priſon; nor would he reſtore them to their liberty, till he had exacted a fine of a thouſand marks from Hereford, and ten thouſand from his ſon-in-law.

A. D. 1292. While Edward was thus engaged in ſettling the domeſtic diviſions in his own kingdom, the titles of John Baliol, and of Robert Bruce, whoſe claims appeared to be the beſt founded among the competitors to the crown of Scotland, were the ſubject of general diſquiſition, as well as of debate among the commiſſioners. Edward, in order to give a greater authority to his intended deciſion, propoſed this general queſtion, both to the aſſembly, and to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe; "Whether a perſon deſcended from the el-
"deſt ſiſter, but farther removed by one degree,
"was preferable in the ſucceſſion of kingdoms
"fiefs, and other impartible inheritances, to one
"deſcended from the younger ſiſter, but one de-
"gree nearer the original?" This was indeed the true ſtate of the caſe; and the right of repreſentation had now gained ſuch ground every where, that a uniform anſwer was returned to the king in the affirmative. He therefore pronounced ſentence in favour of Baliol; and when Bruce, upon this diſappointment, afterwards joined lord Haſtings, and claimed a third of the kingdom, which he now pretended to be diviſible. Edward, tho' his own intereſt ſeemed more to require the partition of Scotland, again pronounced ſentence in favour of Baliol; who, on renewing his oath of fealty to

England,

England, was put in poſſeſſion of the crown, all his fortreſſes were reſtored to him; and the conduct of Edward, both with regard to the deliberate ſolemnity of the proceedings, and the juſtneſs of his award was unexceptionable.

A. D. 1293. If Edward had entertained no other view than that of eſtabliſhing his ſuperiority over Scotland, though the iniquity of that claim was apparent, and aggravated by the moſt enormous breach of truſt, he might have fixed his pretenſions, and left that important acquiſition to his poſterity; but he had immediately recourſe to ſuch meaſures as rendered it ſufficiently evident, that, not content with this uſurpation, he aimed alſo at the abſolute ſovereignty and dominion of the kingdom. Inſtead of gradually inuring the Scots to bear the yoke, and exerting his rights of ſuperiority with moderation, he encouraged all appeals to his kingdom; required king John himſelf, by ſix ſummonſes on trivial occaſions, to come to London; refuſed him the privilege of defending his cauſe by a procurator; and obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private perſon. Theſe humiliating demands were hitherto quite unknown to a king of Scotland: they are, however, the neceſſary conſequences of vaſſallage by the feudal law; and as there was no preceding inſtance of a prince of that country ever having ſubmitted to ſuch treatment, from this circumſtance alone, had there remained any doubt, Edward muſt have been himſelf convinced, that his claim was no other than uſurpation. But his intention was to enrage Baliol by theſe indignities, to force him to rebellion, and then, as a puniſhment for his treaſon, aſſume the dominion of the ſtate. Accordingly Baliol returned into Scotland highly provoked at this uſage, and though a prince of a ſoft and gentle ſpirit, reſolved at all hazards to vindicate his liberty; and the war which ſoon after broke out between France and England, gave him a favourable opportunity for executing his purpoſe.

The rapines and other violent diſorders which were ſo frequent in that age were not confined to the licentious barons and their retainers at land: the ſea was equally infeſted with piracy: the weak execution of the laws had given licence to all orders of men; a general appetite for revenge poſſeſſed the merchants and mariners, and on the leaſt provocation they ſought redreſs by immediate retaliation upon the aggreſſors. A Norman and Engliſh ſhip met off the coaſt near Bayonne, and having both occaſion for freſh water, they ſent their boats to land, and the ſeveral crews came at the ſame time to one ſpring; a quarrel enſued for the preference: and a Norman, drawing his dagger, attempted to ſtab an Engliſhman, who grappling with him, threw his adverſary on the ground, and the Norman, as was pretended, falling on his own dagger was ſlain. This ſilly diſpute ſoon kindled a war between the two nations, and a great part of Europe was involved in the quarrel. The mariners of the Norman ſhip carried their complaints to the French king. Philip, without enquiring into the truth, or ſo much as aſking for redreſs, bid them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter. This declaration was ſufficient to animate perſons deſtitute of juſtice, who were deſirous of enriching themſelves at the expence of thoſe, whom they conſidered as the aggreſſors, and at the ſame time of ſatisfying their revenge, to every act of hoſtility.

It is, therefore, no wonder that the animoſities between the two nations daily encreaſed, till at laſt it came to ſuch a height, that they gave no quarter to each other; and an Engliſh ſhip being taken, the crew was hanged on the main yard, in company with ſeveral dogs. This proceeding incenſed the Engliſh to ſuch a degree, that the Cinque-ports fitted out a fleet of privateers, which cruized on the French navigation. Edward, who was now wholly employed on the affairs in Scotland, was deſirous of terminating theſe hoſtilities. In order to this, he ſent the earl of Lincoln, as his ambaſſador, to ſettle all diſputes with the court of France. But while this nobleman was intent on the negotiation, the Engliſh privateers ſunk ſix French veſſels in one of the Flemiſh ports; and a large fleet ſailing from Gaſcony, laden with wine, was attacked on the coaſt of Britany by fifty Engliſh ſhips of force, which had been fitted out to attend Edward in his intended expedition to the Holy Land: moſt of the French ſhips were driven on ſhore, and the reſt taken; the whole amounting to one hundred and forty veſſels, and fifteen hundred men. Animated by this ſucceſs, and ſtimulated by the injuries they had received from the enemy, the Engliſh fleet inſulted Rochelle itſelf, and made ſeveral deſcents on the coaſts of France, ſometimes killing the inhabitants, and ravaging the country, but always carrying off a conſiderable booty.

The French court immediately ſent ambaſſadors into England, demanding reſtitution of the prizes which had been taken, together with their cargoes, and reparation for all other damages and inſults committed by the Engliſh on the ſubjects of France; threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to make repriſals on the territories of Edward in France, and to ſummon him to give an account of his conduct before the king and peers of that kingdom. Edward, to gain time, ſent the biſhop of London to the French court, with his anſwer to the demand. The prelate's inſtructions were, to inſiſt ſtrenouſly upon Edward's independent ſovereignty in England, where his courts were always open, and to which, all aggrieved by his ſubjects might make their complaints: adding, that he was ready to iſſue letters of ſafe conduct to all parties. But if this expedient was objected to, the biſhop was inſtructed to propoſe, that both kings ſhould ſubmit their differences to arbitrators; and, if any thing ſhould happen too difficult to be adjuſted in this manner, it ſhould be referred to a perſonal interview between themſelves; or, if the court of France was averſe to all thoſe expedients, it was propoſed, that the differences ſhould be ſubmitted to the college of cardinals, the ſee of Rome being then vacant.

Philip received all the propoſitions with the utmoſt contempt; nor could all the application of the earl of Cornwall, who repaired to the French court for that purpoſe, procure any other anſwer from him, than a prohibition of all commerce between the two nations; and, which was accordingly iſſued by an aſſembly of the ſtates in France. Edward was ſummoned to appear, and anſwer at Philip's court; with a certification, that in caſe of non-compliance, his eſtates in France ſhould be confiſcated. Philip, at the ſame time, demanded, that the moſt guilty of the offenders in Gaſcony, ſhould be ſent priſoners to Perigeux. Such proceedings determined Edward to provide for his own ſafety; he ſent over John de St. John, one of his beſt

beſt officers, to provide for the defence of Gaſcony; while Philip diſpatched the conſtable de Neſle, to reduce it to his obedience; but the Frenchman found ſo much difficulty in the enterprize, that he made very little progreſs that year.

Such was the ſtate of affairs at this time on the continent.

In the mean time John Baliol was crowned king at Scone, on the 30th of November, and Edward was ſo jealous of his new-acquired ſovereignty, that he appointed a deputy to officiate for the earl of Fife, who was under age, and whoſe office it was to crown the kings of Scotland. The ceremony being over the new king went to Newcaſtle, where Edward then reſided, and renewed his homage in the following terms.

"My lord, Edward, king of England, and ſu-
" perior lord of the kingdom of Scotland; I, John,
" king of Scotland, become your liegeman for the
" whole kingdom of Scotland, with its appertinan-
" ces; which kingdom I claim and hold, and
" ought of right to hold, for me and my heirs,
" kings of Scotland, hereditary of you, and your
" heirs, kings of England, of life and limb, and
" terrene honour, againſt all men that may live
" and die."

This was an unuſual form of homage, and much more expreſs, than what had ever been paid by the kings of Scotland to thoſe of England.

A.D. 1294. While Edward was thus exerciſing his authority over Scotland, he found his own pride ſhocked by the proceedings of the court of France againſt him.

The revolt of the earl of Hainault, and an inſurrection within the city of Rouen, againſt the crown of France, were events of the higheſt conſequence to Edward, as he flattered himſelf they would be productive of ſome advantage to the crown of England. But theſe commotions ſoon ſubſiding, Edward applied himſelf to form ſtrong alliances for his ſupport, in caſe he ſhould be obliged to declare war againſt the king of France. He accordingly entered into an alliance with the king of the Romans. At the ſame time Henry, earl of Bar, the duke of Brabant, and the duke of Britany, entered deeply into Edward's views. He alſo engaged on his ſide the earl of Flanders, by promiſing that the treaty of marriage, which had lately been entered on between prince Edward and that earl's daughter, ſhould be brought to a ſpeedy iſſue.

But amidſt all theſe preparations for war, the thoughts of peace were not neglected. Edward found it by no means convenient for him, at this juncture, to break with France, and his pacific intentions were ſeconded by a ſtrong party in that court, of which, the queen's couſin and mother were the principals. By the management of theſe two ladies, the earl of Cornwall reſumed his negotiations for peace. And accordingly that prince, though he was on his return to England, almoſt deſpairing of ſucceſs, immediately returned. The conferences being renewed, a convention, not much to the honour of Edward, was drawn up, wherein it was ſtipulated, that in order to make ſome ſatisfaction to the king of France, for the injuries and affronts offered him by Edward's officers, ſix of the ſtrongeſt caſtles, belonging to the Engliſh monarch, viz. Xaintes, Taillemond, Tourn, Pomerell, Penne, and Mount Flaunkon, ſhould be given up to the king of France; and that the whole dutchy of Gaſcony, except Bayonne, Bourdeaux, and La Role, ſhould be governed by one of Philip's officers, till affairs could be accommodated between the two crowns. It was farther agreed, that Philip ſhould be at liberty to chuſe hoſtages out of Edward's French officers and miniſters, for the performance of the convention. Philip, on his ſide, agreed to recall his citation and ſentence againſt Edward, in a full meeting of the parliament at Paris; and to grant him a ſafe conduct for a friendly interview at Amiens, for ſettling a definitive treaty. He likewiſe engaged to recall his troops and garriſons out of all the cautionary forts, at Edward's perſonal requeſt, and proper hoſtages were to be given for that purpoſe. It appears, that the king of France himſelf had no concern in this convention, which had been ſtipulated in his name by the two queens. The earl of Cornwall, therefore, was in no haſte in making uſe of the powers tranſmitted to him by his brother for executing the convention, before it had been ratified by Philip himſelf in perſon; but this being formally obtained, in preſence of the queen of Navarre and the duke of Burgundy, directions were given for executing it on the part of the king of England. The troops of both powers were withdrawn out of each others dominions, and John de St. John, Edward's governor in Gaſcony, imagining every thing to have been ſettled, ſold the ſtores he had provided for the defence of the places under his command, and returned to England.

But Philip, in the mean time, took advantage of the growing jealouſy which ſubſiſted among the many powers in Europe of Edward's greatneſs. And he accordingly formed a ſecret alliance with John Baliol, king of Scotland; and by that means, commenced that ſtrict union, which, during ſo many ages, was maintained, by mutual intereſts and neceſſities, between the French and Scottiſh nations. John confirmed this alliance by ſtipulating a marriage between his eldeſt ſon, and the daughter of Philip de Valois.

A.D. 1296. Conſcious of the reaſons of diſguſt which had been given to the Scottiſh monarch, and expecting the moſt violent effects of that peoples reſentment, Edward employed the ſupplies granted him by his parliament, in making preparations againſt his northern neighbour. When in this ſituation he received intelligence of the treaty ſecretly concluded, between John and Philip; and, though uneaſy at this concurrence of a French and Scottiſh war, he reſolved not to encourage his enemies by a puſillanimous behaviour, or by ſubmitting to their united efforts. He therefore ſummoned John to perform the duty of a vaſſal, and to ſend him a ſupply of forces againſt an invaſion from France, with which he was threatened. He next required that the fortreſſes of Berwic, Jedborough, and Roxborough ſhould be put into his hands as a ſecurity during the war. He cited John to appear in an Engliſh parliament ſummoned to meet at Newcaſtle, and when none of theſe ſucceſſive demands were complied with, he marched northward at the head of a powerful army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe to chaſtize his rebellious vaſſal. The Scottiſh nobility, who had very little reliance on the ſpirit and vigour of their prince, aſſigned him a council of twelve noblemen, in whoſe hands the ſovereignty was lodged; and who put the kingdom in the beſt poſture of defence the preſent diſtractions would admit. A large army compoſed of forty thou-

ſand infantry, tho' ſupported only by five hundred cavalry, advanced to the frontiers; and after making a fruitleſs attempt upon Carliſle, marched eaſtward to defend thoſe provinces which the Engliſh monarch was preparing to attack. But ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the Scottiſh nobles, Robert Bruce the father and ſon, the earls of March and Angus, foreſeeing the ruin of their country from inteſtine diviſions, and a foreign invaſion, endeavoured to procure the favour of Edward by an early ſubmiſſion; and the king, encouraged by this favourable incident, led his army into the enemy's country, and croſſed the Tweed, without oppoſition, at Coldſtream. He there received a meſſage from John, by which that prince, who had now procured for himſelf and his nation, the pope's diſpenſation from former oaths, renounced the homage which had been done to England, and ſet Edward at defiance. But this bravade was ill ſupported by the Scots. Berwic was already taken by aſſault; Sir William Douglas, the governor was made priſoner; above ſeven thouſand of the garriſon were put to the ſword; and Edward, elated with this great advantage, diſpatched earl Warrenne, with ten thouſand men, to lay ſiege to Dunbar, which was defended by the flower of the Scottiſh nobility.

Senſible of the importance of this place, which if taken muſt lay their whole country open to the enemy, the Scots advanced with their main army under the command of the earls of Buchan, Lenox, and Mar, in order to relieve it. Warrenne, not diſmayed by the great ſuperiority of the enemy, marched out to give them battle. He attacked them with the utmoſt vigour; and, as undiſciplined troops are, in proportion to the greatneſs of their numbers, the more expoſed to a panic upon any alarm, he ſoon threw them into confuſion, and drove them off the field with great ſlaughter. The loſs of the Scots is ſaid to have amounted to twenty thouſand men. The caſtle of Dunbar, with all its garriſon ſurrendered the next day to Edward, who after the battle had brought up the main body of the Engliſh, and who now proceeded with the greateſt confidence of ſucceſs. The caſtle of Roxborough was delivered to the Engliſh monarch, by James, ſteward of Scotland, and that nobleman, from whom the royal family of Stuart are deſcended, was again obliged to ſwear fealty to Edward. Nor did the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling make any great reſiſtance: they opened their gates to the enemy almoſt on the firſt ſummons. The whole ſouthern parts of the kingdom were ſoon ſubdued by the Engliſh, and in order to reduce with more facility the northern diviſions, whoſe inacceſſible ſituation ſeemed to promiſe more ſecurity, Edward ordered a ſtrong reinforcement of Welſh and Iriſh, who being accuſtomed to a deſultory kind of war, were the better qualified to purſue the fugitive Scots into the receſſes of their lakes and mountains. But the ſpirit of the nation was already broke by their misfortunes, and the feeble and timid Baliol, diſcontented with his own ſubjects, and over-awed by the Engliſh, abandoned all theſe reſources, which his people might yet have poſſeſſed in this extremity. He haſtened to make his ſubmiſſion to Edward; he expreſſed the deepeſt penitence for his diſloyalty to his liege lord, and made a ſolemn and irrevocable reſignation of his crown into the hands of that monarch. Edward now marched northward towards Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy. No Scotchman approached him, but to pay him ſubmiſſion and homage: even the turbulent highlanders themſelves, ever refractory to their own princes, and averſe to the reſtraint of laws, endeavoured to prevent the devaſtation of their country, by giving him early proofs of their obedience. And Edward having brought the whole kingdom to a ſeeming ſtate of tranquillity, returned to the ſouth with his army. There was at this time in Scotland a ſtone to which the popular ſuperſtition of that people paid the higheſt veneration. All their kings were ſeated on it when they received the rite of inauguration, and ancient tradition aſſured them, that wherever this ſtone was placed their nation ſhould always govern. It was therefore preſerved carefully at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarchy, as well as the ultimate reſource in the greateſt misfortunes. Edward however found means to get this famous ſtone, and carried it with him to England. At the ſame time he gave orders to deſtroy all thoſe records and monuments of antiquity, which might preſerve the memory of the independency of the kingdom, and refute the Engliſh claim of ſuperiority. The Scotch pretend that he likewiſe deſtroyed all the annals found in their convents; but it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that a nation ſo rude and unpoliſhed could be poſſeſſed of any hiſtory whoſe loſs deſerves much to be regreted. The great ſeal of Baliol was broke, and that prince himſelf carried priſoner to London, and committed to cloſe cuſtody in the tower. Two years after he was reſtored to his liberty, and ſubmitted to a voluntary banniſhment in France; where, without making any further attempts for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private ſtation. Earl Warrenne was left governor of Scotland; Engliſhmen were entruſted with all the chief offices; and Edward flattering himſelf that he had attained the end of all his wiſhes, by the final reduction of Scotland, returned with his victorious army to England.

About the ſame time he made an attempt for the recovery of Guienne, but without ſucceſs. He ſent thither an army of ſeven thouſand men, under the command of his brother, the earl of Lancaſter, and that prince gained, at firſt, ſome advantages over the French at Bourdeaux; but he was ſoon after ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he died at Bayonne. The command devolved on the earl of Lincoln, who was not able to perform any thing during the remainder of the campaign.

But the active and ambitious ſpirit of Edward, which his conqueſts brought ſuch conſiderable acceſſions to the Engliſh monarchy, could never be ſatisfied, while Guienne, the ancient patrimony of his family, was wreſted from him by the diſhoneſt artifices of the French monarch. Finding that the diſtance of that province rendered all his efforts againſt it feeble and uncertain, he propoſed to attack France in a quarter where ſhe appeared more vulnerable; and with this view he married his daughter Elizabeth, to John, earl of Holland, and, at the ſame time, contracted an alliance with Guy, earl of Flanders, ſtipulating to pay the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, and projected an invaſion with their united forces, on Philip their common enemy. But in order to ſet this great machine in motion, conſiderable ſupplies were neceſſary from the parliament; and Edward, without much difficulty, obtained from the barons and knights, a new twelfth of all their moveables, and, from the boroughs,

boroughs, that of an eighth. At the ſame time he demanded a fifth of all the moveables of the clergy; but this was ſo violently oppoſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, at the head of the churchmen, that Edward was obliged to poſtpone his expedition till the next ſeaſon. He, however, by depriving them of the benefit of the laws, found means to obtain his requeſt, and puniſhed them ſeverely for their oppoſition.

But theſe ſupplies were ſtill inſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes of Edward, who was therefore obliged to exert his arbitrary power, and to lay an oppreſſive hand on all orders of men. He limited the merchants in the quantity of wool allowed to be exported; and, at the ſame time, forced them to pay him a duty of forty ſhillings a ſack, which was computed to be much above the fifth of the value. He ſeized all the reſt of the wool, as well as all the leather of the kingdom into his hands, and diſpoſed of theſe commodities for his own benefit. He required the ſheriffs of each county to ſupply him with two thouſand quarters of wheat, and as many of oats, which he permitted them to ſeize where they could find them. The cattle and other commodities neceſſary for ſupplying his army, were taken away without the conſent of the owner; and tho' he promiſed afterwards to pay an equivalent for all thoſe goods, the people ſaw but little probability of his ever performing his engagements. At the ſame time he ſhewed an equal diſregard to the principles of the feudal law, by which all the lands of his kingdom were held, in order to increaſe his army, and enable him to ſupport that great effort which he propoſed to make againſt France, he required the attendance of every proprietor of land, poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year, even tho' he did not hold of the crown, nor was obliged by the tenor of his eſtate to perform any ſuch ſervice.

But theſe acts of violence and arbitrary power, notwithſtanding the great perſonal regard generally entertained for the king, occaſioned murmurs in every order of men; and it was not long before ſome of the great nobility, jealous of their own privileges, as well as national liberty, gave both countenance and authority to theſe complaints. Edward aſſembled an army on the ſea-coaſt, which he propoſed to ſend over into Gaſcony, while he himſelf made an attack on the French territories bordering on Flanders; and intended to put theſe forces under the command of Humphry Bohun, earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the mareſchal of England. But theſe two powerful noblemen refuſed to execute his orders, affirming, that, they were only obliged, by their office, to attend his perſon in the wars. A violent altercation enſued, and the king, in the height of his paſſion, addreſſing himſelf to the conſtable, exclaimed, "Sir earl, by God, you ſhall either go, or "hang." "By God, Sir king (replied the earl) "I will neither go, nor hang;" and immediately left the army, in company with the mareſchal, and above thirty other conſiderable barons.

This oppoſition had ſuch an effect upon Edward, that he laid aſide his project of an expedition againſt Guienne; and contented himſelf with aſſembling the army which he intended to tranſport into Flanders. But the two earls, irritated by the conteſt, and elated by impunity, pretending that none of their anceſtors had ever ſerved in that country, refuſed to perform their office in muſtering the army. Edward, tho' exaſperated by this obſtinacy, thought it adviſeable to proceed with moderation. Inſtead therefore of condemning the earls to the penalties of forfeiting their offices, which they held by hereditary right, he appointed Thomas de Berkley, and Geoffrey de Geyneville, to act on that emergency as conſtable and mareſchal. He endeavoured to reconcile himſelf with the church; took the primate again into favour; made him, in conjunction with Reginald de Grey, tutor to the prince, whom he propoſed to appoint guardian of the kingdom during his abſence: and he even aſſembled a great number of the nobility in Weſtminſter-hall, to whom he deigned to make an apology for his former conduct. He pleaded the urgent neceſſities of the crown, his extreme want of money, his engagements from honour, as well as intereſt, to ſupport his allies abroad, and promiſed, if he ever returned in ſafety, to redreſs all their grievances, to reſtore the execution of the laws, and to make all his ſubjects compenſation for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. Mean time he begged them to ſuſpend their animoſities, to judge of him by his future behaviour, to remain faithful to his government, or, if he periſhed in the preſent war, to preſerve their allegiance to his ſon and ſucceſſor.

Tho' theſe arbitrary proceedings of the king were ſufficient, at almoſt any other period, to have excited a civil war in England, yet nothing of that kind happened at this juncture. The vigour and abilities of Edward kept the whole diſcontented faction in awe; and his dexterity at ſtopping on the very brink of the precipice of danger, to which his own ambition, and the neceſſities of the ſtate had carried him, prevented ſo great a calamity. The two powerful earls did not dare to break out into open violence: they proceeded no farther than the drawing up a remonſtrance which was delivered to the king at Winchelſea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. In this inſtrument they complained of the breach of the great charter, as well as that of the foreſts; the violent ſeizure of corn, leather, cattle, and, above all, of wool; a commodity, which, they affirmed, to be equal in value to half the land of the kingdom; the arbitrary impoſition of forty ſhillings a ſack on the ſmall quantity of wool allowed to be exported by the merchants; and concluded with claiming an immediate redreſs of all theſe grievances. The king told them, that the greater part of his council being now abſent, he could not return an anſwer to this remonſtrance; as it would be improper to deliberate on matters of ſuch conſequence to the kingdom, without their advice and aſſiſtance.

Diſguſted at this anſwer, and deſirous of revenging the affront they had received from Edward, the conſtable and mareſchal reſolved to take advantage of the king's abſence, in order to obtain an authentic anſwer to their demands. Accordingly, when they were ſummoned to attend their duty in parliament, they came at the head of a conſiderable body of cavalry and infantry; and before they entered the city, required that the gates ſhould be put into their cuſtody. The council, by the advice of the primate, complied with this demand; by which means they became maſters both of the young prince, and the reſolutions of the parliament. Their demands, however, were very moderate, and ſufficiently prove, that their oppoſition to the government proceeded wholly from juſtifiable motives;

tives: they only required that the two charters ſhould receive a ſolemn confirmation; that a clauſe ſhould be added, to ſecure the nation for ever againſt all impoſitions and taxes without conſent of parliament; and that they themſelves and their adherents, who had refuſed to attend the king into Flanders, ſhould be pardoned for this offence, and again received into favour. The prince of Wales and his council aſſented to theſe terms; and the charters were ſent over to the king in Flanders to be there confirmed by him. Edward was ſufficiently mortified at this meaſure, which he apprehended would for the future impoſe fetters on his conduct, and ſet limits to his lawleſs authority. He therefore delayed, on various pretences, giving any anſwer to the deputies for three days; and when the pernicious conſequences of his refuſal were repreſented to him, he was at laſt obliged, after many internal ſtruggles, to affix his ſeal to the charters, as alſo the clauſe which deprived him of the power he had hitherto aſſumed, of impoſing taxes on the people by his own arbitrary authority.

In the mean time the affairs of Scotland took a very unexpected turn. Edward's miniſters in that kingdom were extremely oppreſſive and unpopular. The only miniſter of virtue and prudence was the earl of Surry, whoſe ill ſtate of health would not permit him to reſide in Scotland. At his departure he left the adminiſtration entirely in the hands of Ormeſby, who was appointed juſticiary of Scotland, and Creſſingham, who bore the office of treaſurer; and a very ſmall military force remained to ſecure the precarious authority of theſe miniſters. The latter had no other object but the amaſſing of money by rapine and injuſtice: the former diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the rigour and ſeverity of his temper: and both of them treating the Scots as a conquered people, made them ſenſible too early of the grievous ſervitude into which they had fallen. As Edward had required that all the proprietors of land ſhould ſwear fealty to him, every one who refuſed giving this teſtimony of ſubmiſſion, was outlawed, confined, and puniſhed without mercy. This exaſperated the Scots to the higheſt degree againſt the Engliſh government, and a conſiderable party of the braveſt perſons was formed to recover the liberties they had ſo inconſiderately loſt. Their meetings were at firſt ſecret; and one William Wallace was not only the ſoul that animated, but alſo the hand that executed, all their deliberations.

Wallace was by birth a private gentleman, by nature a hero, and by his death a martyr to the liberties of his country. He was patient to a miracle of hunger, heat and cold: without deſpondency when diſtreſſed; without inſolence when ſucceſsful; his genius always dictating the means of combating fortune, and his temperance always improving her favours. Profuſe of his own toils; ſparing in thoſe of his fellows. By his example he effected what he could not preſcribe by his power. The love of his country commanding his paſſions, though of themſelves impetuous; and his duty controuling his ambition, though naturally unbounded. This gentleman without any commiſſion but from juſtice, without any direction but from nature, formed his countrymen, who had not hitherto ſubmitted to the yoke, into a little band, which daily ſwelled, and was indefatigable in harraſſing the Engliſh. Wallace was often in great danger, but as often found reſources for his deliverance. At laſt his party grew ſo ſtrong as to be formidable to the government, which was compoſed of the biſhop of Glaſgow, the earl of Carrick, with the families of Stuart and Douglas; and Wallace, to ſtrike the Engliſh with a terror that might render them more moderate for the future, was forced to make ſeveral ſevere examples. At laſt their ſucceſs was ſuch that Creſſingham and Ormeſby, with other Engliſh officers, were driven out of Scotland.

Edward, upon receiving advice of theſe tranſactions, ordered the earl of Surry, to put himſelf at the head of the northern militia, and to reduce theſe outlaws; but the earl's health not being yet eſtabliſhed, he was obliged to truſt the command with lord Henry Piercy his nephew. That young nobleman acquitted himſelf to admiration; and advancing towards Ayr in Scotland, at the head of forty thouſand men, he found the outlaws encamped at Erwin, with a lake in their front, and entrenchments on their flanks. In this ſituation it is poſſible they might have forced the Engliſh general either to have attacked them at a great diſadvantage, or to have retreated for want of proviſions; but diſſentions, that bane of all councils, when ſubordination is unknown, deſtroyed the Scots. Their heats proceeded ſo far that Lundy, one of the braveſt men among them, went over to the Engliſh, rather than continue in the midſt of altercation and confuſion. After many irritating debates, the reſult was to ſubmit to the Engliſh on condition of being ſecured in their lives, limbs, and eſtates; and that they ſhould have an act of indemnity of all that have paſſed.

It was in vain for Wallace, a gentleman only of private fortune, to think of oppoſing the reſolution of the greateſt men in the kingdom. All he could do, was, to evade giving any ſecurity on his own part, and that of his followers, for the performance of the conditions. At laſt, extricating himſelf from this diſagreeable ſituation, he ſent an open defiance to the Engliſh camp, declaring, that, he would never lay down his arms till the liberty and independency of his country was ſecured. So generous a reſolution encouraged many of the middling rank, where virtue is moſt commonly found, to join his ſtandard; and his followers were inſpired with the moſt amazing courage when fighting under him. But the conduct of thoſe, whoſe honour and birth ought to have dictated better things, was very different; for all the nobility ſubmitted to the conqueror, While Wallace, attacking the rear of the Engliſh army, plundered their baggage; but the latter facing about, Wallace was obliged to retire, with the loſs of a thouſand men. By this time the earl of Surry had reached the army; but was ſurprized to find every thing in the utmoſt confuſion, thro' the activity of Wallace; he, however, perceived himſelf unable to reduce the daring outlaw; and the ſeaſon of the year coming on, he was obliged to retire with his men into winter quarters. Wallace, however, ſtill kept the field, and plundered the eſtates of thoſe who had ſubmitted to the Engliſh. The biſhop of Glaſgow in particular was plundered, and his domeſtics carried away priſoners; while the friends of Wallace increaſed ſo greatly, that they ventured to vote him the guardian of the kingdom. This was a juſt, wiſe, and ſpirited meaſure. The nobility, in effect, by their mean ſubmiſſions had forfeited their native rights; and thoſe who were yet uncontaminated were juſti-

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fied in providing for their own ſafety. Edward had ſent into Scotland ſeveral noblemen, particularly the Cummins, who had been priſoners in England, in order to form a party againſt Wallace, who was now abſolutely the governor of the kingdom. It is incredible with what rapidity he reduced the whole nation, tho' perhaps the remiſſneſs of the earl of Surry, did not a little contribute to his ſucceſs. At laſt, in the month of Auguſt, that nobleman entered Scotland, at the head of a powerful army, and advanced as far as the river Forth, where he perceived the Scots encamped on the oppoſite bank. At firſt he offered them terms, which Wallace refuſed with indignation, notwithſtanding the inequality of his numbers with thoſe of the Engliſh. A council of war was then held, in which, contrary to the opinion of Lundy, Creſſingham, the treaſurer, prevailed with the earl of Surry to attack the enemy. This could be done only by paſſing a wooden-bridge, the beams of which had, by the order of Wallace, been half cut thro' the ſucceeding day, without the Engliſh perceiving what had been done. The vanguard of the army was commanded by Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a gentleman, noted for his reſolution and courage; and after paſſing the bridge without meeting with any oppoſition, he advanced to the foot of the hill, on the brow of which the Scots were drawn up. But Wallace had taken his meaſures with great prudence and foreſight; for a body of Scots, under the command of the high ſteward of Scotland, who had again revolted from the Engliſh, and Matthew, earl of Lenox, had ſecretly poſted themſelves at the rear of the Engliſh army, on the ſouth-ſide of the Forth, to act as occaſion ſhould offer. Twenge now marched up the hill with great intrepidity; while the Scots, by Wallace's order, ſeemed to retire in ſome confuſion. The Engliſh imagining this to be the effect of fear, purſued the enemy with great reſolution; while a detachment of the Scots, wheeling round, got between Twenge and the bridge, juſt at the time when the great weight of the Engliſh ſoldiers broke it down. Wallace, obſerving the confuſion occaſioned by this diſaſter, faced about, and the Engliſh, who had paſſed the bridge, being ſurrounded by the enemy, were put to the ſword without mercy, to the number of five thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. Twenge alone, at the head of a few truſty friends, cut his way thro' the Scots, and ſwimming acroſs the river, rejoined the earl of Surry, who, during the whole tranſaction had beheld the ſlaughter of his ſoldiers, without having it in his power to ſend them any aſſiſtance.

A council of war was now called, where it was determined to burn the remainder of the bridge, and retire ſouthward; but before this deſign could be carried into execution, the Scots, who lay in ambuſh on the ſouth-ſide of the river, fell upon the Engliſh with ſo much fury, that a total rout of the army enſued; ſo that the earl himſelf eſcaped with great difficulty to Berwic, which, together with the caſtle of Roxborough, ſtill held out for the Engliſh. Creſſingham was found among the ſlain, and his memory was ſo odious to the Scots, that they flead his dead body, and made ſaddles and girths of his ſkin.

This victory was attended with the loſs of Roxborough and Berwic, which, thro' the covetouſneſs of Creſſingham, was but ill provided for a defence: and Wallace had now attained the pinnacle of human greatneſs, that of being the deliverer of his country, and the guardian of her liberties. The loſs of the Scots was ſo ſmall during this whole campaign, that it hardly deſerves to be mentioned; and the firſt uſe which Wallace made of his victory was, to demoliſh the part of the fortifications of Roxborough, which, with ſeveral other fortreſſes on the ſouth-ſide of the Forth had fallen into his hands, as untenable by his raw and unexperienced forces. He next eſtabliſhed the militia of Scotland on ſo admirable a footing, that he was in a condition that very year to invade the northern counties of England, from whence he carried off a large booty of cattle. But making an attempt on Newcaſtle and Carliſle, his troops were defeated; and the garriſon of the former attacked the Scots of Annandale with ſo much fury, that they carried off a large number of their cattle.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, Edward was heading a powerful army againſt the French monarch. He landed at Sluice, and marched to Bruges, which he propoſed to fortify, but finding the inhabitants ſo entirely in the French intereſt, that a very ſtrong garriſon would have been neceſſary to keep them to their duty, he continued his route to Ghent; where he was ſo long retarded by ſeveral obſtacles thrown in his way, that he loſt the proper ſeaſon for action, ſo that he made very little progreſs againſt the enemy. The king of France, taking advantage of his abſence, had broke into the low countries; had defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes; made himſelf maſter of Liſle, St. Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres; and ſeemed in a ſituation to take full revenge on the earl of Flanders, his rebellious vaſſal. But Edward, ſeconded by an Engliſh army of fifty thouſand men, was ſoon able to ſtop the career of his victories; and Philip, finding all the weak reſources of his kingdom exhauſted, began to dread a reverſe of fortune, and to apprehend an invaſion on France itſelf. Edward, on the other hand, diſappointed of aſſiſtance from Adolph, king of the Romans, and finding many urgent calls for his preſence in England, was deſirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war, which ſerved only to divert his force from the execution of more important projects. This pacific inclination in both monarchs, ſoon produced a ceſſation of hoſtilities for two years; and engaged them to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of pope Boniface, who now filled the papal chair.

Boniface was the laſt of the ſovereign pontiffs who exerciſed an authority over the temporal juriſdiction of princes; and theſe exorbitant pretenſions, which he had been tempted to aſſume from the ſucceſsful example of his predeceſſors, but of which the ſeaſon was now paſt, involved him in ſo many calamities, and were attended with ſo unfortunate a cataſtrophe, that they have been ſecretly abandoned, though never openly relinquiſhed by his ſucceſſors. Edward and Philip, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to inſert in their reference, that Boniface was made judge of the differences by their conſent, as a private perſon, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without ſeeming to be offended at this mortifying clauſe, proceeded to give ſentence between them, in which they both acquieſced. He brought them to agree, that their union ſhould be cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himſelf, who was now a widower,

with Margaret, Philip's ſiſter, and that of the prince of Wales, with Iſabella, the daughter of that monarch. Philip was to reſtore Guienne to the Engliſh, which he had indeed no pretenſions to detain; but he inſiſted that the Scots and their king, John Baliol, ſhould, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and ſhould be reſtored to their liberty. The difference was, after many diſputes, compromiſed by making mutual ſacrifices to each other. Edward agreed to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip ſhould treat, in the ſame manner, his ally the king of Scots. The proſpect of conquering theſe two countries, whoſe ſituation made them ſo commodious an acquiſition to the different kingdoms, prevailed over all other conſiderations; and tho' they were both finally diſappointed in their hopes, their conduct was very reconcileable to the principles of an intereſted policy. This was the firſt ſpecimen which the Scots had of the French alliance, and which was exactly conformable to what a ſmaller ſtate muſt always expect when it blindly attaches itſelf to the will and fortunes of a greater. That unhappy people, now engaged in a brave, tho' unequal conteſt for their liberties, were totally abandoned by the ally, in whom they repoſed their final confidence, to the will of an imperious conqueror.

Edward having thus concluded a peace with France, determined to exert all his power to humble the rebellious Scots. He had heard, with the utmoſt indignation, of the ſucceſs of that oppreſſed people, under Wallace, their leader; and wrote in the moſt affecting manner to the government of England, conjuring the nobility, as they valued their own, and their country's honour, to unite their forces under the earl of Surry, in order to ſuppreſs the inſolence of the reſtleſs Scots. He alſo wrote letters of nearly the ſame import to the Engliſh party in Scotland; and ordered his ſon to ſummon a meeting of all the great military tenants at York.

A.D. 1298. This meeting, which was held in January, was very numerous, and even the conſtable and mareſchal, together with the earls of Gloceſter and Arundel, aſſiſted in it. But they refuſed to come to any agreement to march againſt the Scots, before the great charter, together with all the late additional ſtatutes made in favour of public liberty, ſhould be read and publiſhed, for the ſatisfaction of the common people. This was accordingly done with great formality; and then the biſhop of Carliſle denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all perſons who ſhould dare to violate the above charters.

The Engliſh now appeared to have but one hand, and to be actuated by one ſoul, while all their connected efforts ſeemed to be directed againſt the Scots. Roxborough caſtle had again fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, and was now beſieged by Wallace; on which the earl of Surry ordered a general rendezvous to be held at Newcaſtle upon Tyne; and there appeared upon the muſter rolls, upwards of one hundred thouſand infantry, beſides two thouſand horſe, completely armed, and two thouſand five hundred light armed troops. Their firſt undertaking was to raiſe the ſiege of Roxborough, which, on their approach, was abandoned by the Scots. They next ſeized Berwic without reſiſtance; and the Scots ſeemed determined to continue on the defenſive in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, or on the north-ſide of the Forth.

Edward, informed of this gallant appearance of his ſubjects, was unwilling any more, thro' miſmanagement or remiſſneſs, to hazard the miſcarriage of an expedition which promiſed ſo fair to extirpate his hated enemies. He was no ſtranger to the activity and abilities of Wallace, whoſe name was now famous in Europe; and entertained no high opinion of his own generals from their paſt conduct; and therefore determined to put a ſtop to the ardor of his army under the earl of Surry, till he could join his troops, and head them in perſon. This was, perhaps, no diſagreeable news to that nobleman; for the Scots were, by this time, ſo firmly united under Wallace, that few or none of them appeared in Edward's intereſt, or obeyed the ſummons ſent them from England. When the Engliſh army therefore reached Berwic, where they halted for ſome time to amaſs proviſions for their expedition, letters arrived from Edward, ordering them to proceed no farther, as he himſelf intended to head them in perſon. As that prince himſelf commanded a very large army, now on its return to England, it was thought proper to diſmiſs the greater part of the troops at Berwic; no more than twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred ſelect horſe, therefore remained with the earl of Surry at Berwic.

Theſe troops were not ſufficient to keep the Scots from inſulting them. It was the 14th of March before Edward arrived at Sandwich, and the firſt act of his government, after his arrival, was, to appoint a commiſſion throughout all the kingdom to hold juries of inqueſt concerning the quantity of wool, wool-fells, leather, grain, beaſts, fleſh, fiſh, and other commodities, which had been wrongfully taken from the clergy and laity, for victualling, and fitting out his fleet, or for other purpoſes, ſince the commencement of the war with France. Theſe commiſſions were to be executed in each county by two knights, one appointed by the king, and the other by the inhabitants, to which were added a clerk and a monk, who were to be ſent by the biſhop of the dioceſe. This method of proceeding could not fail of being extremely agreeable to the public; and writs of ſummons were next iſſued for a general rendezvous of all the militia of the kingdom, to meet the king at Carliſle on Whitſun-eve, in order to march againſt the Scots, and for a parliament, conſiſting of the nobility and commons of England, to meet the next day at York, where he made a public profeſſion of confirming and obſerving the charters. By theſe popular acts, Edward regained the confidence of the diſcontented nobles, and rendered himſelf entirely maſter of his people. His army, which was collected from every part of England, with conſiderable reinforcements from Wales and Ireland, conſiſted of one hundred thouſand fighting men.

Nothing but an union among themſelves, could enable the Scots to reſiſt ſo powerful a force even for one ſeaſon; but as they were deprived of their king, whoſe perſonal qualities, even when he was preſent, appeared ſo contemptible, and had left among his ſubjects no principle of attachment to him or his family; factions, jealouſies, and animoſities, unavoidably aroſe among the great, and diſtracted all their councils. Even the elevation of

of Wallace, tho' purchaſed by ſuch great merit, and ſuch eminent ſervices, was the object of envy to the nobility; who repined to ſee a private gentleman raiſed above them by his rank, and ſtill more by his glory and reputation. Wallace, himſelf, ſenſible of their jealouſy, and dreading the ruin of his country from thoſe inteſtine diſcords, voluntarily reſigned his authority, and only reſerved the command over that body of his friends, who being accuſtomed to victory under his ſtandard, refuſed to follow into the field any other leader. On this reſignation, the chief authority devolved on the ſteward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenoch; men of eminent birth, and under whom the great chiefs were more willing to ſerve in the defence of their country. Theſe two Scottiſh commanders, collecting their reſpective forces from every quarter, occupied a camp at Falkirk, and there propoſed to ſtand the aſſault of the Engliſh. Wallace was at the head of a third body, which acted under his command. The Scots army placed their pikemen along their front, interlined the intervals between the three bodies with archers, and, dreading the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh in cavalry, endeavoured to ſecure their front by palliſadoes tied together with ropes. In this diſpoſition they waited the approach of the enemy.

Edward, when arrived in ſight of the Scots, was pleaſed with the proſpect of being able, by one deciſive ſtroke to determine the fortune of the war; and dividing his army alſo into three bodies, he led them to the attack. The Engliſh archers, who began about this time to ſurpaſs thoſe of other nations, firſt drove the Scottiſh bowmen off the field, and then pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, who were cooped up within their entrenchments, ſoon threw them into diſorder, and rendered the aſſault of the Engliſh cavalry and pikemen, more eaſy and ſucceſsful. The whole Scottiſh army was broke, and chaſed off the field with great ſlaughter. Some hiſtorians make the loſs to amount to fifty or ſixty thouſand men; but however that be, it is certain that the Scots never ſuffered a greater loſs in any action; nor one which ſeemed to threaten more inevitable ruin to their country.

In this general rout of the army, Wallace's ſkill and preſence of mind, enabled him to keep his troops together, and retiring behind the carron, which lay in his rear, he marched leiſurely along the banks of that ſmall river, which protected him from the efforts of the enemy. Young Bruce, who had already given many proofs of his aſpiring genius; but who had hitherto ſerved in the Engliſh army, appeared on the oppoſite banks, and diſtinguiſhing the Scottiſh well leader as by his majeſtic port, as by the activity of his behaviour, called out to him, and deſired a ſhort conference. He repreſented to Wallace the fruitleſs and ruinous enterprize in which he was engaged; and endeavoured to perſuade him to bend at leaſt his inflexible ſpirit to ſuperior merit, and ſuperior fortune. He inſiſted on the unequal conteſt between a weak ſtate, deprived of its head, and agitated by inteſtine diſcord; and a powerful nation conducted by the ableſt, and moſt martial monarch of the age, and poſſeſſed of every reſource either for drawing out the war, or puſhing it with vigour and activity. If the love of his country was the only motive for his perſeverance, his obſtinacy could have no other tendency than that of prolonging her miſery. If he carried his private views to grandeur and ambition, he would do well to reflect, that even if Edward ſhould withdraw his army, it ſufficiently appeared from paſt experience, that ſo many haughty nobles, proud of the pre-eminence of their family, would never ſubmit to perſonal merit, whoſe ſuperiority they were leſs inclined to regard as an object of admiration, than as a reproach and injury to themſelves. Wallace replied to theſe exhortations, that if he had hitherto acted alone, as the champion of his native country, it was ſolely becauſe no ſecond or competitor, or, what he rather wiſhed, no leader had as yet appeared to place himſelf in that honourable ſtation; that the blame lay entirely on the nobility, and chiefly on Bruce himſelf, who uniting perſonal merit with dignity of family, had deſerted the poſt, which both nature and fortune, by ſuch powerful calls, invited him to aſſume: that the Scots, poſſeſſed of ſuch a head, would, by their unanimity and concord, have ſurmounted the chief difficulty under which they now laboured; and might ſtill hope, notwithſtanding their preſent loſſes to oppoſe ſucceſsfully all the abilities and power of Edward; that heaven itſelf could not place a more glorious prize before either the eyes of virtue or ambition, then to blend in one object, the acquiſition of royalty, with the defence of national independence: and that as the intereſts of his country, no more than thoſe of a brave man, could ever be ſincerely cultivated by a ſacrifice of liberty: adding, that he himſelf was determined as far as poſſible, not to prolong the miſery but the freedom of Scotland; and was deſirous that his own life, as well as the exiſtence of the nation might terminate when they could no longer be preſerved than by receiving the chains of a haughty conqueror.

The juſtice of theſe ſentiments, though delivered by the mouth of an armed enemy, ſtruck the generous mind of Bruce; the flame was conveyed from the breaſt of one hero to that of another. He repented of his engagements with Edward, and opening his eyes to the paths pointed out to him by Wallace, ſecretly determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of embracing the cauſe, however deſperate, of his oppreſſed country.

In the mean time, Edward was unable to improve the conſequences of his late complete victory. His fleets were either detained by contrary winds, or his convoys plundered by the Scots, ſo that he found it would be impoſſible for his numerous army to ſubſiſt much longer, without ſupplies in that barren country. The ſhort time, however, he continued in that kingdom, was employed in puniſhing with great ſeverity one part of the Scottiſh nation, and receiving the homage and fealty of the other. At laſt he was forced to return through the foreſt of Selkirk, and after ſeizing ſeveral places in his march, he reached Carliſle. Here he had freſh cauſe of diſcontent; for he found the conſtable and mareſchal ſo much diſguſted, that they demanded leave to return home with their followers: The former died ſoon after his return to England, which in him loſt one of the beſt friends, and Edward one of the ſevereſt checks he had ever known.

Edward to over-awe his late conqueſt in Scotland, thought proper to paſs the remainder of the year in the north of England. He firſt repaired to Durham, where, in a great council of the nobility, who remained about his perſon, he gave away the eſtates of the Scots who ſtill reſiſted his power.

At

At the ſame time he learned that the Scots had again aſſembled under their new guardian, and that they had ſent an embaſſy in the name of their government to the pope and the king of France, to mediate a truce in their favour.

At that time Edward found his affairs on the continent ſo much diſtreſſed, that he was in no condition to deny the requeſt of ſuch powerful mediators. His ally, the king of the Romans, had loſt his diadem and his life in a battle he had fought with his rival the duke of Auſtria. This accident gave the French court a greater aſcendant than ever in the affairs of Europe, and, notwithſtanding Baliol's impriſonment, the court of Rome treated him in its bulls, with the language due to a ſovereign and independent prince. Edward therefore thought it the moſt prudent method to agree to a truce for ſeven months; and, after keeping his Chriſtmas at Cottingham, near Beverly in Yorkſhire, he ſet out to meet his parliament, which had been ſummoned to meet at London early in the ſpring.

A. D. 1299. The treaty, negotiated by the pope between Edward and Philip, had not yet been ratified by the parliament, and the king therefore took this opportunity of laying it before that aſſembly. It was drawn up in the form of an award by pope Boniface, and confirmed by the parliament of England, tho' the articles were far from being advantageous to England. The peace being thus ratified, the parliament demanded a ratification of their charters of liberty and the foreſts. But in order to ratify the latter, it was requiſite, by new perambulations, to ſet bounds to the royal foreſts, and to diſforeſt all thoſe lands which former encroachments had comprehended within their limits. Edward diſcovered the ſame reluctance to this equitable demand; but at laſt he conſented to grant the requeſt of his people: perambulations were ordered to be made, and exact boundaries to be fixed, by a jury in each county, to the extent of his foreſt. Had not his ambitious and active temper raiſed him ſo many foreign enemies, and obliged him to have recourſe ſo often to the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects, it is highly probable, he would never have made theſe conceſſions.

A. D. 1303. The Scots, notwithſtanding their late defeat at Falkirk, were far from abandoning the deſign of recovering their liberty. Wallace continued at the head of a conſiderable party, and kept alive the ſpirit of his countrymen; who now choſe John Cummin for their regent. And not content with maintaining their independence in the northern parts, they made incurſions into the ſouthern counties, which Edward imagined he had totally ſubdued. John de Seagrave, whom he had left guardian of Scotland, led an army to oppoſe them, and lying at Roſlin, near Edinburgh, ſent out his forces in three diviſions, to provide themſelves with forage and proviſions from the neighbourhood. One party was ſuddenly attacked by the regent and Sir Simon Fraſer; and being unprepared for reſiſtance, were ſoon routed and purſued with great ſlaughter. The few that eſcaped, flying to the ſecond diviſion, gave warning of the approach of the enemy: the ſoldiers ran to their colours, and were led out immediately to take an ample revenge for the death of their countrymen. Elated with the ſucceſs already obtained, the Scots made a vigorous impreſſion upon them; but the Engliſh, animated with the hopes of vengeance, made a ſtout reſiſtance; the victory was long in ſuſpence between them, but at laſt declared itſelf entirely in favour of the former, who broke the Engliſh, and chaſed them to the third diviſion now advancing with a haſty march to ſupport their diſtreſſed companions. Many of the Scots had fallen in the two firſt actions, moſt of them were wounded, and all of them extremely fatigued by the long continuance of the combat. But notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, they were ſo tranſported with ſucceſs and military rage, that having ſuddenly recovered their order, and arming the followers of the camp with the ſpoils of the ſlaughtered enemy, they drove with the utmoſt fury on the ranks of the diſmayed Engliſh.

This favourable moment decided the fate of the battle, which the Scots, had they met with a ſteady reſiſtance, would not have been long able to maintain. The Engliſh were chaſed off the field; three victories were gained in one day; and the renown of theſe exploits, ſeconded by the favourable diſpoſitions of the people, ſoon made the regent maſter of all the fortreſſes in the ſouth; and it became neceſſary for Edward to begin anew the conqueſt of the kingdom.

Edward was not, however, diſmayed: he applied himſelf to execute the enterprize with his uſual vigour and ability. He aſſembled a ſtrong fleet, and a numerous army; and appeared on the frontiers of Scotland with a force, which it would have been madneſs in the enemy to have attempted any reſiſtance in the open field. At the ſame time, the Engliſh fleet, which ſailed along the coaſt, ſupplied the army with proviſions, ſo that there was no danger of famine. Nor could the Scots hope for any advantage from a ſurprize; the vigilance of Edward ſecured his army from any danger of that kind. By theſe prudent precautions, the Engliſh marched victoriouſly from one extremity of Scotland to the other, ravaging the open country, reducing all the caſtles, and receiving the ſubmiſſions of all the nobility, not excepting even Cummin, the regent himſelf. The moſt obſtinate reſiſtance was made by the caſtle of Brechin, defended by Sir Thomas Maule; nor could the Engliſh reduce it, till, by the death of the governor, the garriſon were diſcouraged, and obliged to ſubmit to the fate which had overwhelmed the reſt of the kingdom. Wallace, tho' he followed the Engliſh army in their march, found very few opportunities of ſignalizing that valour which had formerly rendered him ſo terrible to the enemies of his country.

But the Scots were making a more formidable oppoſition to Edward in the cabinet, than they were able to do in the field. By ſoothing the pride, and gratifying the avarice of the pope, they had formed ſo ſtrong a party at the Roman court, that his holineſs ordered the archbiſhop of Canterbury, as his extraordinary legate, to deliver in perſon to Edward, his bull, which had been iſſued for ſome time, but lain dormant. Beſides the bull, the biſhop had a ſpecial mandate from the pontiff, in which it was ſaid, that for Sion's ſake, his holineſs could not hold his peace, and for the proſperity of Jeruſalem, he could not reſt. Edward had hardly patience to hear the whole of this impertinent meſſage: and ſtarting from his ſeat as ſoon as the prelate had finiſhed his harangue, he cried out, "For "Sion's ſake I will not hold my peace, and for "the proſperity of Jeruſalem I will not be at reſt; "for, by the blood of God, while breath is in my noſtrils,

" noſtrils, I will, to the utmoſt of my power, de-
" fend my well-known rights." The archbiſhop prudently ſuffered this ſally of paſſion to ſubſide before he made any reply: when Edward entered coolly on the pope's demand, and promiſed to return an anſwer as ſoon as he could aſſemble his parliament; but the face of affairs was ſoon after ſo entirely altered, that nothing further was done with regard to the bull and mandate of his holineſs.

A. D. 1304. Edward having at laſt completed his conqueſt of Scotland, now applied himſelf to the more difficult part of the undertaking, that of ſettling the country, of eſtabliſhing a new form of government, and, of making his acquiſition durable to the crown of England. He ſeems to have carried matters to extremities againſt the natives; he abrogated all the Scottiſh laws and cuſtoms; he endeavoured to inſtitute the Engliſh in their place; he entirely razed or deſtroyed all the monuments of antiquity; ſuch records or hiſtories as had eſcaped his former ſearch, were now burnt or diſperſed; and he haſtened, by too precipitate ſteps, to aboliſh entirely the Scottiſh name, and to ſink it finally in the Engliſh.

A. D. 1305. But Edward could not think his favourite conqueſt ſafe while Wallace lived; and being prompted, both by revenge and policy, he employed every art to diſcover his retreat, and become maſter of his perſon. At laſt, that hardy warrior, who was determined, amidſt the univerſal ſlavery of his countrymen, ſtill to maintain his independence, was betrayed into Edward's hands, by Sir John Montieth his friend, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment. The king, whoſe perſonal bravery ſhould have induced him to reſpect the like qualities in an enemy, enraged at ſome violences committed by Wallace during the fury of war, reſolved to intimidate the Scots by an example of ſeverity. Accordingly he ſent him in chains to London, the Engliſh all the way flocking to ſee a perſon who had ſo often filled their country with terror; while every generous breaſt was filled with pity and admiration. On his arrival at London, he was lodged in Fenchurch-ſtreet, and the next day conducted to take his trial in Weſtminſter-hall. He was there, in deriſion, crowned with laurel, and aſſigned an eminent ſeat. His indictment, which accuſed him of treaſon, being read, he pleaded not guilty; and that it was abſurd to accuſe him of treaſon againſt a king, whoſe authority in Scotland he had never owned, and whoſe government he had ever diſputed. It was not eaſy to anſwer this objection at that time; as Edward's late regulations with regard to the Scottiſh government had not yet taken place. The judges, however, upon the principle that Edward was not only the direct, but natural lord of Scotland, condemned him to ſuffer as a traitor; and the ſentence was accordingly executed with every circumſtance of barbarity. Thus fell a man, whom every free country muſt have wiſhed to have called its own; and Edward, in the execution of that ſentence, by diſperſing the mangled limbs of Wallace thro' ſeveral towns and places, diſperſed reproach to his own memory,

Edward, however, failed in the purpoſe which his barbarous policy was directed to ſupport. The Scots, already diſguſted by the many innovations introduced by the ſword into their laws and government, were ſtill farther enraged by the injuſtice and cruelty exerciſed upon Wallace. All the envy, which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant leader, being now buried in his grave, he was univerſally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and the patron of her expiring independence. Inflamed with reſentment, and deſirous of retaliating the injuries they had received, the people were every where diſpoſed to riſe againſt the Engliſh government; and it was not long before a new and more fortunate leader preſented himſelf, who revenged the cauſe of his bleeding country, and conducted the Scots to victory and to liberty.

A. D. 1306. This hero, who freed his country from ſlavery, was, Robert Bruce, the ſon of that Bruce who had been a competitor for the crown, and who had, on the death of his father, ſucceeded to all his pretenſions: and the death of John Baliol, which happened about the ſame time in France, together with the captivity of Edward, the eldeſt ſon of that prince, ſeemed to open an extenſive field to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He ſaw that the Scots, when the right to their crown had expired in the males of their ancient royal family, had been divided into parties nearly equal between the houſes of Bruce and Baliol; and that every incident which had ſince happened had tended to wean them from any attachment to the latter. The ſlender capacity of John Baliol, had proved unable to defend them againſt their enemies. He had meanly reſigned his crown into the hands of the conqueror; he had before his delivery from captivity reiterated that reſignation, in a manner ſeemingly voluntary; and had, in that act, thrown out many reflections extremely diſhonourable to his ancient ſubjects, whom he publicly called traitors, ruffians and rebels; and with whom he declared he was determined to maintain no farther connection. He had, during the time of his exile, adhered ſtrictly to that reſolution; and his ſon, being a priſoner, ſeemed ill qualified to revive the rights now entirely abandoned by his family. Bruce therefore hoped, that the Scots, ſo long expoſed from the want of a leader, to the oppreſſions of their enemies, would unanimouſly fly to his ſtandard, and ſeat him on the vacant throne, to which he brought ſuch plauſible pretenſions. His inſpiring ſpirit, inflamed by the favour of youth, and buoyed up by his natural courage, ſaw only the glory of the enterprize, or conſidered the great difficulties which muſt attend its execution, as nothing more than the ſource of ſtill farther glory. The miſeries and oppreſſions ſuffered by his countrymen in their unequal conteſt, and the repeated defeats and misfortunes they had undergone; proved to him ſo many incentives to afford them relief, and conduct them to revenge againſt the haughty victor.

This young nobleman, who had long harboured in his breaſt the deſign of freeing his inſlaved country, ventured at laſt to open his mind to John Cummin, a powerful nobleman, with whom he lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy. He found in his friend all the appearance of his own ſentiments, and wanted no arguments, or arts of perſuaſion to prevail upon him to embrace the reſolution of throwing off, on the firſt opportunity, the uſurped dominion of the Engliſh: but, on the departure of Bruce, who attended Edward to London, Cummin, who had either all along diſſembled, or began to reflect more cooly in his abſence, on the deſperate nature of the undertaking, reſolved to atone for his crime of giv-

ing his aſſent to this rebellion, by the merit of revealing the ſecret to the king of England. Edward did not, however, immediately commit Bruce to cuſtody, becauſe he propoſed to ſeize, at the ſame time, the three brothers of that nobleman, who then reſided in Scotland. He contented himſelf with ſetting ſecretly ſpies upon him, and ordering all his motions to be ſtrictly guarded. A nobleman of Edward's court, Bruce's intimate friend, was apprized of his danger; but not daring amidſt ſo many watchful eyes, to hold any converſation with him, he fell upon an expedient to give him warning that it was full time for him to make his eſcape. He ſent him, by a ſervant, a pair of gilt ſpurs and a purſe of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed of him, and left it to the ſagacity of his friend to diſcover the meaning of the preſent. Bruce immediately perceived the intention, and contrived the means of his eſcape. As the ground was at that time covered with ſnow, it is ſaid he had the precaution to order his horſes to be ſhod with their ſhoes turned backwards, that he might the more effectually elude the purſuit of thoſe who ſhould endeavour to track his path over the open fields or croſs roads, through which he propoſed to travel. He arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Annandale, the chief ſeat of his family intereſt; and happily found a great number of the Scottiſh nobility there aſſembled, and among the reſt, John Cummin, his former aſſociate.

The noblemen were aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Bruce in their company; and ſtill more when he diſcovered to them the intention of his journey. He declared he was come determined to live or die with them in defence of the liberty of his country, and hoped with their aſſiſtance, to redeem the Scottiſh name from all the indignities it had ſo long ſuffered from the tyranny of their imperious maſters: that the ſacrifice of the rights of his family was the firſt injury which had paved the way for their enſuing ſlavery; and that by reſuming them, which was his firm purpoſe, he opened to their eyes the lovely proſpect of recovering from the fraudulent uſurper, their ancient and hereditary independence. He added, that all their former misfortunes had flowed from their diſunion; and they would ſoon appear no leſs formidable than of old to their enemies, if they now determined to follow into the field, their lawful prince, who knew no medium between death and victory: that their mountains and their valour, which had for ſo many ages protected their liberty againſt all the efforts of the Roman empire, would ſtill be ſufficient, if they followed the glorious ſteps of their anceſtors, to defend them againſt the utmoſt violence of the Engliſh tyrant: that it was unbecoming men, born to the moſt ancient independence known in Europe, to ſubmit to the will of any maſters; but fatal to receive thoſe, who, being irritated by ſuch perſevering oppoſition, and inflamed by the higheſt animoſity, would never think themſelves ſecure in their uſurped dominion, but by exterminating all the ancient nobility; and even all the ancient inhabitants; and that being reduced to this deſperate extremity, it were better for them to periſh at once like men, with their ſwords in their hands, than to long dread, and, at laſt, to ſuffer the fate of the unfortunate Wallace, whoſe merits in his brave and obſtinate defence of his country, were finally rewarded by the hands of an Engliſh executioner.

The Scottiſh nobles were ſtrongly impreſſed by the bold ſentiments conveyed by this diſcourſe, which was delivered with all the advantages of an orator, aſſiſted by a manly deportment and all the graces of youth. The principles of indignation and revenge with which the minds of the audience had been long ſecretly actuated, were effectually rouzed; and almoſt the whole aſſembly declared their unanimous reſolution to uſe their utmoſt efforts for delivering their country from bondage, and to ſecond the courage of Bruce, in aſſerting his and their undoubted rights againſt the common oppreſſor. Cummin alone, who had ſecretly taken his meaſures with the king, oppoſed this general determination: and by repreſenting the great power of England, governed by a prince of ſuch uncommon vigour and abilities, he attempted to diſplay the inevitable deſtruction which muſt be the conſequence of their violating again their oaths of fealty, and ſhaking off their allegiance to the victorious Edward.

This ſpeech ſeemed to ſtagger the reſolutions of many of the members, which exaſperated Bruce, who was already apprized of his treachery, and who, foreſeeing the certain failure of all his own ſchemes of ambition and glory from the oppoſition of ſo powerful a leader, determined to remove the obſtacle, even at the expence of his virtue. Accordingly he followed Cummin on the diſſolution of the aſſembly, and, partly moved by reſentment, and partly by policy, attacked him in the cloiſters of the Grey Friars, thro' which he paſſed, and running him through the body left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatric, one of Bruce's Friends, aſking him ſoon after if the traitor was ſlain; "I believe ſo," replied Bruce. "And is the action a matter," cried Kirkpatric, "to be left to conjecture? I will ſe-"cure him." Upon which he drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and ſtabbed him to the heart. This deed of Bruce and his aſſociates, which contains circumſtances, juſtly condemned by our preſent manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and commendable policy,

After performing this cruel but neceſſary action, Bruce and his party declared war againſt Edward, who now found all his ſchemes for terminating the glories of his life in a calm evening of domeſtic tranquillity, rendered abortive. Truſting to the execution of the late eſtabliſhment, he had drawn moſt of his forces out of Scotland; but theſe were partly ſupplied by the furious reſentment of the Cummin party for the death of their leader. They were not, however, able to bring forces ſufficient into the field to hinder the enemy from making a great progreſs in a very ſhort ſpace of time: the prelates in general declared in Bruce's favour, and were joined by the unſubmitting party who had already ſerved under Wallace; and who, perhaps, thought that Bruce had ſealed his ſincerity in the blood of Cummin; ſince he could, after that action, expect no mercy from Edward. In a word, Bruce was crowned in the abbey of Scone, by the counteſs of Buchan, ſiſter to the earl of Fife; it having been a ſacred maxim with the Scots, that one of that family ſhould place the crown on the head of their kings. Whether the love of her country, or an affection for Bruce, who had a fine perſon, and was in the flower of youth, prevailed on this lady to act the part ſhe did, is uncertain; but we know ſhe ſtole ſecretly from her huſband, who was of the Cummin party, and therefore the ſworn enemy of Bruce, that ſhe might perform the ceremony of that coronation.

In the mean time Edward was not idle. A new pope

pope had been lately choſen, who had formerly been archbiſhop of Bourdeaux; and was entirely in the Engliſh intereſt. The king prevailed upon this pontiff to thunder out a ſentence of excommunication againſt Bruce, who treated it with contempt; procured an abſolution from a private prelate of his own, and thereby ſatisfied his ſubjects. Edward next diſpatched Emeric de Valence, earl of Pembroke, with the lords Robert Clifford and Henry Piercy, at the head of a ſmall army, to encourage and protect the friends of his government in Scotland, while he himſelf was preparing to ſupport them with the whole force of his army.

But the truth is, this defection of the Scots could not have happened at a more unlucky time for Edward. He had never been ſincere in his promiſes with regard to the deforeſtations. He had lately revived his proſecutions againſt ſome of the noblemen who had oppoſed his meaſures; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury having the ſame charge brought againſt him, that the earl mareſchal had before, was obliged to ſubmit to his mercy. Nor was this ſufficient; for Edward having the Roman pontiff entirely at his devotion, the archbiſhop was ſuſpended from his office, and ſummoned to appear before the tribunal of the vatican. The next favour Edward received from the Romiſh ſee was, a gift of the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical benefices for two years, under the ſpecious pretence of a cruſade. Still unwearied in heaping favours on Edward and his ſubjects, his holineſs next appointed that favourite, the biſhop of Durham, to be patriarch of Jeruſalem; and laſtly, Edward obtained a bull abſolving him from his late oath with regard to deforeſtations. This bull being publickly read on Eaſter-day, produced a general diſcontent throughout all the kingdom. It reminded his ſubjects of the days of his father, who uſed to trifle with oaths, and ſhelter himſelf under abſolutions. To quiet theſe apprehenſions in his ſubjects, Edward iſſued out what is called The Ordinance of the Foreſt. This ordinance was, at the ſame time, accompanied with a writ, or letter, entered upon the ſame ſtatute-roll with this ordinance. In this letter Edward expreſſes his great uneaſineſs with regard to the clamours of the people, who, as he there ſays, were much injured and oppreſſed, by the officers of his foreſts: and therefore, to remove theſe oppreſſions and grievances, which he could not paſs by without great ſcandal and offence, and, at the ſame time, to provide for the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, he had iſſued out the above ordinance of the foreſt. This writ, or letter, was ſent into every county in England, accompanied with commands to the ſheriffs, to cauſe theſe letters to be read and the ordinance to be proclaimed in a county court. But all theſe arts, which, however ſpecious, were occaſioned by Edward's breach of his moſt ſolemn engagements, and therefore had apparently leſs influence on the minds of the people, than the inſult offered to the government by the murder of Cummin, and the revolt of the Scots.

In the mean time the earl of Pembroke had received the ſubmiſſion of great part of the Scottiſh nation; and theſe had declared themſelves againſt Bruce, who was then encamped at Methwen, in the county of Perth, ſecure, as he thought, from any aſſault; but in this he was miſtaken. The inſolence of his officers, together with the intelligence the Engliſh general had received, that he ſhould be ſoon ſuperſeded by the king himſelf, induced him to liſten to the advice of one Mowbray, to attempt ſomething that might redound to his own honour. Mowbray ſhewed him how practicable it was to ſurprize Bruce, as his ſoldiers were all raw and undiſciplined. The meaſure was accordingly adapted, the attack was made, the Scots were routed, and the bridle of their king's horſe was ſeized by Mowbray, and his perſon in the utmoſt danger of being taken. But Bruce was reſcued by Sir Chriſtopher Seton, remounted by Simon Frazer, and, with the gentlemen about his perſon, made a noble and gallant defence, till they were all ſurrounded. Nothing now remained but to cut their way through the enemy, which was accordingly executed, and Bruce himſelf eſcaped to the caſtle of Kintyre, in the county of Argyle. The priſoners of quality among the Scots were immediately executed as traitors, except a very few of greater quality, and the ſhattered remains of the Scottiſh army fled to the mountains.

A few days after this battle, Edward arrived with a great army in Scotland: but ſoon perceived he came to triumph, not to conquer. He therefore divided his army into two bodies, one of which he ſent to the northward under the conduct of the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Lancaſter and Hereford. Theſe had the good fortune to ſeize Bruce's caſtle at Kildommy, with many of his principal followers, together with his queen and ſiſter. After this ſucceſsful expedition the prince and his father met at Perth, and all Scotland was now once more reduced under the power of Edward: but that prince was ſo thoroughly exaſperated with the Scots, that no ſubmiſſion could appeaſe his hatred to thoſe who had made any reſiſtance. It would be endleſs to enumerate the number of executions he ordered; his reſentment even puſhed him on to unmanly fury; for the lady Mary Campbell, ſiſter to Bruce, and the counteſs of Buchan, whom we have already mentioned, were ſhut up in wooden cages, and hung over the walls, the former at Roxborough, and the other at Berwic, as a ſpectacle for the populace. In the mean time Bruce, at the head of his party, having, with great difficulty, eſcaped from the purſuit of his enemies, particularly from the lord Lorn, a relation of the Cummin family, was hunted from place to place, till the greater part of his little retinue being cut off, he was obliged with two of his friends, the earl of Lenox and Gilbert Hay, to retire to places where they had no ſociety but the beaſts, and hardly any other ſuſtenance. He indeed is ſaid, while he continued in this deplorable condition, to have found means to aſk a conference with the prince of Wales, who did not dare to conſent to it without his father's conſent: and Edward was ſo far from granting this requeſt, that he even reproached his ſon for having given the traitor an opportunity of making any application for favour. This effort failing, Bruce received the mortifying news that the two great pillars of his cauſe, the biſhops of St. Andrew and Glaſgow, had been taken in arms; and that they would, like others, have ſuffered the fate of traitors, had it not been for the reſpect which Edward entertained for the ſacred function. But even this intelligence, added to the moſt wretched condition he ſuffered, ſerved only to animate Bruce to diſcover new reſources. Sir Niel Campbell was the only perſon acquainted with the place of his retreat, and by his aſſiſtance Bruce eſcaped, at the beginning

ginning of the winter to the Weſtern iſlands, places abſolutely inacceſſible to any but their inhabitants.

Edward vainly looking upon Bruce as now dead, proceeded with extreme ſeverity againſt the family and adherents of that unfortunate fugitive. His queen, who was ſiſter to the earl of Ulſter, was ſent priſoner to England: his friend, the earl of Athol, was hanged at London, on a gallows fifty feet high: the ſteward of Scotland was obliged to make his ſubmiſſion; and the following directions to the Engliſh guardian and juſtices of Scotland were publiſhed by Edward.

"It was agreed by the king and his council, that "the guardian of Scotland ſhould cauſe to be pro- "claimed in all cities, boroughs and market-towns, "and in all other places he might think proper, "That all thoſe who acted againſt the king in the "laſt war, and had not obtained his pardon, as "well as others, who had committed felonies, and "other crimes, for which they ought to loſe life "or limb, and were not yet taken, ſhould be ap- "prehended by any perſon or perſons wherever "they might be found; and for that purpoſe, "were to leave hue and cry, with horn and mouth "and purſue them from town to town, and from "county to county, till they were taken, either "dead or alive. And that thoſe who neglected "to do this, ſhould loſe all their goods, and be "impriſoned during the king's pleaſure. The "guardian was alſo to enquire after the receivers "of ſuch perſons, that they might have the juſtice "they deſerved.

"At the ſame time it was likewiſe recorded, "that all thoſe who were abſolutely guilty of the "murder of Cummin, or abettors of that crime, "ſhould be drawn and hanged, and that thoſe who "either adviſed or aſſented to it, as well as thoſe "who after the fact, knowingly and willingly, or "freely received them, ſhould receive the ſame "puniſhment: and that thoſe who were guilty of "his death and were or ſhould hereafter be taken "in this war againſt the king ſhould be hanged "or beheaded; and the receivers to undergo the "ſame ſentence.

"And all who oppoſed the king at any time, as "well before, as in and after the battle of Meth- "wen, thoſe who were the moſt notorious and "dangerous among them ſhould be impriſoned, "and not be releaſed but by the king's orders.

"And all thoſe who had joined the party of Ro- "bert Bruce, and had been concerned in aiding, "adviſing, or perſuading the people to riſe, con- "trary to law, and were convicted of that crime, "whether clerks or others, ſhould be impriſoned "during the king's pleaſure.

"It was likewiſe ordained, that the people of "Scotland, who were forced to riſe againſt the "king in this war, ſhould be fined at the diſcretion "of the guardian, and according to their offence. "And for the greater authority and execution of "this agreement, the king cauſed it to paſs under "his ſeal of Scotland, and was dated at Lener- "coſt."

Edward had now totally reduced the enemy, nor were his triumphs over the factious in England, leſs memorable than thoſe over the malecontents among the Scots. The king poſſeſſed the ſecret of remembering all charges founded on former demerits, and of applying them as he ſaw convenient. Sir Nicholas Seagrave was at that time one of the greateſt knights then in England. He had been charged with treaſonable practices, and Edward refuſing him the liberty of juſtifying himſelf by ſingle combat, with his accuſer, Sir John Cromwell, he went abroad without the royal licence, that he might be more at liberty to proſecute his revenge. This was conſidered by Edward as an high inſult on the royal prerogative, and Seagrave was accordingly, on his return, capitally indicted; but he eſcaped puniſhment by being found guilty of only part of the charge brought againſt him.

In the mean time Edward was very uneaſy on account of Bruce. At firſt the ſafety of that prince was ſolely owing to his being conſidered as too weak for raiſing any diſturbance in the kingdom, if he had not periſhed with hunger. He lay concealed for ſome time in the iſle of Raughrin; whence he ſent Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd to acquaint his friends on the continent of Scotland, that he was ſtill alive: and theſe taking up arms, he ſecretly put himſelf at their head, and cut off a convoy intended for an Engliſh corps in that country. His followers being by this exploit equipped with arms, and furniſhed with proviſions, he attacked the caſtle of Tunberry, which he took, and obliged the lord Henry Piercy, who commanded for Edward in thoſe parts, to retire to the ſouthward. This action was performed by a body of only four hundred men; but the ſeaſon was too far advanced for Edward to think of checking his progreſs.

The king of England was then at Carliſle, where he ordered Thomas and Alexander, two of Bruce's brothers, who were taken in an attempt to invade Galloway to be executed. But the affairs of Scotland began again to wear ſo lowering an aſpect, that little or nothing was done with regard to the intended purpoſe of aſſembling the parliament, in order to fix the eſtabliſhment of that kingdom. Edward, with all the policy he was maſter of, found one of the fineſt ſchemes that had ever been laid, entirely diſconcerted by a handful of wretches, miſerable in every reſpect that can render life deſirable, except in their love of liberty, or deſire of revenge. This was the principal motive which rendered Bruce, while deprived of the aſſiſtance of mankind, and deſtitute of all ſuſtenance and ſhelter but what the bleak and barren rocks afforded, more glorious than other monarchs at the head of a powerful people, and ſurrounded with all the pomp of royalty.

Edward could not behold the progreſs of Bruce without the greateſt uneaſineſs; it preyed upon his ſpirits, and the pain it gave him daily increaſed. The affairs of Scotland were greatly altered ſince the time he had formed the laſt ſcheme for its eſtabliſhment. Severity and lenity had been equally ineffectual; and neither power nor policy could extinguiſh the ſpark which ever exiſts in minds leſs fearful of death than dependence. In vain was every corner of the two kingdoms filled with the moſt ſanguinary executions, or dreadful impriſonments; the ſhackled bodies, and mangled limbs of the Scots inſpired the unſubmitting party with revenge inſtead of terror; and, late as the ſeaſon was, Edward found it neceſſary to order the earl of Pembroke, with the lord Lorn, at the head of a body of men equally hardy with his enemies, to advance in ſearch of Bruce and his party.

Though

Though Edward now appeared at Carliſle in the higheſt point of dignity known to an Engliſh monarch, at the head of his parliament, yet he now met with an affliction in his own family, which afforded that victorious monarch an affecting proof, that happineſs is ſeldom the companion of greatneſs. He ſaw, with concern, the diſſolute courſes of his ſon, the prince of Wales, who was entirely guided by Gaveſton, his young Gaſcon favourite. Edward had ſeveral times endeavoured in vain to reclaim him, ſometimes by gentle admonitions, ſometimes by puniſhments bordering on ſeverity. But a freſh inſult being now offered to the biſhop of Cheſter, the king determined to proceed in a legal manner againſt the favourite; and it was determined that prince Gaveſton ſhould, in three months embark for France, and never more return to England, without the king's permiſſion or command. At the ſame time Edward ordered him a penſion of an hundred marks a year, on condition that both he and the prince ſhould ſolemnly ſwear to obſerve this ſentence, which was readily accepted.

A. D. 1307. Edward having thus removed the libertine favourite from his eldeſt ſon, took equal precautions to preſerve the morals of his younger children. At the ſame time he ſettled upon his ſon Thomas, ten thouſand marks, and ſix thouſand on his ſon Edward. His daughter had alſo ten thouſand marks for her portion, and five thouſand for cloaths. But during this ſeſſion of parliament at Carliſle, the cardinal Sabine came to Edward from the pope, to preſs the conſummation of the marriage between the prince of Wales, and the princeſs of France; and having received a favourable anſwer ſet out with the prince of Wales for London.

During this interval, Edward waited with impatience the reſult of the earl of Pembroke and lord Lorn's expedition againſt Bruce. But theſe noblemen had defeated that prince the year before. Bruce was bleſſed with a genius that learned to improve under afflictions, and to riſe ſtill greater from defeat. Perceiving that the force of the enemy was far ſuperior to his own, he intrenched himſelf on the brow of a hill; but it was not long before he perceived the highlanders under the lord Lorn, fetching a compaſs round the eminence, by which he muſt have been ſoon ſurrounded and cut off. He therefore immediately divided his army into three bodies, ordered them to march by different ways, but all to rendezvous by a certain time, in the wood of Glantroule near Cumnock. This retreat being happily performed, Bruce's army was conſiderably increaſed by the acceſſion of new friends, and he obtained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, though his whole force did not exceed a thouſand men. With theſe, however, he knew ſo well how to chuſe his ground, and watch his opportunity, that he defeated the earl of Pembroke, and attacked a party under the earl of Gloceſter, with ſo much reſolution, that after a bloody diſpute, that nobleman was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Ayre, till he ſhould be relieved by Edward. This gleam of ſucceſs raiſed the Scots from deſpair. The contagion of a free ſpirit ran from breaſt to breaſt, and Bruce, in a ſhort time found his army increaſed to ſeveral thouſands, by which he became a dangerous, becauſe a deſperate enemy.

Edward was now in daily expectation of his forces, whom he had ordered to rendezvous at Carliſle three weeks after Midſummer, and ſome of them were already arrived. Thoſe were diſpatched to raiſe the ſiege of Ayre, and deliver the earl of Gloceſter. It would have been madneſs for Bruce to have weakened his army by either continuing the ſiege or venturing a battle; for though conqueror, he knew he muſt ſuffer. As he heard that Edward was preparing to enter Scotland at the head of his army, he prudently drew off his forces, and retired to a ſafer ſtation, in order to wait for better times.

But the period of the great Edward's life was now approaching. He was then in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, a time when death may alarm but ought not to ſurprize. He was at firſt ſeized with a flux or dyſentery; and, though his caſe was ſoon deſperate, yet his ſpirit was too ſtrong to ſubmit to his diſeaſe; for his army being fully aſſembled he ſet out, though unable to march above two miles a day. When he reached a place called Burgh upon the ſands, he found nature too weak to proceed any farther. He retired to his bed, and his ſpiritual monitors attended. His dying ejaculations, if we may believe cotemporary authors, were worthy of a chriſtian and a king. After enjoining his ſon to proſecute the enterprize againſt Scotland, and never to deſiſt till he had finally reduced that kingdom, he expired in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, extremely reſpected and revered by his ſubjects.

This great prince more effectually advanced the ſolid intereſts of his country than any of his predeceſſors. He reſtored authority to the government, diſordered by the weakneſs of his father; he maintained the laws againſt all the efforts of his turbulent barons; he fully annexed to his crown the principality of Wales; he took the wiſeſt and moſt effectual meaſures for reducing Scotland to a like condition; and though the equity of this latter enterprize may be queſtioned, the circumſtances of the two kingdoms promiſed ſuch certain ſucceſs, and the advantages were ſo viſible of uniting the whole iſland under one head, that thoſe who give great indulgence to reaſons of ſtate, in the meaſures of government, will not be very ſevere on this part of his conduct. But if Edward's character, when weighed in the ſtrict balance of juſtice, ſhould be found wanting, it is certainly the model of a politic and warlike king: he poſſeſſed induſtry, penetration, courage, and vigour; he was enterprizing, aſſiduous, and generally ſucceſsful. In all unneceſſary expences he was frugal; but well knew how to open the public treaſury, on any proper occaſion: he puniſhed criminals with remarkable ſeverity; but was gracious and affable to his ſervants and courtiers. His figure was majeſtic; he was expert in all bodily exerciſes, and notwithſtanding the great length and ſmallneſs of his legs, well qualified to captivate the populous by his external appearance, while his more ſolid virtues always gained the approbation of men of ſenſe and penetration. But of his labours with regard to the correction, extenſion, and eſtabliſhment of the laws, were ſtill of more conſequence to his country, and have extended their benign influence to poſterity; ſo true is the obſervation of

an ancient philoſopher, that the work of wiſe legiſlators commonly remain; while the acquiſitions of conquerors periſh with their exiſtence. His ſucceſſors have been ſo thoroughly convinced of this truth, that they have juſtly conferred upon him the title of the Engliſh Juſtinian.

Edward ſettled the juriſdiction of the civil courts; firſt eſtabliſhed the office of juſtice of peace: abſtained from the practice too common before his time, of interrupting the courſe of juſtice by mandates from the privy council; repreſſed robberies, and diſorders; encouraged trade, by enabling merchants to recover their debts by a ſhort and eaſy proceſs; and, in a word, intirely changed the face of affairs by the vigour and wiſdom of his government. But at the ſame time impartiality will not ſuffer us to conceal, that tho' he took care his ſubjects ſhould do no injury to one another, he would not ſuffer his own conduct to be controuled in his tranſactions, either with them, or with his neighbours; it is not therefore without exception and reſerve, that we ought to celebrate his love of juſtice.

Edward had by his firſt wife, Eleanor of Caſtile, four ſons, but Edward his heir and ſucceſſor, was the only one that ſurvived him. She alſo bore him eleven daughters, moſt of whom died in their infancy: Joan was married firſt to the earl of Gloceſter, and, after his death, to Ralph de Monthemer: Margaret eſpouſed John duke of Brabant; Elizabeth married, firſt John earl of Holland; and afterwards the earl of Hereford: Mary was a nun in the monaſtery of Ambreſbury. He had by his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, two ſons and a daughter; Thomas, created earl of Norfolk, and mareſchal of England; and Edmond, who was created earl of Kent by his brother after he aſcended the throne. The princeſs died in her infancy.

EDWARD II.

A. D. 1307. THE great Edward had lived long enough for glory, but not long enough for his people. He left Scotland turbulent, unſubdued, and vindictive; her king improving equally every day under either calamity or ſucceſs; while the ſubjects of the Engliſh monarch, tho' awed by his power, and dazzled by his greatneſs, were neither united among themſelves, nor ſatisfied with his ſucceſſor. A ſtrong party in oppoſition to the government, whom Edward's policy had diſconcerted and defeated, ſtill ſubſiſted; and the levity of the young king at once augmented their numbers, and ſtrengthened their councils. The firſt Edward finiſhed his life almoſt in breathing vengeance againſt the Scots; the ſecond began his reign by giving them a conſiderable reſpite. For the younger Edward being at Carliſle when his father expired, ſent immediately to the biſhop of London, then chancellor, for the great ſeal; and received the homages of the biſhop of Durham, the earl of Lincoln, and other noblemen, who happened to be then at his court. Among others was Patric, earl of Dunbar, who ſtill adhered to the Engliſh. Edward next ordered a rendezvous of his troops, who were ſtill on their march, at Dumfries in Scotland, where they made a gallant appearance.

But the king of England was raw, young and giddy, being only twenty-three years of age; ſuſceptible of fondneſs rather than friendſhip, wild rather than wicked, and vindictive rather than paſſionate. While he was preparing to carry his father's deſigns into execution, he received advice, that Pierce or Piers Gaveſton, in contempt of his late oaths and engagements, was returned to England. This intelligence was received with the greateſt ſatisfaction by Edward, and honour, faith, promiſes, intereſt, and decency vaniſhed before his fondneſs for this inſolent foreigner. He was deſirous of enjoying his company unincumbered by regal greatneſs, and unemployed in military fatigues. He therefore immediately ordered a commiſſion to be made out, appointing the earl of Pembroke his governor of that part of Scotland which ſtill remained attached to the Engliſh crown; and received Gaveſton with all the tenderneſs and expreſſions of attachment due to a brother. He endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, which had eſcheated to the crown by the death of Edmond ſon to Richard, king of the Romans, and had ſufficed as an apanage for a prince of the blood. But this was not thought ſufficient by Edward, he daily loaded him with new honours and riches, married him to his own niece, ſiſter to the earl of Gloceſter, and ſeemed to enjoy no pleaſure in his royal dignity, than as it enabled him to exalt to the higheſt ſplendor, this object of his fond affection.

Offended at the ſuperiority of a minion, whoſe birth, tho' reputable, they deſpiſed as much inferior to their own, the haughty barons did not conceal their diſcontent; and ſoon found reaſons to juſtify their animoſity in the character and conduct of the man they deteſted. Inſtead of diſarming envy by the modeſty and moderation of his behaviour, Gaveſton diſplayed his power and intereſt with the utmoſt oſtentation; and deemed no circumſtance of his good fortune ſo agreeable as its enabling him to eclipſe and mortify all his rivals. Fortune had indeed laviſhed upon him all the graces of external beauty; his ſhape and perſon were remarkably elegant; he was noted for a fine mien and eaſy carriage; he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all warlike and genteel exerciſes; and was celebrated for thoſe quick ſallies of wit, by which his country is ſtill diſtinguiſhed: but at the ſame time he was vain-glorious, profuſe, rapacious; fond of exterior pomp and appearance; giddy with proſperity: and, as he imagined his fortune was now as ſtrongly rooted in the kingdom, as his aſcendancy was uncontrouled over the weak monarch, he took no care in engaging partizans who might ſupport his ſudden and ill-eſtabliſhed grandeur. At all tournaments he took delight in foiling the Engliſh nobility, by his ſuperior addreſs; in every converſation he made them the object of his wit, and raillery; every day his ene-

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mies multiplied upon him; and nought but time was wanting to cement their union, and render it fatal both to himſelf and his maſter.

But in the mean time Edward was obliged to take a journey to France, in order to do homage for the dutchy of Guienne, and eſpouſe the princeſs Iſabella, to whom he had long been contracted, tho' unexpected accidents had hitherto retarded the completion of the marriage. During this abſence Edward left Gaveſton guardian of the kingdom, after conferring upon him more ample authority than had ever before been delegated by any Engliſh monarch. He was intruſted with the power of granting, to all cathedrals and conventual churches, the privilege of electing their biſhops and abbots; and of giving the royal aſſent and confirmation to ſuch elections: of beſtowing all prebends and benefices belonging to the crown: of taking the fealties and reſtoring the temporalities to all new elected biſhops and abbots: and of beſtowing all lordſhips, and receiving the fealties of ſuch wards as held of the crown in capite, when the heirs were of full age.

As ſoon as the marriage was conſummated Edward returned to England with his young queen, and renewed all the proofs of that fond attachment to his unworthy favourite, which had already inſpired the whole nation with diſguſt, and fanned the dying embers of diſcord and civil diſſenſion. The French princeſs was herſelf of an imperious and intriguing ſpirit; and finding that her huſband's capacity was too weak to direct the affairs of a powerful nation, and that he was ſufficiently diſpoſed to be governed, ſhe thought herſelf beſt entitled, on every account, to perform the office. In conſequence of this opinion ſhe ſoon contracted a mortal hatred againſt the perſon who had diſappointed her in theſe expectations. She was well pleaſed therefore to ſee a combination of the nobility forming againſt Gaveſton, who, ſenſible of her hatred, had wantonly provoked her by new inſults and injuries.

A. D. 1308. Thomas earl of Lancaſter, couſin german to the king, and firſt prince of the blood, was by far the moſt opulent and powerful ſubject in England, and poſſeſſed in his own right, and ſoon after in that of his wife, heireſs to the family of Lincoln, of no leſs than ſix earldoms, with a proportional eſtate in land, attended with all the juriſdiction and power, which, in that age, were commonly annexed to landed property. He was turbulent and factious in his diſpoſition; mortally hated the favourite, whoſe influence with the king was ſuperior to his own; and ſoon became the head of that party among the barons, who deſired the depreſſion of this inſolent ſtranger. The nobles now entered into a firm confederacy, and bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath, to expel Gaveſton. Both parties began already to put themſelves in a warlike poſture; the licentiouſneſs of the age broke out in robberies and other diſorders, the uſual preludes of civil war; while the royal authority deſpiſed in the king's own hands and hated in thoſe of Gaveſton. became inſufficient for the execution of the laws, and the maintenance of peace in the kingdom.

Threatened with all the diſorders of civil diſcord, and lawleſs fury, the king ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter, where Lancaſter and his party appeared with an armed retinue; and found no difficulty in bringing over a majority of the aſſembly to embrace their own ſentiments, and impoſe their own terms on their ſovereign. They demanded the baniſhment of Gaveſton, impoſed an oath on him never to return, and engaged the biſhops, who never failed to interpoſe in all civil diſſenſions, to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication upon him, if he remained any longer in the kingdom. It was not in Edward's power to oppoſe the reſolutions of his parliament; he therefore very readily ſubmitted; but even in his compliance gave proofs of his fond attachment to his favourite; for inſtead of removing the favourite out of his dominions, as the parliament expected, and every ſincere lover of his country wiſhed, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, accompanied him to Briſtol in his journey thither, and, before his departure, conferred on him new eſtates and riches, both in Gaſcony and England. The favourite, who did not want bravery, and poſſeſſed all the neceſſary talents for war, was not idle in his government. He put the laws vigorouſly into execution, and reduced ſeveral bands of Iriſh rebels, who had for ſome time diſturbed the peace of that kingdom. Theſe actions were very agreeable to the Engliſh, and in ſome meaſure removed the hatred they had conceived againſt the favourite.

During theſe tranſactions in Ireland, the king was inconſolable for the loſs of his favourite minion, and had recourſe to every expedient for ſoftening the barons, and pave the way for his return. In order to this the high office of hereditary ſteward was conferred upon Lancaſter, his father-in-law, the earl of Lincoln, was bought off by other conceſſions: earl Warrenne was alſo mollified by civilities, grants, and promiſes, while the inſolence of Gaveſton being no longer apparent, was leſs the object of general indignation: and Edward thinking matters ſufficiently prepared for his purpoſe, applied to the court of Rome, and obtained a diſpenſation from that oath, which the barons had forced Gaveſton to take, that he would abjure for ever the realm. Having thus obtained his requeſt, Edward went down to Cheſter to receive his favourite on his firſt landing from Ireland, flew into his arms with tranſports of joy, and having obtained the formal conſent of the barons in parliament for his re-eſtabliſhment, ſet no longer any bounds to his extravagant fondneſs and affection. Gaveſton himſelf, forgetting his paſt misfortunes, and blind to their cauſes, reſumed the ſame oſtentation and influence, and became more than ever the object of general deteſtation among the barons, and other great men of the kingdom.

Their animoſity was not long concealed; it firſt appeared by their abſenting themſelves from parliament; but finding this expedient unſucceſsful, they entered into a cloſer confederacy, and determined to have recourſe to remedies of a ſharper and more effectual nature. They agreed to make a total change in the conſtitution of the civil government; though the whole complaint on which their reſolution was founded, conſiſted only of a few inſtances of diſſipation of the public treaſure, and the whole objections brought againſt the adminiſtration of the king and his favourite, rather calculated to raiſe jealouſies in the breaſts of a private party, than excite commotions in a great and powerful kingdom. Having thus determined to exert all their power againſt the favourite, they came to parliament with a numerous retinue of armed followers, in defiance of the laws and the king's prohibition, and found themſelves entirely maſters of the aſſembly. Their

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ſcheme having thus far ſucceeded, they preſented a petition, which was equivalent to a command, requiring Edward to devolve on a junto choſen by themſelves, the whole authority both of the king and the parliament.

It was not in Edward's power to refuſe this requeſt of the barons, and he accordingly ſigned a commiſſion, empowering the prelates and barons to elect twelve perſons, who ſhould, till the Michaelmas-term in the ſucceeding year, have authority to enact ordinances for the government of the kingdom; and even for regulating the royal houſhold. It was added, that the ordinances thus enacted ſhould then, and for ever after, have the whole force of laws and ſtatutes: at the ſame time the ordainers were permitted to form aſſociations among themſelves and their friends, for their ſtrict and regular obſervance. The commiſſion concluded with declaring that all this was done for the glory of God, the ſecurity of the church, and the advantage of the king and kingdom. In return for the royal condeſcenſion, the barons ſigned a declaration, in which they acknowledged, that they owed theſe conceſſions entirely to the king's free bounty: promiſed that this ſhould never be drawn into precedent; and engaged that the powers of the ordainers ſhould expire at the time ſtipulated.

This great point being carried, the ordainers applied themſelves to execute their commiſſion, and left Edward at full liberty to proſecute the war with Scotland, to which we muſt now return. John de Seagrave, had been conſtituted guardian of that kingdom, under Edward; and a fleet was now ordered to be fitted out under the command of John Counton, who had orders to land his forces at Perth, and by that means carry on the war in the bowels of Scotland, while Edward himſelf was preparing to attack the borders at the head of a powerful army. He wrote to all the ſea-ports in the kingdom, to furniſh their quota of ſhipping for this expedition, and the earl of Ulſter was appointed general of a powerful body of Iriſh, who were ordered to join the main army.

A. D. 1310. All animoſities between the king and his people ſeemed now to be forgotten, or at leaſt ſuſpended; and the general power and inclination of the people to be wholly directed againſt the Scots. Edward was perſuaded, that if the event of this campaign ſhould be fortunate, he could not fail of acquiring a party in the parliament, and perhaps among the ordainers themſelves, ſtrong enough to protect his favourite. On the other hand, the ordainers did not chuſe to attack Gaveſton openly, before their ſcheme was reduced to a proper form; and before they ſaw in what manner the king would continue to treat him. Orders were immediately iſſued for all the military tenants of England to attend with their forces by the middle of Auguſt, to ſerve againſt the Scots; and another ſquadron was fitted out for bringing over the Iriſh troops; but afterwards appointed to ſerve under the command of the lord of Argyle, and attend the motions of the grand army.

By the ſecond of Auguſt the king had advanced as far as Northampton, in his expedition towards Scotland, and was there preſented with the body of ordinances they had drawn up. Some of theſe ordinances were laudable and tended to the regular execution of juſtice; ſuch as thoſe requiring ſheriffs to be men of property, aboliſhing the practice of iſſuing privy ſeals for the execution of juſtice; reſtraining the practice of purveyance; prohibiting the adulteration or alteration of the coin; excluding foreigners from the forms of the revenue; ordering all payments to be made regularly into the exchequer; revoking all late grants of the crown, and giving the parties damages in the caſe of vexatious proſecutions. But what chiefly grieved the king, was the ordinance for the removal of evil counſellors, by which a great number of perſons were by name, excluded from every office of power and profit; and Piers Gaveſton himſelf was for ever baniſhed the king's dominions, under the penalty, in caſe of diſobedience, of being declared an enemy to the public. At the ſame time other perſons, more agreeable to the barons were ſubſtituted in all the offices, and it was ordained, that, for the future, all the conſiderable dignities in the houſhold, as well as in the law revenue, and military governments, ſhould be appointed by the baronage in parliament. Alſo the power of making war, or aſſembling the military tenants of the crown, ſhould be no longer ſolely veſted in the king, nor be exerciſed without the conſent of the nobility. Such were the outlines of theſe famous ordinances, which were when finiſhed to receive the ſanction of the parliament.

While Edward continued at Northampton he ſaw himſelf abandoned by the earls of Lancaſter, Pembroke, Warwick, and Hereford, who refuſed to attend him in his expedition, under pretence of their being elected ordainers. Edward however determined to proceed, and having appointed the earl of Lincoln guardian of England during his abſence, he ſet out on his expedition, attended by the earls of Gloceſter, Surry, and Cornwall, the lords Piercy and Clifford, with many others of the principal nobility: all of them eager to wipe off the ſtain which the Engliſh glory had contracted by the progreſs of the rebellious Scots. It is certain that in the beginning of this year a truce between the two kingdoms had been agreed to, in conſequence of which Bruce's ſiſter, the wife of Sir Niel Campbell, and who had by Edward's orders been expoſed in a wooden cage, over the walls of Roxborough was exchanged for Walter Cummin, a lord of the Engliſh party, held priſoner by Bruce; but this truce continued in force but a very ſhort time; and having been concluded by the mediation of the king of France, Edward made heavy complaints to that prince againſt the perfidy of the Scots, who were now ſo far from acting on the defenſive, that they had even dared to carry fire and ſword into England itſelf. Philip, in his anſwer to theſe complaints, expreſſed an earneſt deſire of having an interview with his ſon in-law, and in the mean time, promiſed to ſend embaſſadors to remonſtrate with the Scots, on their breach of faith. Edward's affairs, however, would not permit him to accept his father-in-law's invitation for a perſonal interview; and about the beginning of September he entered Scotland at the head of a powerful army. Bruce was too wiſe to venture an engagement; he choſe to reſtrain his rebellious ſubjects, who were in Edward's intereſt, and lay diſperſed in different parts of the kingdom; and choſe his ground ſo artfully, that Edward could not force him to a general engagement; but ravaged the country as far as the frith of Forth. The ſeaſon was, however, two far advanced for him to do any

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thing effectually; for Bruce had taken care upon Edward's approach to carry off all means of ſubſiſtance, ſo that the Engliſh were obliged to depend ſolely upon their fleets for proviſions, and that intercourſe was ſometimes impracticable, and always precarious. Edward therefore thought it moſt prudent to return to Berwic; but in his march to the ſouthward, his rear was haraſſed by the Scots, who frequently ſallied out from their faſtneſſes. The king, however, found leiſure ſufficient to throw reinforcements into the caſtle of Roxborough, and other fortreſſes he ſtill held in that kingdom; and after detaching the earl of Gloceſter with part of the army to Norham, he returned to paſs the winter with his court and family at Berwic. While he continued at that place, he received the important intelligence that Bruce held a correſpondence with many of his Engliſh ſubjects, and was by them ſupplied with proviſions, men and arms. This occaſioned his iſſuing a writ, forbidding all his ſubjects from holding the leaſt correſpondence with the Brucean party, under pain of forfeiting their eſtates. Underſtanding alſo that the ſame indefatigable enemy had formed a project for ſeizing the Iſle of Man, as being very advantageous for his purpoſe, by means of his fleet, which lay in the Weſtern Iſlands; a brief was iſſued under the privy ſeal, directed to the ſheriffs, bailiffs, and ſtewards of the counties of Cheſter, Lancaſter, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland, requiring them to aſſiſt Gilbert Mackaſtrey, ſteward to the biſhop of Durham, to fortify the above iſland. He alſo iſſued another brief for apprehending all adherents of Bruce, wherever they could be found in Ireland or Wales.

A. D. 1311. Edward's continuing the whole winter at Berwic had ſo good an effect, that he was in a condition to take the field early in the ſpring. The continuance of his army on the frontiers of Scotland, had not, however, intimidated Bruce from ſallying out during the winter, and attacking Edward's adherents in Lothian, together with ſome of the places the king had reduced the preceding ſummer. Edward's forces ſeveral times endeavoured to oppoſe him, but always in vain; for Bruce conſtantly retired before they could bring him to a general engagement. When Edward took the field in perſon, he found the ſame difficulties ſtill continued. He met indeed with no other obſtacles in his march than thoſe occaſioned by the poverty of the country, and the want of proviſions; but theſe were abundantly ſufficient to oblige him to return to Berwic, while Bruce was forming a project well worthy his genius and intrepidity. This was nothing leſs than penetrating into England. Edward, informed of his deſign, did all in his power to render it abortive. He ſent a large detachment from his army towards Perth, the key of the highlands, and diſpatched another party under the command of the earls of Gloceſter and Surry, into the great foreſt of Selkirk. The earl of Cornwall, paſſing the Frith, penetrated a conſiderable diſtance into the country; but the Scots retiring into their bogs and faſtneſſes, he could do no other ſervice than prevent their levying forces. In the mean time Edward, who continued ſtill at Berwic, ſent a commiſſion to John earl of Argyle to act as admiral of his fleet, and make a deſcent in Argyleſhire, and Inchgall. He alſo ordered the military tenants of the crown, who had not yet obeyed the ſummons, to join his army immediately.

The Engliſh nobility ſeem to have beheld theſe tranſactions with indifference. The earl of Lincoln about this time paid the debt of nature. He was a nobleman of great experience; often employed in negotiations abroad, and at once a true friend to his prince and his country. When he found his end approaching, he ſent for the earl of Lancaſter, his ſon-in-law, and on his approach, reminded him in the moſt affecting manner, of what he owed to his royal deſcent and prodigious fortune, which excelled thoſe of any other ſubject. He conjured him to prove himſelf a true patriot, by performing his duty impartially both to his king and his country. He ſhewed him the moſt effectual ſervice he could render to the one, was by endeavouring to remove all evil counſellors from his preſence; and to the other by endeavouring to reſtore the rights already loſt, and confirm thoſe that were ſtill poſſeſſed, to guard the throne againſt Romiſh counſels and foreign miniſters; and, in a word, to procure the full eſtabliſhment of the great charter, and the lawful means of ſupporting that inſtrument of Engliſh liberty. As a proper friend for carrying into practice this excellent advice, he recommended to him Guy earl of Warwick, as a nobleman every way qualified for ſo important a truſt. Having given this advice to Lancaſter, he cloſed his eyes and expired. By the death of this nobleman the earl of Lancaſter gained a very large acceſſion to his eſtate, which, together with his royal deſcent, rendered him by far the moſt powerful ſubject in England.

Lancaſter was not the only nobleman who oppoſed the meaſures of the government; the inſolences of the court had rendered ſeveral others of a ſimilar character its enemies, and they thought it their duty, both on their own account, and that of their country, to unite together.

The chief of theſe was the archbiſhop of Canterbury, a perſon of diſtinguiſhed firmneſs and virtue. He had ſometimes ſupported the papal power againſt the incroachments of regal prerogative, and ſometimes the latter againſt the pernicious exactions of the former. At this juncture he joined the people againſt both, and was at once a prelate and a patriot.

Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and high conſtable of England, was another member of this confederacy. He was under many obligations to Edward and his family, and was, at the ſame time, nearly allied to the crown, by marrying the counteſs dowager of Holland, daughter to the firſt Edward: but the perſonal inſults he had received from the favourite, who was ſupported and protected by Edward, had cancelled all his obligations. Beſides his oppoſition was founded on the ſpecious pretence of reſcuing his ſovereign out of the hands of pernicious counſellors.

Guy Beauchamp, earl of Warrick had been bred up in an early averſion to the power of all favourites. He ſincerely wiſhed well to his country; but appears not to have had ſufficient regard for what every true friend to conſtitutional liberty will preſerve with the moſt aſſiduous care and attention; the perſon and dignity of his ſovereign.

Theſe were the chief leaders of this celebrated confederacy, which afterwards threw the nation into

the greateſt confuſion and diſorder. Others indeed joined theſe leaders, but their views were more moderate, they would have been contented with circumſcribing the power of the favourite, without wiſhing for his deſtruction. Among theſe the earls of Surry and Pembroke were the chief. The former had been bred under the late Edward, and was highly in favour with his ſon. He had often borne high commands under both, and though he was not one of the ancient nobility in England, yet he always inclined to check the exceſſes of the court, provided it might be done without producing an open breach between the king and his people. He was therefore a reſtraint upon the conduct of the miniſter, rather than an enemy to his perſon. The earl of Pembroke was diſtinguiſhed by the antiquity of his family, which gave him great weight in the kingdom, and which he employed at firſt in ſupport of the court; but being of a hot violent temper, it was eaſy for the archbiſhop of Canterbury who directed him, to make him ſenſible of his danger, from the growing power of an inſolent favourite; upon which he joined in the confederacy, the profeſſed intention of which was to relieve the church from oppreſſion, and to recover the liberty of the people.

The frequent meetings in drawing up the ordinances, gave the confederated lords every opportunity neceſſary for carrying into execution the plan they had concerted; and Edward received the firſt intimation of it, while he continued at Berwic, waiting the event of the operations of his arms in Scotland. For on the earl of Lancaſter's coming with a retinue of two hundred horſe to do him homage in perſon for his new poſſeſſions, he refuſed to do it at Berwic, on pretence of its being within the limits of Scotland. Edward not chuſing to differ with ſo powerful an earl, on a point of very little conſequence, condeſcended to receive his homage at Hagerſton, a town four miles within the confines of England. But here he plainly perceived that the oppoſition of this nobleman proceeded from the immoderate averſion he entertained for the favourite, to whom, notwithſtanding his eminent ſtation, he refuſed to pay even the common civility of a ſalute.

By this time the lords intruſted with the power of making laws, had completed their work, and gave Edward notice that they expected he would ſummon a parliament, in order to ratify their ordinances. He accordingly complied with their requeſt, and the ordinances received a parliamentary ſanction. But the ſame weakneſs, both of character and ſituation, which had engaged Edward at firſt to grant this unlimited commiſſion to the barons, and afterwards to confirm their ordinances, now induced him to make a ſecret proteſt againſt them, and to declare, that ſince the commiſſion was granted only for making ordinances tending to promote the welfare both of the king and kingdom, ſuch articles as ſhould be found to be prejudicial to both, were to be conſidered as not ratified and confirmed. It was indeed no wonder that he was firmly determined to revoke ordinances which had been impoſed upon him by violence, which entirely annihiliated the royal authority, and which deprived him of the company and ſociety of a perſon, whom, by an unuſual infatuation, he valued above all the world, and above every other conſideration either of intereſt, honour, or tranquillity.

Nor did he wait long before he put his deſign in execution. Gaveſton retired to Flanders, and the king after proroguing the parliament removed to York; where being free from the immediate terror of the barons, he immediately invited Gaveſton from Flanders, and iſſued proclamations, repealing by the royal prerogative, the ordinance which condemned him to exile, as being contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, and therefore illegal. On the return of the favourite, he was reinſtated in his former credit and authority, and the king even wrote letters with his own hand to all the ſheriffs of England, commanding them to reſtore to Gaveſton all the eſtates and effects he had before his baniſhment, poſſeſſed in their ſeveral counties.

A. D. 1312. The barons, highly provoked at this diſappointment, and apprehending danger to themſelves from the declared animoſity of this powerful minion, plainly perceived that either his or their ruin was now abſolutely inevitable; they therefore renewed with redoubled zeal their confederacies againſt him, and choſe the earl of Lancaſter for their head. They firſt applied to the king by petition, that he would cauſe Gaveſton to retire again into exile, purſuant to the late ordinance; but this method proving entirely ineffectual, an army was raiſed againſt the power of the miniſter. Edward was then in the north, deſtitute of forces, and his cauſe too bad for him to be able to raiſe any by his authority. Reduced to this dilemma, Edward and his minion purſued the courſe ſuggeſted by guilt, fear, and confuſion. Upon receiving information of the earl of Lancaſter's approach, they retired to Newcaſtle, as a place of greater ſafety. The neglected queen was forced to accompany Edward in this comfortleſs retreat, while the earl of Lancaſter, and the confederated barons were received at every place through which they paſſed as the deliverers of their country.

In proportion as the confederated barons advanced to the northward, Edward's panic increaſed, ſo that he ſoon thought himſelf unſafe at Newcaſtle; but as if all his public and domeſtic happineſs had been centered in Gaveſton's perſon, he abandoned his weeping queen, though big with child; and going on board a veſſel with his favourite, retired to Scarborough; left Gaveſton in that fortreſs, which, had it been properly ſupplied with proviſions, was deemed impregnable, and marched forward to York, in hopes of raiſing an army ſufficient to ſupport him againſt his enemies. Pembroke was detached by the confederates to beſiege the caſtle of Scarborough; and Gaveſton, ſenſible of the bad condition of his garriſon, was obliged to capitulate with the enemy, and ſurrender himſelf priſoner. He ſtipulated that he ſhould remain in Pembroke's hands for two months; that endeavours ſhould be mutually uſed during that interval, for a general accommodation; that if the terms offered by the barons were not accepted, the caſtle ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame condition as when he ſurrendered it; and that the earl of Pembroke and Henry Piercy ſhould, by contract, pledge all their lands for the faithful performance of theſe conditions.

Pembroke having thus obtained the cuſtody of the favourite's perſon, who was univerſally conſidered as the public enemy, conducted him to the caſtle of Dedington, near Banbury, where, under pretence of public buſineſs he left him under the protection

tection of a feeble guard. Warwick, probably in concert with Pembroke, immediately attacked the caſtle: the guards refuſed to make any reſiſtance: Gaveſton was delivered up to him, and conducted to Warwick caſtle: the earls of Lancaſter, Hereford, and Arundel, immediately repaired thither: and, without any regard, either to the laws or the military capitulation, they ordered the head of this obnoxious favourite to be ſtruck off by the hands of the executioner.

A. D. 1312. Edward received the news of this tranſaction at Berwic, whether he had retired; and his reſentment was equal to the affection he had ever bore him while living. He threatened vengeance againſt all the nobility who had been active in that bloody ſcene, and accordingly made preparations for war in all parts of England; but being leſs conſtant in his enmities than in his friendſhips, he ſoon after liſtened to terms of accommodation; granted the barons a pardon for all offences, and, as they ſtipulated to aſk his pardon publickly on their knees, he was ſo pleaſed with thoſe empty appearances of exterior ſubmiſſion, that he ſeemed to have ſincerely forgiven them all paſt injuries. But as they ſtill pretended, notwithſtanding their lawleſs conduct, a great anxiety for the maintenance of law, and required the eſtabliſhment of their ordinances, as a neceſſary ſecurity for that purpoſe. Edward told them, that he was willing to grant them a free and legal confirmation of ſuch of theſe ordinances, as were not abſolutely derogatory to the prerogatives of the crown. This anſwer was received for the preſent as ſatisfactory; and the king's perſon, after the death of Gaveſton was become much leſs obnoxious to the public, eſpecially as the ordinances inſiſted on, appeared to be nearly the ſame with thoſe which had been formerly extorted from Henry the third, by Mountford, and which had been attended with ſo many fatal conſequences. They were therefore, demanded with leſs vehemence by the nobility and people. The minds of all men ſeemed to be much appeaſed towards each other; the animoſities of faction no longer prevailed, and England, now united under its head, would henceforth be able, it was hoped, to take ample vengeance on all her enemies.

But this dawn of domeſtic happineſs was much clouded by the rapid progreſs of the Scots in the north of England. Bruce, during Edward's diſſentions with his barons, had reduced the caſtles of Dumfries and Dalſwinton, which had continued firmly attached to the Engliſh intereſt. After making himſelf maſter of theſe fortreſſes, he entered England, at the head of a conſiderable army, burnt the towns of Hexham and Corbridge and ſent a large detachment to Durham, which he ſurprized and plundered. The caſtle, however, together with the cathedral and abbey, held out, and the flying army of the Scots was in too much haſte to ſtay to reduce them. At laſt, after ſpreading deſolation and confuſion through the whole neighbouring country, the biſhopric were obliged to purchaſe a truce till the enſuing Midſummer, for the ſum of two thouſand pounds. This was readily granted by the Scots on condition that they ſhould not oppoſe their marching through their country, whenever they ſhould think proper to invade England. The inhabitants of the other parts of the north, having now no benefit or protection from their government, were obliged to make ſimilar compoſitions with the enemy. After which Bruce returned into Scotland with a prodigious booty in money, effects, priſoners, and hoſtages. But he knew too well the nature of his own troops to give them any opportunity of indulging themſelves in eaſe and luxury. He therefore, immediately on his return, formed a project for ſurprizing Berwic, by ſcaling the walls by rope-ladders, faſtened to them by hooks. This he had nearly effected when the whole ſecret was diſcovered by the barking of a dog, and the aſſailants were obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. He next formed an enterprize of the ſame nature on the town of Perth, which ſtill held out for the Engliſh intereſt. In this attempt Bruce ſucceeded, and ordered the Scots, who were found in the place, and had joined with the Engliſh, to be put to the ſword: with regard to the latter they had not only their lives granted, but alſo liberty to return to their own country.

A. D. 1313. In the beginning of the year Bruce reduced the caſtles of Edinburgh, and Roxborough, made himſelf maſter of the Iſle of Man, and, in ſhort, ſtripped the Engliſh of all the places they poſſeſſed in Scotland, except Berwic, Dunbar, and Stirling. Bruce was too well acquainted with the genius and diſcipline of his ſubjects, not to be ſenſible that they were greatly inferior to the Engliſh in the operations of attacking or defending ſtrong places; he therefore ordered all the fortreſſes he had taken to be diſmantled, and made preparations for reducing thoſe that were ſtill in the hands of the enemy; but they were too well provided for defence, and too ſtrong by nature for him to ſucceed. Mowbray, a gallant officer in the Engliſh ſervice, commanded in the important caſtle of Stirling, and obliged Edward Bruce, brother to the king, to raiſe the ſiege. The Engliſh, however, agreed on their part to deliver up the place, if not relieved in the ſpace of a year.

Succeſſes like theſe in a country where the enemies of Bruce were ſo powerful, and ſupported by the power of a great monarch, made Edward's friends in Scotland ſuſpect that they were abandoned by the king of England. They therefore diſpatched two commiſſioners, the earl of March and Adam Gordon, to the Engliſh court, in order to repreſent the deplorable ſituation of Scotland, and deſire to know what aſſiſtance they might expect. Theſe commiſſioners arrived at London ſoon after Edward had terminated his differences with the barons, and was therefore in a condition to give them great encouragement. Accordingly they received from the king a writ, directed to all the inhabitants of Scotland, who continued in his allegiance, exhorting them to conſtancy, promiſing them a redreſs of all their grievances, and that by Midſummer the Engliſh army would rendezvous at Berwic, in order to enter Scotland, and act with vigour againſt the common enemy.

A. D. 1314. Edward accordingly aſſembled forces from all quarters, intending to finiſh by one blow, this important enterprize. He ſummoned the moſt warlike of his vaſſals from Gaſcony; he enliſted troops from Flanders and other foreign countries: he invited over a great number of the diſorderly Iriſh, as to a certain prey: he joined to them a body of the Welſh, who were actuated by the ſame motives; and, aſſembling the whole military force of England, he marched to the frontiers with an army of one hundred thouſand men, according to

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ſome writers, but in all probability the number was much leſs.

Bruce's army did not exceed thirty thouſand combatants; but being compoſed of men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by many acts of valour, rendered deſperate by their ſituation, and inured to all the variety of fortune, they might juſtly, under ſuch a leader, be deemed formidable to the moſt numerous and beſt appointed army. Robert, ſenſible that he muſt now meet the Engliſh, choſe the field of battle, with all the ſkill and prudence of a conſummate general; and made the neceſſary preparation for their reception. He poſted himſelf at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, where he had a hill on his right hand, and a moraſs on his left. And not content with having taken theſe precautions to prevent his being ſurrounded by the more numerous army of the Engliſh, he foreſaw the ſuperior ſtrength of the enemy in cavalry, and made proviſions againſt it. Having a rivulet in front, he commanded deep pits to be dug along its banks, ſharp ſtakes to be planted in them, and the whole to be carefully covered over with turf. In the evening the Engliſh arrived, and a bloody conflict enſued between two bodies of cavalry, where Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in ſingle combat, Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one blow cleft the head of his enemy with a battle-axe, in ſight of the two armies. Upon the loſs of their leader the Engliſh horſe fled with precipitation to the main army,

Encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the valour of their prince, the Scots prognoſticated a happy iſſue to the conteſt on the enſuing day. The Engliſh, confident from their numbers, and elated with former victories, longed for an opportunity of revenge; and the night, tho' extremely ſhort at that ſeaſon in that climate, appeared tedious to the impatience of the ſeveral combatants. As ſoon as the morning appeared, Edward drew up his army, and advanced towards the Scots. The earl of Gloceſter his nephew, who commanded the left wing of the cavalry, impelled by the ardour of youth, ruſhed on to the attack, without precaution, and fell among the covered pits, prepared by Bruce for the reception of the enemy. This body of horſe was diſordered, Gloceſter himſelf overthrown and ſlain: Sir James Douglas, who commanded the Scottiſh cavalry, gave the Engliſh no time to rally, but puſhed them off the field with conſiderable loſs, and purſued them in ſight of their whole line of infantry. While the Engliſh army were alarmed with this unfortunate beginning of the action, which commonly proves deciſive, they obſerved an army on the heights towards their left, which ſeemed to be marching leiſurely in order to ſurround them; and were diſtracted by their multiplied fears. This was a number of waggons and ſumpter boys, whom Robert had collected together, and having ſupplied them with military ſtandards, gave them the appearance, when ſeen from a diſtance, of a formidable army. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect; a pannic ſeized the Engliſh: they threw down their arms and fled with great precipitation. They were purſued with great ſlaughter, for the ſpace of eighty miles, till they reached Berwic; and the Scots, beſides a prodigious booty, took many perſons of quality and above four hundred gentlemen priſoners, whom Robert treated with great humanity; and whoſe ranſom was a new acceſſion of wealth to the to the victorious army. The king himſelf very narrowly eſcaped by taking ſhelter in Dunbar, whoſe gates were opened to him by the earl of March, and he thence paſſed, by ſea, to Berwic.

This great and deciſive battle, ſecured the independence of Scotland, fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be conſidered as the greateſt blow which the Engliſh monarchy, ſince the conqueſt, has ever received. The numbers of the ſlain on theſe occaſions are always uncertain, and commonly greatly magnified by the victors. This defeat however made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the Engliſh; and it was remarked for ſome years, no ſuperiority of numbers could encourage them to keep the field againſt the Scots. Robert, to take every advantage of his victory, invaded England, and ravaged all the northern counties without oppoſition. He beſieged Carliſle, but the place was ſaved by the valour of Andrew Harcla the governor. He was, however, more ſucceſsful againſt Berwic, which he took by aſſault; and, elated by his ſeries of proſperity, entertained hopes of making the moſt important conqueſts on the Engliſh.

A. D. 1315. Accordingly he ſent over his brother Edward, with an army of ſix thouſand men into Ireland; and that nobleman aſſumed the title of king of that iſland. He followed ſoon after himſelf with more numerous forces. The horrible and abſurd oppreſſions which the Iriſh had long ſuffered under the Engliſh government, induced them at firſt to fly to the ſtandards of the Scots, whom they regarded as their deliverers. But a grievous famine, which then laid both Ireland and England deſolate, reduced the Scottiſh army to the moſt dreadful extremities, and Robert was obliged to return with his forces greatly reduced, to his own country. His brother, after experiencing a variety of fortunes, was defeated and ſlain near Dundalk by the Engliſh, commanded by lord Birmingham; and theſe projects, too extenſive for for the forces of the Scots, vaniſhed into ſmoke.

Beſides ſuffering theſe diſaſters from the invaſion of the Scots, and the inſurrection of the Iriſh, Edward was alſo diſturbed by a rebellion in Wales; and above all by the factions of his nobility, who took advantage of the public calamities, inſulted his eclipſed fortune, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh their own independence on the ruins of the throne. Lancaſter, and the barons of his party, who had declined attending Edward on his Scottiſh expedition, no ſooner ſaw him return with diſgrace, than they inſiſted on a renewal of their ordinances, which they ſtill pretended to have validity; and the king's unhappy condition obliged him to ſubmit to their demands. The miniſtry was now modelled by the direction of Lancaſter. That nobleman was placed at the head of the council; it was declared that all the great offices ſhould, from time to time, be filled by the votes of parliament, or rather by the will of the great barons; and the nation, under this new model of government, endeavoured to take more proper meaſures for the defending the nation againſt the Scots. The factious nobles, indeed, were far from being terrified with the progreſs of theſe enemies to the peace of the kingdom: on the contrary, they founded the hopes of their future grandeur, on the weakneſſes, and diſtreſſes of the crown. Lancaſter was, with great appearance of juſtice, ſuſpected of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the king of Scots; and tho' he was himſelf intruſted with the command

command of the Engliſh army, he took care that every enterprize ſhould be rendered abortive, and every plan of operation prove unſucceſsful.

No kingdom in Europe, eſpecially that of England, had any acquaintance with the office of a prime miniſter; ſince ſo well underſtood in all regular monarchies; nor could the people form any conception of a man, who tho' ſtill in the rank of a ſubject, poſſeſſed all the power of a ſovereign, eaſed the prince of the burden of affairs, ſupplied this want either of experience or capacity, and maintained all the rights of the crown, without degrading the greateſt nobles, by ſubmitting to his temporary authority. Edward was, by nature, totally unqualified for holding the reins of government; he had no vices, but was unhappy in a total incapacity for ſerious buſineſs whether public or private. Senſible of his own defects, Edward neceſſarily ſought to be governed; tho' every favourite whom he ſucceſſively choſe, was regarded only as a fellow ſubject, exalted above his ſtation: he became the object of envy to the nobility; his character and conduct were decried by the people; his authority over the king and kingdom was conſidered as an uſurpation; and unleſs the prince had embraced the dangerous expedient of devolving his power on the earl of Lancaſter, or ſome powerful baron, whoſe family intereſt was ſufficiently extenſive to ſupport his influence, he could expect neither peace nor tranquillity on the throne.

After the death of Gaveſton, the king received Hugh le Deſpenſer, or Spenſer, as his chief favourite. He was a young man of Engliſh birth, high rank, and deſcended from a noble family. He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs, which were calculated to engage the weak mind of Edward, but at the ſame time, was deſtitute of that moderation and prudence which might have enabled him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct him through all the perils of that dangerous ſtate to which he was advanced. His father, who was of the ſame name, and who, by means of his ſon, had alſo attained great influence over the king, was a nobleman venerable for his years, reſpected through all his paſt life for wiſdom, valour, and integrity, and well fitted, by his talents and experience, could affairs have admitted of any mitigation, to have ſupplied the defects both of the king and his minion. But no ſooner was Edward's attachment to the younger Spenſer known, than the turbulent Lancaſter, and moſt of the great barons regarded him as their rival, made him the object of their animoſity, and formed plans for his ruin; a confederacy was formed for this purpoſe, and the moſt ſhameful exceſſes committed upon the eſtates of both the Spenſers.

A. D. 1321. Edward, apprized of their confederacy, directed writs to the ſeveral lords concerned, commanding them to diſcontinue their meetings, but theſe writs were very little regarded: and the king dreading the effects of their violence, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter. He flattered himſelf that by this method of proceeding the confederacy muſt be diſſolved, as the great council was ſitting, and ready to hear any complaint that might be laid before the houſe. But the barons, inſtead of fairly ſubmitting their cauſe to the deciſion of the parliament, continued in arms, notwithſtanding all the prohibitions of their ſovereign, who continued at London, without forces ſufficient to ſubdue his turbulent nobility, or even to protect himſelf. It was not long before the confederated barons made themſelves maſters of the capital, which they converted into a kind of garriſon, while they formed themſelves in cabals for their better carrying on their ſchemes in the parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter. They appeared in that aſſembly indeed, but rather as dictators than ſubjects, and demanded of the king the baniſhment of the two Spenſers. Theſe noblemen were then abſent; the father abroad, the ſon at ſea; and both of them employed in different commiſſions. The king therefore replied, that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to obſerve the laws, reſtrained him from giving his aſſent to ſo illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accuſed of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of anſwering for themſelves. Equity and reaſon, however, formed but a feeble barrier to men who had arms in their hands, and who, being already involved in guilt, ſaw no ſafety, but in ſucceſs and victory. They therefore quartered their troops in the neighbourhood, and giving into the parliament a charge againſt the Spenſers, of which they did not attempt to prove a ſingle article, they procured by menaces, and violence, a ſentence of perpetual exile and forfeiture againſt theſe miniſters. This ſentence was voted by the lay barons alone; for the commons, though now an eſtate in parliament, were yet of ſo little conſideration, that their aſſent was never demanded; and even the voice of the prelates was neglected amidſt the preſent diſorders. The only indication theſe turbulent barons gave of their regard to law, was their requiring from the king an indemnity for their illegal proceedings: after which they diſbanded their army, and ſeparated, as they imagined, in full ſecurity, retiring to their ſeveral caſtles. This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquieſe, rendered at once his perſon and authority ſo contemptible, that every one thought himſelf at liberty to treat him with neglect. The queen having occaſion ſoon after to paſs by the caſtle of Leeds in Kent, then belonging to the lord Badleſmere, deſired a night's lodging in the fortreſs, but was refuſed admittance, and even ſome of her attendants, who preſented themſelves at the gate, were killed. The inſult and brutality offered to this princeſs, who had always intended to live on good terms with the barons, and who joined them heartily in their hatred of the younger Spenſer, was an action which no perſon pretended to vindicate, and therefore the king thought that he might, without giving umbrage, aſſemble an army and take vengeance on the offender. No perſon came to the aſſiſtance of Badleſmere, ſo that Edward very eaſily prevailed. But having now ſome forces on foot, and having concerted meaſures with his friends in different parts of England, he ventured to take off the maſk, attack his enemies, and recall the two Spenſers, whoſe ſentence he declared to be illegal, unjuſt, contrary to the tenor of the great charter, paſſed without the aſſent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him, and the aſſembly of the barons. The commons were not now mentioned by either party, ſo that their aſſent could not then be conſidered as neceſſary.

A. D. 1322. Edward, being thus at the head of a powerful army, advanced againſt his turbulent barons, and continued his rout to the marches of Wales, the chief ſeat of the enemy's power, whom he found totally unprepared for reſiſtance. Many

of the barons in thoſe parts attempted to appeaſe him by ſubſcription. Their caſtles were ſeized, and their perſons committed to cuſtody; but Lancaſter in order to prevent the total ruin of his party, ſummoned together all his vaſſals and retainers, declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been ſuſpected, received a reinforcement from that country, under the command of Randolph, earl Murray, and Sir James Douglas, and being joined by the earl of Hereford, advanced with all his troops againſt the king, who had collected an army of thirty thouſand men, a force much ſuperior to that of the enemy. Lancaſter poſted himſelf at Burton upon Trent, and endeavoured to defend the paſſages of the river; but being diſappointed in that plan of operation, this nobleman who had no military genius, and whoſe perſonal courage was even ſuſpected, fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being there joined by his Scottiſh allies. He was purſued by the king, and his army diminiſhed daily, till he came to Borough-bridge, where he found Sir Andrew Harcla poſted with ſome forces on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and ready to diſpute the paſſage with him. Lancaſter made an attempt to force his way, but was repulſed: the earl of Hereford was killed; the whole army of the rebels diſconcerted; Lancaſter himſelf became incapable of taking any meaſures either for flight or defence. In this ſtate of trepidation, he was ſeized without making any defence, and conducted to the king. During thoſe violent convulſions of the ſtate, the laws were ſo much neglected by both parties, that even where they might, without any ſenſible inconveniency, have been obſerved, the conquerors deemed it unneceſſary to pay any regard to them. Lancaſter, who was guilty of open rebellion, and taken in arms againſt his ſovereign, inſtead of being tried by the laws of his country, which denounced the ſentence of death againſt him, was condemned by a court-martial, and led to execution. Edward, however, a little vindictive in his natural temper, here indulged his revenge, and practiſed againſt the priſoner, the ſame ſeverities which had, by his orders, been exerciſed againſt Gaveſton. He was cloathed in mean attire, placed on a lean horſe without a bridle, a hood was put on his head, and in that poſture, attended by the acclamations of the people, he was conducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own caſtles, and there beheaded.

In this ignominious manner fell Thomas earl of Lancaſter, the firſt prince of the blood, and one of the moſt potent noblemen who had ever been in England. His public conduct ſufficiently diſplays the turbulence of his character; nor does his private deportment appear to have been leſs innocent. Even his hypocritical devotion, by which he gained the favour of the monks and populous, will be rather regarded as an aggravation than an alleviation of his guilt. Badleſmere, Gifford, Barret, Cheyney, Fleming, and about eighteen of the moſt notorious offenders, were afterwards condemned by a legal trial, and executed. Many were thrown into priſon, others eſcaped beyond ſea; ſome of the king's ſervants were rewarded out of the forfeitures; Harcla received for his ſervice the earldom of Carliſle, and a large eſtate, which he after forfeited with his life, for holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Scotland.

It was perhaps happy for England that the faction which had ſo long thrown the people into confuſion, was thus happily extinguiſhed; but it was unfortunate that all oppoſition to the meaſures of the court was deſtroyed at the ſame time. Edward had doubtleſs received very great provocations; the meaſures purſued by the party formed againſt him were long unjuſtifiable, and he endeavoured to reclaim them by every method that clemency could ſuggeſt; but at the ſame time the mind of Edward was too impatient and the ſpirit of his favourites too much exaſperated to make a judicious uſe of their advantages. The views of the Spenſers were to make their maſter, and conſequently themſelves, deſpotic and arbitrary in the kingdom. They thought this was the favourable juncture, and accordingly to rivet themſelves in their power, they prevailed on Edward to ſeize into his own hands, the eſtates of all thoſe who had carried arms againſt him. This prodigious acceſſion of property was, however, leſs advantageous to the crown, than the envy it occaſioned was dangerous to the miniſters. They could not think themſelves ſafe while the late ſentence of baniſhment ſtood unreverſed. The parliament had been ſummoned to meet at York, and bills for reverſing the ſentence of baniſhment and diſinheritance againſt the two Spenſers were brought into that aſſembly. The bills paſſed without much oppoſition, and the Spenſers were reſtored to all the honours they poſſeſſed before the late impeachment. At the ſame time the ordinances made in the fifth year of Edward's reign, after being rehearſed and reviewed, were condemned and cancelled as illegal and derogatory to the royal prerogative. It was alſo decreed, that nothing ſhould hereafter have the force of a law or ſtatute, but what had been treated, accorded, and eſtabliſhed in parliament by the king, with and by the aſſent of the prelates, earls, barons, and commonalty of the realm.

Edward having thus reſtored and eſtabliſhed his own power, proceeded to reward thoſe who had the moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their late ſervices. The elder Spenſer was created earl of Wincheſter, and had many whole eſtates beſtowed on him: but the greater part of all thoſe vaſt eſcheats were ſeized by the younger Spenſer, whoſe rapacity was inſatiable. Many of the barons of the king's party were diſguſted by this partial diviſion of the ſpoils; the envy againſt Spenſer roſe higher than ever, and the uſual inſolence of his temper, raiſed by ſucceſs, impelled him to commit many acts of violence. Theſe proceedings rendered him ſtill more the object of averſion to the people, who always hated him: all the relations of the attainted barons and gentlemen, ſecretly vowed revenge, and tho' tranquillity was, in appearance, reſtored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king, and the odium againſt Spenſer, bred dangerous humours, the ſource of future revolutions and convulſions.

In the mean time the truce with the Scots was expired, and mutual hoſtilities were carried on between them and the Engliſh. They had an army on foot intended to join the earl of Lancaſter at the time he was defeated: but Edward was freed from thoſe weights of oppoſition and diſcontent, which he imagined had hitherto impeded his attempts, and had been of greater uſe to his enemies than either their own policy or courage. He had already

ſummoned

ſummoned his military tenants to undertake another expedition againſt Bruce, and had wrote to Acquitain for a number of ſlingers and pikemen. The time for the expedition was fixed for the middle of June; but the parliament adviſed its being put off till the middle of July, when all the military tenants were ſummoned to appear. The ſame parliament alſo granted to Edward a tenth of the goods of the nobility and commons of the kingdom, and the ſixth of thoſe belonging to cities, boroughs, and ancient demeſnes, to defray the expences of this expedition. But in the mean time the active Bruce entered England near Carliſle, and penetrated eighty miles on the ſide of Lancaſhire, where he was joined by another body of troops under their two generals, Murray and Douglas. After committing the uſual ravages, he returned by Carliſle before Edward had collected a ſufficient force to oppoſe him. Towards the end of May, Edward appointed Robert Leyburn, an experienced ſeaman, admiral of his fleet, which was to attend the land army during the king's expedition into Scotland, and on the ſecond of July, a writ was directed to the earl of Carliſle, warden of the marches, commanding him to raiſe all the inhabitants of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Lancaſhire, from ſixteen to ſixty, to oppoſe the enemy, and alſo to drive their cattle into places of ſecurity, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Scots.

As ſoon as the neceſſary preparations could be made, Edward ſet out at the head of a powerful army; but found the whole country ſo deſolated by the Scots themſelves, that it was impoſſible for him to advance; the artful Bruce having ordered all his ſubjects on the ſouth ſide of the Forth to retire northward with their effects. By this means the Engliſh were ſoon reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity, notwithſtanding all the ſupplies Edward could procure by means of his fleet: his army was diſtreſſed without ſeeing an enemy, and deſtroyed without fighting. Edward therefore found it would be an act of the higheſt imprudence to croſs the Forth, and conſequently was obliged to content himſelf with the empty honour of advancing as far as Edinburgh, and pillaging a few religious houſes.

Bruce followed the rear of Edward's army, ſurprized his convoys, and cut off the ſtragglers, till at laſt the two armies came to a general engagement near the abbey of Byeland, when the Engliſh were routed, and the king himſelf narrowly eſcaped to York. In conſequence of this defeat, the caſtle of Norham fell into the hands of the Scots, together with all Edwards plate, furniture and money; the earl of Richmond alſo was taken priſoner, and his troops routed by the enemy.

A. D. 1323. This diſhonourable expedition, and the conſequences which it was feared might reſult from it, induced the Engliſh court to conclude a truce for thirteen years with the Scottiſh king. Bruce, though he had repelled every attack made by Edward, and carried the war into Ireland and England, thought it moſt prudent to accept of the truce offered by the Engliſh. He dreaded the fatal effects that might enſue from a ſingle defeat, while he continued at war with a nation, which however at preſent diſordered by faction, was itſelf ſo much an over-match for him both in riches and in numbers of people.

A. D. 1324. The truce with Scotland was the more convenient to England, as the nation was then threatened with a war from France. Charles the Fair, who had lately ſucceeded his brother Philip the Long, in the throne of France, ſent an embaſſy to Edward, complaining of the behaviour of ſome of his officers in Guienne. Hugh Montpeſat, one of Edward's French barons, had built a caſtle upon a piece of debateable land, which, after a regular proceſs, was determined by the parliament of Paris, to belong to the king of France. Charles, on this deciſion, ſent a detachment of men, who took poſſeſſion of the caſtle. Enraged at this tranſaction, Montpeſat, aſſiſted by the conſtable of Guienne, retook the caſtle, and put all the French garriſon to the ſword, with the aggravating indignity, of hanging ſome of the officers. The conſtable was ſummoned to give an account of his conduct before the court of France; but he refuſed the ſummons, and made preparations for defence. Charles therefore applied to Edward for redreſs, and, at the ſame time, inſiſted on his repairing to Paris in perſon to perform his homage.

A parliament was immediately ſummoned to meet at London; when it was debated what ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the king of France, and whether Edward ought to perform his homage in perſon. At laſt it was agreed, that the earl of Kent, brother to the king, and the archbiſhop of Dublin, ſhould repair to France, perform the homage in Edward's name, and adjuſt the diſpute which had ariſen, with regard to the late tranſaction in Guienne. When theſe ambaſſadors arrived at Paris, they found that court ſo highly incenſed, that there was no hopes of terminating the diſpute in an amicable manner, unleſs the caſtle was previouſly delivered into the hands of the French monarch, and both the conſtable and the baron Montpeſat, were delivered up to his mercy. The ambaſſadors, in order to prevent affairs coming to extremity, offered to deliver up the caſtle, hoping that Charles would be generous enough to remit the puniſhment intended to have been inflicted on the delinquents; but in this they were miſtaken; Charles inſiſted on the demand being punctually complied with; and it was not thought proper by the court of England, to ſacrifice an approved ſervant to the reſentment of his enemies.

Exaſperated at this behaviour, Charles raiſed an army to do himſelf juſtice, and gave the command of his forces to the count de Valois, who, attended by a great number of the French nobility, invaded Guienne and Gaſcony. The earl of Kent was at the head of a few troops, but unable to meet the French in the open field. Moſt of the towns therefore opened their gates to the French on their firſt appearancce. The caſtle of Montpeſat was razed to the ground, and the earl of Kent obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Reole, which with Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and St. Severan, formed the whole that continued under the obedience of Edward in theſe countries. The count de Valois immediately formed the ſiege of Reole, which was bravely defended by the earl of Kent, who daily expected aſſiſtance from England. He was, however, diſappointed in his hopes; and though he killed a great number of the French in a ſally, he was at laſt obliged to deliver up the place by an honourable capitulation; and a truce was concluded till the Eaſter following.

This embaſſy having proved unſucceſsful, queen Iſabella obtained permiſſion to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjuſt, in an amicable manner, the difference with her brother; but while ſhe was engaged

gaged in this negotiation Charles again demanded, that Edward ſhould appear in perſon at the court of Paris, and do homage as a vaſſal for the fees he held in France. The juſtice of this demand could not be diſputed; but many difficulties occurred in complying with it. Young Spenſer, by whom the king was implicitly governed, had unavoidably been engaged in many quarrels with the queen, who aſpired to the ſame authority; and tho' that artful princeſs, on her leaving England, had diſſembled her animoſity, Spenſer, well acquainted with her ſecret hatred, was unwilling to attend his maſter to Paris, and appear in a court, where her influence might expoſe him to inſults, if not to danger. Nor was he willing that the king ſhould make the journey alone, leſt that prince ſhould, during his abſence fall under ſome other influence; at the ſame time he foreſaw the dangers to which he himſelf would be expoſed, if, deſtitute of the royal authority, he ſhould remain in England, where he was generally hated.

During the delays occaſioned by theſe difficulties, Iſabella propoſed that Edward ſhould reſign the province of Guienne to his ſon, now thirteen years of age; and that the prince ſhould come to Paris, and do the homage which every vaſſal owed to his ſuperior lord. This expedient, which ſeemed to promiſe ſo fair for removing all difficulties, was immediately complied with: Spenſer was charmed with the contrivance: young Edward was ſent to Paris, and the ruin concealed under this fatal ſnare, was neither perceived, nor ſuſpected by any of the Engliſh council.

Iſabella, on her arrival in France, had found at that court, a great number of Engliſh fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenſer, ſoon begat a ſecret friendſhip between them and that princeſs. Among theſe exiles was young Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron in the Welſh marches, who had been obliged with others to make his ſubmiſſion to the king, had been condemned for high treaſon; but having received a pardon for his life, was afterwards detained in the Tower, with an intention of rendering his impriſonment perpetual. He was, however, fortunate enough to make his eſcape into France, and being one of the moſt conſiderable perſons now remaining of that party, as well as diſtinguiſhed by his animoſity againſt Spenſer, he was eaſily admitted to pay his court to the queen of England. He ſoon found means, by the graces of his perſon and addreſs, to gain a conſiderable ſhare of her affections; he became her confident and counſellor in all her meaſures; and gaining daily upon her heart, engaged her at laſt, to ſacrifice to her paſſions, all the ſentiments of honour, and the fidelity ſhe owed to her huſband. Not content with injuring the man to whom ſhe had vowed the moſt tender affection, ſhe changed her love into hatred, and determined to ruin at once the king and his favourite. She accordingly embraced every ſcheme propoſed by Mortimer, and became a party in all his conſpiracies. She had artfully acquired the perſon of the prince of Wales; and engaged her brother to enter into her criminal purpoſe. Her court was conſtantly crowded with exiled barons: Mortimer lived with her in the moſt declared intimacy; and a correſpondence was carried on with the malecontent party in England.

Informed of theſe alarming circumſtances, Edward wrote to her in the moſt preſſing manner to return immediately; he blended the moſt tender affection with the moſt earneſt requeſt: he ſpoke leſs the language of a king, than the language of a huſband. But all his endearing expreſſions were given to the wind: the love of another object filled the breaſt of Iſabella. This paſſion diſguſted the virtuous parts of both courts: and the blackeſt ſuſpicions were confirmed when, notwithſtanding Edward's repeated ſollicitations, ſhe abſolutely refuſed to return to England. Nor had ſhe any excuſe to plead from the affection of her brother; for that prince declared, in the preſence of the biſhop of Exeter, that he would detain her no longer from the company of her huſband. She therefore now made no ſecret of her intentions never to return to England while the Spenſers maintained their power. In the mean time her familiarity with Mortimer ſo much diſguſted the biſhop of Exeter, that he departed from her court without taking leave, haſtened to England, and informed Edward of the ſuſpicions he had conceived. That unhappy monarch wrote again to the queen in the moſt preſſing manner. He put her in mind of the good opinion ſhe maintained, at leaſt in appearance, with the Spenſers, when ſhe left England. He even quoted paſſages from the letters ſhe had wrote to theſe noblemen after her arrival in France, in which ſhe expreſſed herſelf in the ſtrongeſt terms of friendſhip. He promiſed, that on her arrival in England, her houſhold ſhould be ſettled in ſuch a manner as to leave no room for complaint. He conjured her by all the tenderneſs of a huſband and a father, and by all the duty ſhe owed as a wife and a mother, to ſuffer their ſon, the prince of Wales, to come to England, that he might aſſiſt his afflicted father. And concluded, with aſſuring her, that he was perfectly apprized of her connections with the enemies of his perſon and government. Edward wrote alſo the moſt preſſing letters to his ſon, to the king of France, to the pope, and to all the conſiderable perſonages in France.

But all theſe ſollicitations were in vain: the queen continued to defend her conduct by the apprehenſions ſhe entertained from the power of the Spenſers. She acknowledged, that while ſhe continued in England, ſhe ſeemed to be on good terms with theſe favourites; but that all her complaiſance flowed entirely from caution, and the deſire of avoiding a certain deſtruction. The king of France having tranſmitted this anſwer to Edward, the latter ſent over copies of her letters to the Spenſers, after ſhe had left England, and when ſhe could be under no neceſſity of concealing her real ſentiments; and thence concluded, that not the fear of the Spenſers, but her intimacy with Mortimer, was the real occaſion of her ſcandalous abſence. At the ſame time he promiſed, under the ſanction of an oath, that if ſhe would return, that no perſon in England, however great, ſhould dare to treat her with diſreſpect.

A. D. 1326. Prince Edward was at this time wholly guided by his mother, and excuſed himſelf from returning according to his father's requeſt, under pretence of his duty to the queen. Edward thus deprived of the comforts both of a wife and a ſon, paſſed a melancholy Chriſtmas at St. Edmondſbury. In the mean time the court of France began to be aſhamed of protecting Iſabella in this double character of diſloyalty, both to the bed and to the crown

crown of her huſband. The Spenſers redoubled their intrigues and had recourſe to every ſtratagem in order to oblige the king of France to abandon his ſiſter. They laid an embargo on all the ſhipping in England, in order to hinder the diſaffected party from retiring to the queen; and Edward's ſhips of war had orders to make prizes of all the French veſſels that fell in their way; in conſequence of which, they ſeized no leſs than one hundred and twenty-ſix ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of France. At the ſame time, Oliver Ingham, who, with Edward's conſent, had been made governor of Guienne under the prince of Wales, was gained over by the Spenſers, and invaded, with the utmoſt fury, the dominions of France, making himſelf maſter of the city of Xaintes. On the other hand, the queen's party had recourſe to every art which had the leaſt tendency to render Charles an enemy to Edward. At laſt the Spenſers had recourſe to a ſurer method: they ſent an agent to the court of Rome, who, by preſents, gained the pope over to Edward's intereſt. The pontiff, who had acquired an abſolute influence over the king of France, wrote to that prince a very preſſing letter, and commanded him, under pain of excommunication, to ſend back Iſabella to her huſband. The inſtances of his holineſs, the remonſtrances of the French miniſtry, and the diſſolute life of the queen, obliged Charles at laſt to give her up; but he did this in the moſt gentle manner; for he only gave her to underſtand that ſhe muſt leave France, and ſent her a copy of the pope's letter, by way of excuſe for his ſeverity. Iſabella, who had for ſome time expected this order, had taken care to provide a place of refuge for herſelf and her partizans. The earl of Hainault and Holland had four daughters, and Iſabella had already entered into a treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and one of theſe young ladies. A propoſal ſo highly advantageous to his family, fixed that earl entirely in her intereſt, and ſecured her a retreat. In the mean time her partizans in England were not idle, where ſeveral powerful noblemen had embraced her cauſe. Beſides the biſhops of Lincoln, Hereford, Ely and Dublin, the earls of Lancaſter, Pembroke and Hereford were warmly in her intereſt; and promiſed her all the aſſiſtance in their power, if ſhe could find means to land in England, with any number of forces, that might deſerve the name of an army. The unhappy Edward ſaw his power daily melt away, without knowing how to retrieve it; or even to diſcover the real cauſe to which its declenſion was owing.

In the mean time the queen having affianced young Edward, whoſe tender age rendered him incapable of judging of the conſequences, with Philippa, ſecond daughter to the count of Hainault and Holland; and having by the aſſiſtance of that prince, and the ſecret protection of her brother, inliſted into her ſervice, near three thouſand men at arms, ſhe embarked at the harbour of Dort, and landed ſafely, and without any oppoſition, on the coaſt of Suffolk. The earl of Kent, who had for ſome time embraced her party, was in her company: two other princes of the blood, the earls of Lancaſter and Norfolk joined her, ſoon after her landing, with all their followers: the biſhops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, brought her both the force of their vaſſals, and the authority of their character; and even Robert de Watteville, who had been ſent by Edward to oppoſe her progreſs in Suffolk, deſerted to her with all his forces. To render her cauſe more popular, ſhe renewed her declaration, that the ſole purpoſe of her enterprize was to free the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spenſers, and from chancellor Baldoc, their creature. The populous were allured by her ſpecious pretences: the barons thought themſelves ſecure againſt forfeitures by the appearance of the prince of Wales in her army; and a weak irreſolute king, ſupported by miniſters generally odious, was altogether unable to ſtem the torrent which bore with ſuch impetuous violence againſt him.

In this dangerous ſituation, Edward endeavoured to rouze the citizens of London to ſome ſenſe of loyalty; but was ſoon convinced that all his efforts were without effect; the citizens refuſed to take up arms in the royal cauſe. Diſappointed in this attempt, Edward departed for the weſt, where he hoped to meet with a better reception; but he had no ſooner left the city, than the citizens, declared their animoſity againſt him and his miniſters. They firſt plundered, and then murdered all thoſe who were obnoxious to their party: they ſeized the biſhop of Exeter, a virtuous and loyal prelate, as he was paſſing through the ſtreets; and having beheaded him, they threw his body into the river. The day after this murder Sir John Weſton had the keys of the Tower taken from him, and the king's ſon, John of Eltham, was in deriſion of all legal authority, appointed guardian of the city and tower. This was a prelude to farther diſorders; the priſon doors were thrown open, and the greateſt malefactors ſet at liberty, and the moſt infamous fugitives admitted into England.

During theſe tranſactions the queen was making great progreſs in her infamous attempt on the crown of her huſband. Being arrived at Oxford in purſuit of the king and his ſervants, a proclamation was publiſhed, declaring her intention in entering England in an hoſtile manner. From Oxford ſhe proceeded to Gloceſter, and from thence to Berkley Caſtle, the owner of which, the lord Maurice Berkley, had died ſome time before in confinement, for having been concerned in Lancaſter's rebellion, but his eſtates were now reſtored to his family. Her next attempt was on the caſtle of Briſtol, which was ſtill commanded by the elder Spenſer. It was ill provided with proviſions and ſtores, and worſe defended; from part of the garriſon being affected with diſloyalty, the reigning vice of that period. The governor was therefore obliged to ſurrender the fortreſs, together with his own perſon, into the hands of his enemies. The queen's rage for revenge was ſo inſatiable, that ſhe had not patience to reſerve this capital enemy for a regular trial. He was brought before her dreſſed in his robes, as earl of Wincheſter; when ſhe aſked him what he had to offer in juſtification of his conduct, in order to prevent the ſentence of death being paſſed upon him: To this inſolent queſtion he replied, "Ah! "madam, may God give us a good judge, and a "good judgment. But if we cannot have it here, "we ſhall certainly have it hereafter." Sir Thomas Wake, marſhal of the army, then produced a charge in writing againſt the priſoner, though no lawful court was aſſembled; which being read, was allowed to be juſtly founded, and he was immediately adjudged by the whole aſſembly to die the death of a traitor; which the old earl, now upwards of ninety years of age, ſuffered with a conſtancy

ſuitable to the other actions of his life. He was hanged on a gibbet, his body cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs; and his head ſent to Wincheſter, and there placed on a pole, and expoſed to the inſults of the populace. Thus fell an ancient and able ſervant to his king and country, and his grey hairs might have deſcended to the grave with as much honour as they did with violence, had not parental affection induced him to join in meaſures his better judgment could not approve. But this deviation from ſtrict juſtice can never wipe out the ſtain his death fixed on the memory of the furious queen.

The ſurrender of the city and caſtle of Briſtol, was followed by meſſages of ſubmiſſion to the queen's party, from the cities of Wincheſter, Saliſbury, Bath, and Wells, and all the weſtern parts of England ſoon followed their example.

In the mean time the king went on board a ſhip with an intention of tranſporting himſelf to Ireland, or ſome other place of ſafety; but the winds proved ſo contrary, that this unfortunate prince was obliged, after lying three weeks at the mouth of the Severn, to land in Glamorganſhire, where he took refuge in the abbey of Neith. But ſoon removed from thence to Kerfilly, from which he iſſued writs to Reſe ap Griffith, and ſeveral other loyal ſubjects in Wales, to raiſe troops for his ſervice. The party of the queen was too ſenſible of the impreſſions which the diſtreſſes of Edward might make on the minds of a generous compaſſionate people, not to have recourſe to every ſtratagem to render all attempts of the unfortunate monarch abortive. Accordingly the earl of Lancaſter was furniſhed with a commiſſion for ſeizing the perſon of Edward, wherever he ſhould be found; and that nobleman employed a Welſh prieſt as a proper agent for this purpoſe. Indeed there was no difficulty in diſcovering the place of his reſidence, as levies were then publicly making in his name. Lancaſter in a few days ſent him propoſals for an accommodation, and on the 10th of November, only twelve days after the date of Griffith's commiſſion, a negotiation was actually begun between Edward and the oppoſite party.

In conſequence of this negotiation in which Griffith, Edward de Bohun, Oliver Bourdeaux, and John Harſick, were appointed commiſſioners for the king, Edward delivered himſelf into the hands of the faction, and was weak enough to give up the younger Spenſer, and Baldock, the chancellor, into the hands of their implacable enemies. Spenſer was brought to a trial at Hereford, before the queen and the new government, where he was condemned, and ſoon after executed. The earl of Arundel, almoſt the only man of his rank in England, who had maintained his loyalty, was alſo without any legal trial, put to death, at the inſtigation of Mortimer. Baldock, the chancellor, being a prieſt, could not, with ſafety, be ſo eaſily diſpatched; but being ſent to the biſhop of Hereford's houſe in London, was there, as his enemies probably forelaw, ſeized by the populous and thrown into Newgate, where he ſoon after expired through the cruel uſage he had received. Even the uſual reverence paid the ſacerdotal character, gave way, with every other conſideration, to the preſent rage of the people.

In the mean time the unhappy Edward, having given up his power, was deprived of his liberty. He had delivered the great ſeal into the queen's hands, and conſequently given her the actual exerciſe of the government; and the firſt uſe ſhe made of it, was to ſummon, in the king's name, a parliament, to meet at the beginning of the year, while Edward was conveyed away as a ſtate priſoner, though he retained all the outward appearance of royalty.

A. D. 1327. As ſoon as the parliament met, a charge was delivered againſt the king, in which, even though it was framed by his moſt inveterate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius, or his misfortunes, were objected to him: for the greateſt malice found no particular crime with which it could reproach this unhappy prince. He was accuſed of incapacity for government, of waſting his time in idle amuſements, of neglecting public buſineſs, of being ſwayed by evil counſellors, of having loſt by his miſconduct the kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guienne; and, to ſwell the charge, even the death of ſome barons, and the impriſonment of ſome prelates, convicted of treaſon, were laid to his account. It was in vain, amidſt the violence of arms and tumults of the people, to appeal either to law or reaſon; the depoſition of the king, without any appearing oppoſition, was voted in parliament: the prince, already declared regent by his party was placed on the throne, and a deputation was ſent to Edward at Kennelworth, to require his reſignation; for Edward, whoſe breaſt was filled with filial duty, refuſed to take upon him the government till voluntarily reſigned by his father.

This refuſal might have diſconcerted the whole plan of the party. They had never ſuppoſed that ſo bright a prize as the imperial diadem of England, would appear ſo light in the eyes of a young and promiſing prince, as to be balanced by filial duty; but now found that if this reſignation could not be affected, the party had ſpent their time in twiſting a rope of ſand. The queen had, indeed, been artful enough to foreſee this difficulty, and had therefore taken care to amuſe her huſband with letters filled with affection and duty, at the ſame time inſinuating that his impriſonment was nothing more than a precaution for his own ſafety, amidſt the lawleſs confuſion of civil diſcord. She ſent him rich preſents, and took care that his entertainment ſhould be proper for a royal perſon. At the ſame time the earl of Lancaſter, his keeper, was ſtrictly charged to paint, in the moſt pleaſing colours, the happineſs that always attended a calm voluptuous retreat, and to repreſent how preferable it was to the dangers attending inconſtant and tumultuous greatneſs; adding, that in this retirement he might retain all the dignity of a crown, without feeling its weight, and enjoy all the reſpect due to royalty without its incumbrances.

In the mean time the parliament finding the young prince's obſtinacy invincible, ordered the articles of miſgovernment to be ingroſſed by a public notary, and carried to Edward at Kennelworth caſtle, by the biſhops of Wincheſter, Hereford, and Lincoln, two earls, four barons, three knights of each county, with ſome of the citizens and burgeſſes of London, the Cinque ports, and other towns and cities in England. Theſe were appointed a committee of parliament, and had power to accept of the king's voluntary reſignation. But the earl of Lancaſter had not prepared Edward ſufficiently for this dreadful meſſage; and the party were ſenſible, that without a voluntary reſignation, the

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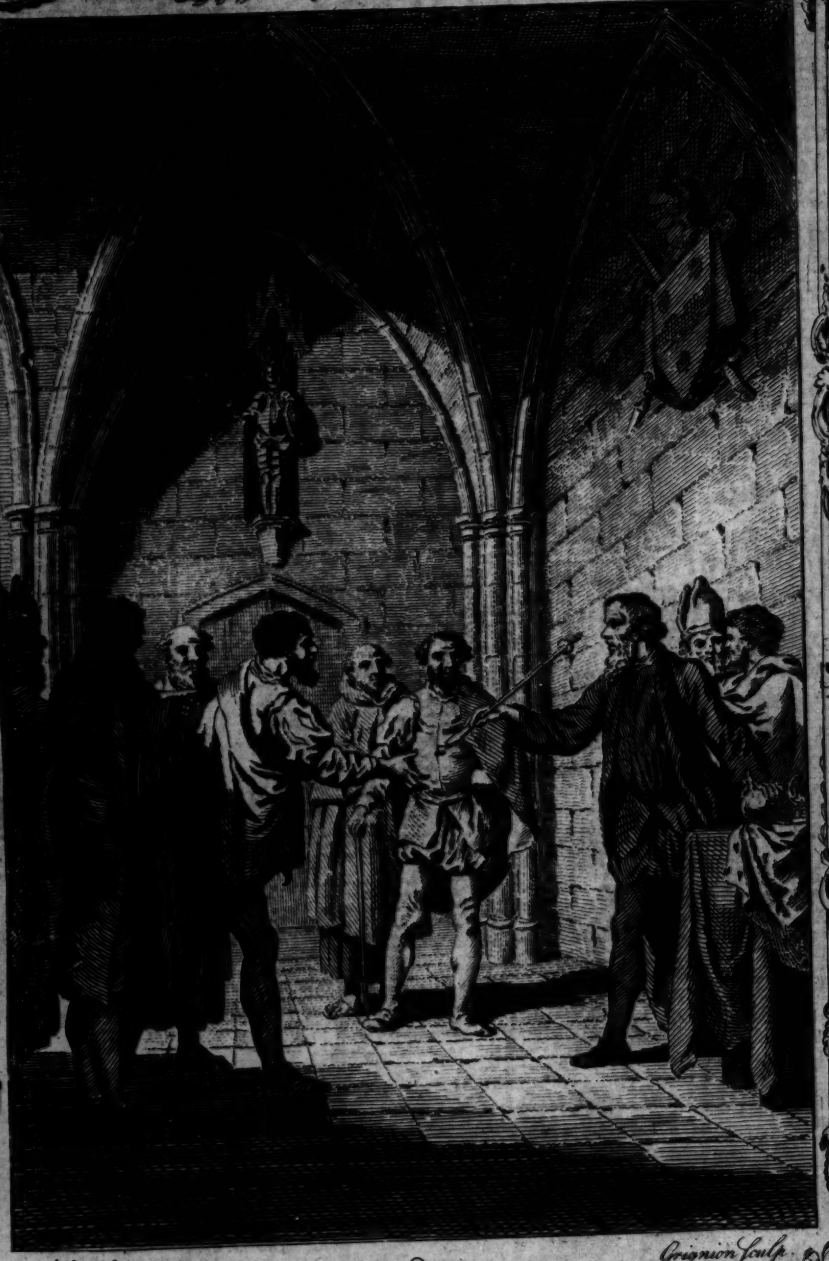

Wale del. *Grignion Sculp.*

The Ensigns of Royalty Designed by **EDWARD** *the 2d.*

young prince, who was as well adviſed as he was inclined, would not accept of the crown, and conſequently the government muſt revert to its firſt principles, and all they had done was treaſon againſt the ſtate, and might be fatal to themſelves. Before the committee therefore had audience of Edward, the biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln, enforced the arguments which had been uſed before by the earl of Lancaſter, and offered to confirm all his promiſes; but intimated, at the ſame time, that if he ſhould obſtinately refuſe to reſign, the parliament would involve his whole family in his demerits, and ſetting aſide all his children, elect ſome other perſon to fill the throne of England. This conſideration had the greateſt effect upon Edward, who could not bear the thought of puniſhing his children to keep poſſeſſion of a crown which he found too heavy to ſupport. He therefore agreed that the commiſſioners ſhould be introduced to the audience. In the mean time he himſelf withdrew to his chamber, from whence he came in a habit mournful as his own condition, ſupported by the earl of Lancaſter and the biſhop of Wincheſter. Notwithſtanding all the care that had been taken to prepare him, he could not ſtand the ſhock, when the articles of miſgovernment were read, and the demand of an immediate reſignation was made; his ſpirits forſook him, and had it not been for his two ſupporters, he would have fallen to the ground. This was rather a proof of the feelings, than of the weakneſs of human nature, and not without a mixture of laudable contrition; for on his recovering himſelf he anſwered, "That he was deeply "affected at what his people had ſuffered by his "miſgovernment; that he aſked pardon of all "preſent, and as it was impoſſible to recall what "was paſt, he could make no other atonement "than to thank them for ſuffering his crown to de-"ſcend to his eldeſt ſon." He then formally, with his own hand, ſurrendered up the regalia, which had been brought thither for that purpoſe.

But it was impoſſible that the people, however corrupted by the barbarity of the times, ſtill farther inflamed by faction, could for ever remain inſenſible to the voice of nature. A wife who at firſt deſerted, next invaded, and then dethroned her huſband; who had made her infant ſon an inſtrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; who had by falſe pretences, ſeduced the nation into a rebellion againſt their ſovereign; who had puſhed them into violence and cruelties which had diſhonoured them: all theſe circumſtances were ſo odious in themſelves, and formed ſuch a complicated ſcene of guilt, that the leaſt reflection was ſufficient to open mens eyes, and make them deteſt this flagrant infringement of every public and private duty. The ſuſpicions which ſoon aroſe of Iſabella's criminal conduct with Mortimer; the proofs which daily evinced this part of her guilt, increaſed the general abhorrence againſt her; and her impudent hypocriſy in publickly bewailing with tears the king's unhappy fate, was not ſufficient to deceive even the moſt ſtupid, and moſt prejudiced of her adherents. In proportion as the queen became the object of public hatred, the dethroned monarch, who had been the victim of her crimes and ambition, was regarded with pity, with friendſhip, with veneration; and men became ſenſible that all his miſconduct, which faction had ſo much exaggerated, had been owing to an unavoidable weakneſs, not to any voluntary depravity of his character.

The earl of Lancaſter was ſoon touched with theſe ſentiments; and beſides uſing his priſoner with gentleneſs and humanity, he was ſuſpected to have entertained ſtill more honourable intentions in his favour. The king, therefore, was taken out of his hands, and delivered to the lords Berkley, Mautravers and Gourney, who were intruſted alternately each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While he was in Berkley's cuſtody he was uſed with a gentleneſs due to his rank and misfortunes; but when Mautravers and Gourney's turn came, every ſpecies of indignity was practiſed againſt him, as if their ſole intention had been entirely to break the princes ſpirit, and to employ his ſorrows and afflictions, inſtead of more violent and more dangerous expedients for the inſtruments of his murder. He was removed by nocturnal journies, through unfrequented roads, acroſs the country, from Kennelworth in Warwickſhire, to Corf-caſtle in Dorſetſhire, and then to Berkley caſtle. In this diſmal journey one of the wretches crowned him in deriſion with a wiſp of ſtraw; and it is reported, that one day when Edward was to be ſhaved, they ordered cold and dirty water to be brought to him from a ditch for that purpoſe; and when he deſired it to be changed, and was ſtill denied his requeſt, he burſt into tears, which bedewed his cheeks, and he exclaimed, that in ſpite of their inſolence, he would be ſhaved with clean and warm water. But as this method of terminating the life of the unfortunate Edward appeared ſtill too ſlow to the impatient Mortimer, he ſecretly ſent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, inſtantly to diſpatch him; and theſe inhuman ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel and barbarous as poſſible. Taking advantage of Berkley's ſickneſs, they took poſſeſſion of the king's perſon; threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table; thruſt into his fundament a red hot iron, which they inſerted through a horn; and tho' the outward marks of violence upon his perſon were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was diſcovered to all the guards and attendants by the ſcreams with which the agonizing king filled the caſtle while his bowels were conſuming.

Thus died Edward II. in the forty-third year of his age; one of the moſt innocent and inoffenſive princes that had then ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre; but entirely unfit to govern the fierce and turbulent people, ſubjected to his authority. His very enemies have confeſſed that he was generous and good natured; and they who had the beſt opporunities of knowing him, allow, that had his judgment in the choice of his favourites been equal either to his other talents or virtues, his reign at home would have been irreproachable. But unhappily for him, and unhappily for his people, his affections were ſo tenacious, that nothing could ſever them from the object on which they were once fixed. This at laſt dragged him from his throne, and deprived him of his life, at a time when his ſufferings had more than expiated his failures, and when he had again acquired the affections of his people. His wife's behaviour was as ungrateful as it was diſloyal. He loved her with a tenderneſs which even her barbarity towards him could not efface; and the reflections on her unkindneſs were ſtill predominant in the midſt

of

of his diſtreſs. In a word, he was a memorable example, that the virtues of a private man, muſt, in a king, be directed by the voice of the people, otherwiſe they may be productive of the ſame ill effects upon his perſon and government, as their oppoſite vices. Had Edward confined his partiality for his favourites within the bounds of friendſhip he might have been happy; but he ſtretched it into the frenzy of indulgence to all their paſſions and appetites. Thus, what was in itſelf laudible, became detrimental by abuſe. His early poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power, may well excuſe him for ſome levity of conduct with which he is charged, though perhaps, if we except his paſſion for Gaveſton, none of them affected the concern of the public.

Edward left four children, two ſons and two daughters; Edward his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor; John, afterwards created earl of Cornwall, and who died young at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, count of Guelders.

England was not, however, the only country in Europe where ſcenes of this abominable nature were practiſed at this period. France was ſtained with a crime equally barbarous, and ſtill more public and deliberate. We have ſeveral times mentioned the madneſs of the two preceding centuries for cruſades, or military expeditions into the Holy Land, and have occaſionally mentioned the order of the templars. This order was inſtituted about the year 1118, under the patronage of Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem. At firſt it was purely religious, but ſoon aſſumed a military character, being by their profeſſion, obliged to guard the pilgrims in their way to the holy ſepulchre. Nothing could be more agreeable to the taſte of that romantic and bigoted age, than this inſtitution; and ſo bewitched were the public with the virtues of the firſt profeſſors, that in the ſpace of one hundred and twenty-ſix years, they were poſſeſſed of no fewer than nine thouſand manors in Europe; and even this enormous eſtate was increaſed within two hundred years after, to ſixteen thouſand lordſhips. This prodigious revenue ſoon relaxed the ſeverity of theſe virtues for which the firſt profeſſors were ſo famous; and the templars had in a great meaſure loſt that popularity which firſt rendered them honourable. Acquainted from experience with the fatigues and dangers of thoſe fruitleſs expeditions to the eaſt, they choſe rather to enjoy their opulent revenues in Europe, than continue in the hoſtile fields of Paleſtine: and being all of them men of birth, educated according to the cuſtom of that age, without any tincture of letters, they ſcorned the ignoble occupations of a monaſtic life, and paſſed their time entirely in the faſhionable amuſements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleaſures of the table. Their rival order, that of St. John of Jeruſalem, whoſe poverty had as yet preſerved them from ſimilar corruptions, ſtill diſtinguiſhed themſelves in enterprizes againſt the infidels; and ſucceeded to all the popularity which the templars had loſt by their indolence and luxury. But tho' theſe cauſes had weakened the foundations of this order, once ſo celebrated and revered, the immediate ſource of their deſtruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive ſpirit of Charles the fair, who having been privately diſguſted by ſome eminent templars, determined at once to gratify his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole order in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin: on no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their ſuperiors, to perpetual impriſonment for their vices and profligacy: he ordered on one day, all the templars in France to be committed to priſon, and imputed to them ſuch enormous and abſurd crimes, as are of themſelves ſufficient to deſtroy all the credit of the accuſation.

Beſides their being univerſally charged with murder, robbery, and vices the moſt ſhocking to nature, it was pretended that every one whom they received into their order, was obliged to renounce their Saviour, ſpit upon the croſs, and to join to this impiety, the ſuperſtition of worſhipping a gilded head, which was ſecretly kept in one of their houſes at Marſeilles. It was alſo ſaid, that they initiated every candidate by ſuch infamous rites as could ſerve to no other purpoſe, than to degrade the order in his eyes, and deſtroy for ever the authority of all his ſuperiors over him. Above an hundred of theſe unfortunate gentlemen were put to the rack, in order to extort from them a confeſſion of their guilt: the more obſtinate periſhed in the hands of their tormenters; ſeveral, to procure themſelves immediate eaſe in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them. Forged confeſſions were imputed to others; and Charles, as if their guilt were certain, proceeded to confiſcate all their treaſures. But no ſooner had the templars recovered from their torture, than, prefering the moſt cruel execution to a life of infamy, diſavowed their confeſſions, exclaimed againſt the forgeries, juſtified the innocence of their order, and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them in ancient and latter times, as a full apology for their conduct. Enraged at this diſappointment, and thinking himſelf now engaged in honour to proceed to extremities, the barbarous tyrant ordered fifty-four of them, whom he branded as relapſed heretics, to periſh by the puniſhmnt of fire in his capital. Great numbers expired in the ſame manner, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; and when he found that the perſeverance of theſe unhappy victims in juſtifying to the laſt their innocence, had made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the ſpectators, he endeavoured to overcome the conſtancy of the templars by new inhumanities. The grand maſter of the order, John de Moley, and another great officer, brother to the ſovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to the ſcaffold, erected before the church of Notredame at Paris. A full pardon was offered them on the one hand, the fire deſtined for their execution was ſhewn to them on the other. Theſe gallant nobles ſtill perſiſted in the proteſtations of their own innocence as well as that of their order, and were inſtantly hurried into the flames by the executioner. In all this barbarous injuſtice, Clement V. who was the creature of Charles, and then reſided in France, fully concurred, and without examining even a ſingle witneſs, or making any enquiry into the truth of facts, he ſummarily, by the plenitude of his apoſtolic power, aboliſhed the whole order. The templars all over Europe were thrown into priſon; their conduct underwent the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny; the power of their enemies ſtill purſued and oppreſſed them; but no where except in France, were

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were the ſmalleſt traces of their guilt pretended to be found. England ſent back an ample teſtimony of their piety and morals; but as the order was now annihilated, the knights were diſtributed into ſeveral convents, and their poſſeſſions transfered to the order of St. John.

EDWARD III.

A. D. 1327. THE elder Edward having made a public reſignation, his ſon was crowned at Weſtminſter, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and a council of regency, conſiſting of twelve perſons, five prelates, and ſeven lay peers. But the rejoicings on this occaſion were greatly interrupted by advice from the frontiers, that a body of Scots had attempted to ſurprize the caſtle of Norham; but were obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs, by the vigilance of Sir Robert Mannors the governor. This renewal of hoſtilities was followed by a warm meſſage from Bruce, who now bent under the weight of years and infirmities, contracted by his glorious ſtruggles for the liberties of his country: he ſent Edward notice, that he would ſhortly invade England with fire and ſword. The government of England would gladly have avoided this quarrel; but Bruce was determined to take advantage of their king's minority, and the unſettled ſtate of the kingdom. He was ſoon at the head of a numerous army, aſſiſted in the command by his two moſt experienced generals, Murray and Douglas. Theſe gallant officers had been bred in the long hoſtilities between the Scots and Engliſh, and their forces trained in the ſame ſchool, and inured to hardſhips, fatigues, and dangers, were perfectly qualified from their manner of life for that deſultory and deſtructive war, which they carried on againſt the Engliſh. Except a body of about four thouſand cavalry, well armed, and fit to make a ſteady impreſſion in battle, the reſt of the army were mounted on ſmall horſes, which found ſubſiſtance every where, and carried them with rapid and unexpected marches, whether they meant to commit depredations on the peaceable inhabitants, to attack an armed enemy, or to retreat into their own country. The whole equipage of the troops conſiſted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a ſupply in caſe of neceſſity, each ſoldier carried behind him, together with a thin plate of iron, on which he inſtantly baked the oatmeal into a cake in the open field. But his chief ſubſiſtance was the cattle which he ſeized; and his cookery was as expeditious as all his other operations. After fleaing the animal, he placed the ſkin looſe and hanging in the form of a bag, upon ſome ſtakes. He poured water into it, kindled a fire below, and made it ſerve as a cauldron for the boiling of his victuals.

To oppoſe this army of the Scots the earl marſhal, uncle to the king, was appointed general, and ſent with a ſtrong detachment to ſecure Newcaſtle. The lords, Ufford and Moubray, were ordered to reinforce the garriſon of Carliſle, under lord Lacy, and two thouſand foreigners under John count of Hainault, were taken into Engliſh pay.

In the mean time the nation began to perceive, that they were ſo far from gaining by the late revolution, that they were in danger of loſing every thing they poſſeſſed. The inſolence of Mortimer and the queen's party became inſupportable. The eyes of the earls of Kent and Lancaſter began to be opened; and they perceived, that all the pains they had taken tended only to advance the power of an ambitious woman, and her worthleſs minion. The attention of the whole nation therefore, was turned upon the king, and it ſoon appeared that they were not deceived in the moſt ſanguine expectations they had formed of his genius both for war and government. Very different was that of the prince againſt whom he was to act in his war againſt Scotland. The one worn out much by age, but more by fatigue, could do little more than direct; while the other, with a ſpirit much ſuperior to his age was eager for action, but had no other executive power than what was derived from a party. It happened, however, fortunately for Edward that factions in England were ſo equally balanced, that both courted the authority of his name. No oppoſition was therefore made to his heading the Engliſh forces in the expedition againſt the Scots. The city of York was appointed for the rendezvous of the whole army, as being thought more convenient for that purpoſe than Newcaſtle; and it is incredible what expectations the nation had formed from the promiſing virtues of their young king. Foreigners in particular, finding themſelves highly in favour with the queen, flocked to the royal ſtandard, flattering themſelves that they ſhould ſoon acquire both riches and preferment. In a word an army of ſixty thouſand men aſſembled at York, and nothing was wanting for their entertainment that the ingenious luxury of foreigners, and the plenty of the country, which was then remarkable, could afford. But luxury introduced diſſenſion; the Engliſh could not bear the inſolent air of the foreigners on account of their late ſervices. A fray enſued, in which many fell on both ſides, and part of the city of York was laid in aſhes. The queen prevailed on the young king to interpoſe his authority in favour of the foreigners, who muſt otherwiſe have been all cut to pieces. But even this could not allay entirely the fury of either party. Near three hundred of the inhabitants of the counties of Lincoln and Northampton had been killed by the foreigners, who every night lay on their arms. This produced a combination among the Engliſh ſoldiers, probably not without the inſtigation and concurrence of their own officers; and it was intended that not a ſingle foreigner ſhould be ſuffered to ſurvive. The prudence and authority of the young monarch, however, diſſipated this aſſociation, which was chiefly compoſed of archers. Their quarters were ocupied by other troops more immediately under the influence of the court, and it was reſolved to march directly in ſearch of the enemy;

all endeavours for a peace between England and Scotland having by this time proved abortive.

The chief difficulty which Edward met with, was to overtake an enemy ſo rapid in their marches, and ſo little encumbered in their motions. Tho' the flame and ſmoke ſufficiently directed him to the place of their encampment, he found upon hurrying thither, they had already retreated, and he ſoon diſcovered by new marks of devaſtation, that they had removed to ſome diſtant quarter. After harraſſing his army for a conſiderable time in this fruitleſs chaſe, he advanced to the northward, and croſſed the Tyne with a reſolution of waiting for them in their return homewards, and taking ample vengeance on them for all their depredations. But that whole country was already ſo much waſted by their frequent incurſions, that it could not afford ſubſiſtence to his army, and he was obliged again to return to the ſouthward, and change his plan of operations. He had now loſt all tract of the enemy; and though he promiſed the reward of an hundred pounds a year to any one who ſhould bring him an account of their motions, he remained inactive ſome days before he received any intelligence of them. At laſt he found that they had pitched their camp upon the ſouthern banks of the Were, as if they intended to ſtand an engagement. But their prudent leaders had choſen the ground with ſuch judgment, that the Engliſh on their approach, found it impracticable, without temerity, to croſs the river in their face, and attack them in their preſent ſituation. Impatient for revenge and glory, Edward ſent them a defiance; and challenged them if they dared, to meet him in an equal field, and by the fortune of arms. The bold ſpirit of Douglas could ill brook this bravade, and he adviſed the acceptance of the challenge; but was over-ruled by Murray, who replied to Edward, that he never took the counſel of an enemy in any of his operations. The king, therefore, kept his poſition oppoſite to them, expecting that neceſſity would ſoon oblige them to change their quarters, and give him an opportunity of overwhelming them try his ſuperior forces. He was not miſtaken in his conjecture; they decamped ſuddenly after a few days, and marched farther up the river; but ſtill poſted themſelves in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve the advantage of the ground, if the enemy ſhould venture to attack them. Edward inſiſted that all hazards ſhould be run, rather than allow theſe ravagers to eſcape with impunity; but Mortimer's authority prevented the attack, and oppoſed itſelf to the valour of the young monarch.

While the armies lay in this poſition, an incident happened which had almoſt proved fatal to the Engliſh. Douglas having got the wood, and ſurveyed exactly the ſituation of the Engliſh camp, entered it ſecretly in the night time, at the head of a body of determined ſoldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with a view of either killing or carrying off the prince, in the midſt of his whole army; but ſome of Edward's attendants awaking in that critical moment, made reſiſtance. His chaplain and chamberlain ſacrificed their lives for his ſafety. The king himſelf, after making a noble defence, eſcaped in the dark; and Douglas, having loſt the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a haſty retreat with the remainder. Soon after the Scottiſh army decamped without noiſe in the dead of the night; and having, by that ſtratagem, got the ſtart of the Engliſh, arrived without farther loſs in their own country. Edward, on entering the place of the Scottiſh encampment, found only ſix Engliſhmen, whom the enemy, after breaking their legs, had tied to trees, in order to prevent their carrying any intelligence to their countrymen.

Incenſed at the diſappointment he had met with in his firſt enterprize, and at the head of ſo gallant an army, Edward determined to take ample vengeance on the enemy. The ſymptoms he had diſcovered of bravery and ſpirit, gave extreme ſatisfaction, and were regarded as ſure prognoſtics of an illuſtrious reign: but the diſpleaſure of the nation fell violently on Mortimer, who was already become the object of public deteſtation; and every meaſure which he purſued, tended to aggravate, beyond all bounds, the hatred of the people againſt him and queen Iſabella.

Mortimer, when the council of regency was formed, had taken no care to inſure a place in it; but this appearance of moderation, was nothing more than a veil to conceal the moſt exorbitant and moſt ambitious projects. He rendered that council entirely uſeleſs by uſurping to himſelf the whole ſovereign power; he ſettled on the queen dowager the greater part of the royal revenues; he never conſulted either the princes of the blood, or the other noblemen in any public tranſaction; the king himſelf was ſo beſieged by his creatures, that no acceſs could be procured to him; and all the envy which had attended Gaveſton and the Spenſer, fell with double force, and with much greater juſtice, on this new favourite's head.

A. D. 1328. Senſible of the growing hatred of the people, and dreading the effects of the gathering ſtorm, Mortimer thought it requiſite, on any terms, to ſecure peace with Scotland; and accordingly entered into a negotiation with Bruce for that purpoſe. As the claim of ſuperiority in England, more than any other cauſe, had tended to inflame the animoſities between the two nations, Mortimer conſented to reſign abſolutely this pretenſion; to give up all the homages done by the Scottiſh parliament and nobility, and to acknowledge Robert as ſovereign of Scotland. Robert in return for theſe mighty advantages, ſtipulated to pay to England, the ſum of thirty thouſand marks. This treaty, though ratified by the parliament, was nevertheleſs the ſource of the greateſt diſcontent among the people, who having zealouſly ſupported the pretenſions of Edward the firſt, and thinking themſelves diſgraced by this ſucceſsful reſiſtance in ſo inferior a nation, were, by this treaty, diſappointed of all future hopes both of conqueſt and vengeance.

In the mean time the princes of the blood, Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaſter, were cloſely united in their council; and Mortimer entertained great ſuſpicions of their deſigns againſt him. In ſummoning them to parliament, he ſtrictly prohibited them in the king's name, from being attended in an armed force, an illegal, but uſual practice in that age. The three earls as they approached the city of Saliſbury, the place appointed for the meeting of the parliament, found, that though they themſelves, in obedience to the king's command, had brought only their uſual retinue along with them, Mortimer, and his party, were attended with all their followers in arms; and they began, with ſome reaſon, to apprehend a dangerous deſign againſt their perſons.

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They therefore retreated, assembled their retainers, and were returning with an army to take vengeance on Mortimer, when the weakness of Kent and Norfolk, who deserted the common cause, obliged Lancaster also to make his submissions. The quarrel by the interposition of the prelates, seemed for the present to be appeased.

A. D. 1329. But this appearance was of short duration. Mortimer was determined to have a victim in order to intimidate the princes from any similar attempts for the future; and the simplicity, added to the good intentions of the earl of Kent, afforded him soon after an opportunity of practising upon him. He endeavoured, by himself and his emissaries, to persuade that prince, that his brother king Edward was still alive, and concealed in some secret prison in England. The earl, whose remorse for the part he had acted against the late king, probably inclined him to give credit to this intelligence, entered into a design of restoring him to liberty, of re-instating him on the throne, and thereby making some compensation for the injuries he had unwarily done him. After this innocent contrivance had been suffered to proceed to a certain length, the earl was seized by Mortimer, accused before the parliament, and condemned by those slavish, though turbulent barons, to lose both his life and fortune. The queen and Mortimer seeing young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and the prisoner was beheaded the day after he received his sentence. But so general was the affection borne the earl, and such pity prevailed for his hard fate, that tho' the peers had been easily found to condemn him, they could not find an executioner before the evening.

But even the death of this nobleman could not satisfy the insatiable vengeance of Mortimer; the earl of Lancaster, under pretence of his having assented to the same conspiracy, was thrown into prison; and several other noblemen and prelates were prosecuted: the minion being determined at once to crush all his enemies, and enrich himself and his family with their forfeited estates. Accordingly his younger son Geoffrey opened the intended scene, by seizing the estate of the earl of Kent; the immense fortunes of the Spensers and their adherents were converted to Mortimer's own use, and he affected a state and dignity equal, at least, if not superior to that of a sovereign: his power became formidable to the king himself: his illegal practices became the general subject of complaint: and all parties, forgetting their former animosities, conspired in their hatred, and united to crush this ambitious and insolent favourite.

In the mean time Edward, who was now in his eighteenth year, repined in secret at his being restrained from executing the measures of government, by this detested minion, whose abuses could not escape the observation of a prince endowed with so much spirit and judgment; but he was so closely watched by the emissaries of Mortimer, that the greatest precautions were necessary in conducting a scheme formed for the subversion of this haughty minister. He communicated his intention to lord Montacute, who engaged the lords Molins and Clifford, Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Sir Edward Bohun, Ufford, and others, to enter into their views; and the castle of Nottingham was chosen for the scene of the enterprize. The queen dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortress: the king also was admitted, though with only a few of his attendants; and as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland the governor, who joined in it with all the zeal that could be wished or expected. By his direction the king's associates were admitted through a subteraneous passage, which had been formerly contrived for a secret outlet to the castle, but was now concealed under a heap of rubbish; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make any resistance, was seized in an apartment adjoining to that of the queen. A parliament was immediately called for his trial, as it was thought dangerous to defer it any longer than was absolutely necessary. He was accused before that assembly of having usurped the regal power from the council of regency, appointed by the parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conspiracy to restore that prince; of having sollicited and obtained exhorbitant grants of the royal demesnes; of having dissipated the public treasure; of secreting for his own use twenty thousand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of other high crimes and misdemeanours. The parliament condemned him from the supposed notoriety of the facts, without trial or hearing his answer, or examining a single witness, and he was hanged on a gibbet at the Elmes in the neighbourhood of London.

The queen was confined to her own house at Risings near the capital; her revenues were reduced to four thousand pounds a year, and though the king constantly paid her a decent visit once or twice a year, yet she was never able to recover any part of her credit or authority.

A. D. 1331. Here we may fix the period of England's miseries, from the guilt of rebellion, regicide, and unnatural murder, as well as the date of her glory, from kingdoms conquered, sovereigns captive, and nations relieved, always supported by a just and equitable administration at home. The satisfaction arising from the proceedings of the late parliament to all kinds of people, quickly made Edward sensible of the importance of his always living in amity with the barons and representatives of the people assembled in a legislative capacity. He saw that he had been directed wisely in putting a stop to all sanguinary prosecutions, except those absolutely necessary to punish the most notorious offenders. This induced all parties to concur in supporting his government; nor was he, like most of his predecessors, afraid of meeting his people in parliament. The beginning of the year was spent in his endeavouring to abolish all kind of private rancour and animosity, on account of the late unhappy divisions.

In the mean time he received an additional happiness to the dawning glories of his reign, and the prosperity of his family, by the birth of a son, called Edward, who was afterwards so illustrious under the name of the Black Prince. About the same time Sir Edward Gourney, one of the brutal murderers of Edward the second, was taken prisoner in Spain, by one John Martin, to whom Edward ordered a reward of three hundred pounds for this service. But when that monster was on his voyage to England, it was thought proper to strike off his head on board the ship, probably to prevent any discoveries

diſcoveries he might make to the prejudice of certain great men, who might revive the national troubles. The king thinking it would be more advantageous to the people to redreſs all the grievances under which the nation had long groaned, than endanger the peace of the kingdom in ſearching into the cauſes of paſt tranſactions, which began now to be forgotten. Accordingly he iſſued writs to the judges, enjoining them to adminiſter juſtice, without paying any regard to arbitrary orders from the miniſters: and as the robbers, thieves, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had, during the long courſe of public convulſions, multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the great barons, who made uſe of them againſt their enemies; the king after exacting from the peers a ſolemn promiſe in parliament, that they would break off all connections with ſuch malefactors, ſet himſelf in earneſt to remedy the evil. Many of theſe gangs were become ſo numerous as to require his own preſence to diſſipate them; and he accordingly exerted both courage and induſtry in executing this ſalutary office. By his example, the miniſters of juſtice, employed the utmoſt diligence in diſcovering, purſuing, and puniſhing the criminals; and this diſorder was by degrees corrected, or at leaſt greatly palliated; the utmoſt that could be expected with regard to a diſeaſe inherent in the feudal conſtitution.

Unanimity being by the aſſiduous labours of this able prince, reſtored in ſome meaſure, the nation again acquired its former power, and became once more formidable to its neighbours. John Baliol, the vaſſal king of Scotland, dying ingloriouſly abroad in the year 1314, left behind him two ſons, Edward and Henry. And as a pretender to the throne of Scotland might be of ſervice to the Engliſh government, the late king had taken Edward Baliol, a ſprightly promiſing youth, under his immediate protection. He recommended him to the king of France, in order to his being reſtored to his eſtates in Normandy; but that court obliged him to repair to Paris in order to do his homage in perſon, before he received the inveſtiture. Having performed this ceremony, he returned immediately to England, and entered into very cloſe connections with the friends of his family in that kingdom. The principal of theſe were the lord Beaumont, who claimed the earldom of Buchan, the young earl of Athol, the earl of Angus, Henry lord Piercy, who claimed Galloway, the lords Lake, Fitzwarrenne, Stafford, Ferrers, Moubray, and Talbot, Sir Alexander Moubray, and Sir Roger Swinnerton. All theſe were entitled to great eſtates in Scotland, but were denied the poſſeſſion of them notwithſtanding the late treaty with Bruce.

Edward, on conſidering the nature of this treaty, expreſſed the higheſt indignation, but determined to obſerve it during the ſtipulated term of four years, or at leaſt, not to engage as a principal in any attempt upon Scotland. Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independence of his country, was now dead, and left David his ſon a minor, under the guardianſhip of Randolf, earl of Murray, the companion of all his victories. It had been ſtipulated in the above treaty, that both the Scottiſh nobility, who, before the commencement of the wars, enjoyed lands in England, and the Engliſh who inherited eſtates in Scotland, ſhould be reſtored to their ſeveral poſſeſſions: but though this article had been executed pretty regularly on the part of Edward, Robert, who ſaw the eſtates claimed by Engliſhmen much more numerous and valuable than the other, either conſidered it as dangerous to admit ſo many ſecret enemies into the kingdom, or found it difficult to wreſt from his followers the eſtates beſtowed on them as the reward for their fatigues and dangers, and had therefore protracted the performance of this article of the treaty; the Engliſh nobles, diſappointed in their expectations, began to think of doing themſelves juſtice; and as their influence was great in the northern parts of the kingdom, their enmity alone, without any ſupport from the king of England, became dangerous to the minor prince, who now filled the throne of Scotland.

Baliol, confiding on the ſupport of theſe diſcontented nobles, repaired to York, where, by the aſſiſtance of Beaumont, and his other adherents, he collected a ſmall, but determined, and well-officered body of ſoldiers. Poſſeſſed of ſuch a head, the injured nobles determined to vindicate their rights by force of arms, and accordingly applied to Edward for his concurrence and aſſiſtance. But there were ſeveral reaſons which deterred the king from openly avowing their enterprize. In his treaty with Scotland, he had entered into a bond of twenty thouſand pounds, payable to the pope, if within four years he violated the peace, and as the term was not yet elapſed, he dreaded the exacting of that penalty, by the ſovereign Pontiff, who poſſeſſed ſo many means of forcing him to make the payment. He was alſo afraid that violence and injuſtice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked, with ſuch ſuperior force, a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whoſe independent title had ſo lately been acknowledged by a ſolemn treaty; and as the regent of Scotland, on every demand which had been made of reſtitution to the Engliſh barons, had always confeſſed the juſtice of their claim, and only given an evaſive anſwer, founded on plauſible pretences, Edward reſolved not to proceed to open violence, but to employ the like artifices againſt him.

Purſuant to this determination, he ſecretly encouraged Baliol in his enterprize; connived at his aſſembling forces in the north, and gave countenance to the nobles who were diſpoſed to join in the attempt. A force of two thouſand five hundred men were aſſembled under Baliol, by the earl of Angus, and the other noblemen already mentioned. And as theſe adventurers apprehended that the frontiers would be ſtrongly guarded, they reſolved to make the attack by ſea, and having embarked at Ravenſpur, they reached in a few days the coaſt of Fife.

Scotland was at preſent in a very different ſituation from what it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Beſides the loſs of that great monarch, whoſe genius and authority preſerved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained an union among the turbulent barons, lord Douglas, impatient of reſt, had gone over to Spain in a cruſade againſt the Moors, and there periſhed in battle. The earl of Murray, who had been long declining thro' age and infirmities, had lately paid the debt of nature, and had been ſucceeded in the regency by Donald earl of Marre, a perſon of much inferior talents.

The invaſion of Baliol was, however, no ſurprize

prize to the Scots, who immediately marched up to give him battle, under the command of the earl of Fife, the earl of Carrick, a natural ſon of Edward Bruce, who had been crowned in Ireland, and Sir Alexander Seton. Some part of Baliol's army, conſiſting of archers, had already got on ſhore, and theſe plied the Scots ſo well with their arrows, that the whole army landed under their protection, and routed that of the enemy, though their number amounted to ten thouſand men, nine hundred of whom were left dead on the field of battle, and Sir Alexander Seton was among the ſlain. This defeat threw the Scots in the greateſt conſternation, for though their military ſpirit was ſtill unbroken, they were not now the ſame as under their intrepid leader, Robert Bruce. Their former victories, and the plenty that thence enſued, had proved more fatal to them than all the power of England, and many of them, whom the authority of Robert's government had kept in awe, now wiſhed well to the cauſe undertaken by Baliol. That brave prince, marched immediately to Dumferling, an ancient abbey, where he ſeized a magazine of arms, which proved of the greateſt ſervice to his followers. From thence he marched at the head of his army to attack the earl of Marre, who lay encamped at Duplin, on the oppoſite bank of the Ern. The Scottiſh army is ſaid to have amounted to forty thouſand men, but the greater part were licentious, bold, and turbulent perſons, deſpiſing order, precaution, and diſcipline, which they conſidered as unneceſſary to oppoſe an enemy ſo inferior in numbers. The river Ern ran between the two armies, and the Scots, confiding in that ſecurity, as well as in their great ſuperiority, kept no order in their encampment.

Baliol ſaw the neceſſity of attacking the enemy, and accordingly paſſed the river in the night with all imaginable ſecrecy and ſucceſs; attacked the unguarded and undiſciplined Scots, threw them into confuſion, which was increaſed by the darkneſs of the night, and by their very numbers in which they placed their confidence, and drove them off the field of battle with great ſlaughter.

At day-break the Engliſh perceived the enemy drawn up upon a riſing ground; for the Scots having recovered from the confuſion into which they were thrown by the unexpected attack in the night, were aſhamed of having yielded the victory to ſo weak a foe, drew up their ſcattered forces, and were hurrying back to recover the honour of the day. This appearance of intrepidity did not, however, intimidate the Engliſh, eſpecially as they perceived that the ground between the two armies was ſo broken, that not more than eight or ten thouſand men could engage at one time. The gallant Baliol therefore encouraged his determined troops to ſtand their ground againſt the attack of the enemy. The eager paſſion of the Scots to wipe out the ſtain of their late defeat, ruſhed on with the utmoſt precipitation to the battle, without paying any regard to the broken ground between them and the enemy, and which diſordered and confounded their ranks. Baliol perceived their confuſion, ſeized the favourable opportunity, advanced his troops upon them, prevented their rallying, and chaſed them a ſecond time off the field of battle with redoubled ſlaughter. Near twelve thouſand Scots fell in this action, and among thoſe the flower of their nobility: the regent himſelf, the earls of Carrick, Athol, and Monteith, the lord Hay of Errol, conſtable, and the lords Keith and Lindſay. The loſs of the Engliſh ſcarcely exceeded thirty men; a ſtrong proof among others, of the miſerable ſtate of military diſcipline in thoſe ages.

Tho' the earl of March lay at the head of thirty thouſand men within five miles of the place of action, that epidemical jealouſy among rivals in power, ſeems to have determined him to reſerve his troops for the glory of defeating Baliol. The latter, in order to profit by his late victory, and improve the conſternation of the Scots, advanced towards Perth; but was oppoſed in his march by thoſe who had eſcaped from the battle of Duplin, and who had now rallied, and ſeemed determined to oppoſe the progreſs of the Engliſh. But on Baliol's leading his victorious troops to the attack, the Scots had again recourſe to flight, and took ſhelter in the town of Perth. The fortunate Baliol purſued them ſo cloſe, that he entered the town with them, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of the place. This was an important acquiſition, as it opened a communication between him and his fleet, which had continued cruiſing on the coaſt of Scotland.

The earl of March and Sir Archbald Douglas, brother to the lord of that name, now appeared at the head of a powerful army amounting to forty thouſand men, with an intention of reducing Baliol and his Engliſh forces, by famine. They accordingly inveſted Perth by land; they collected ſome veſſels with which they blocked it up by water: but Baliol's ſhips attacking the Scottiſh fleet, gained a complete victory over them; and again opened the communication to Perth by ſea. This defeat, together with the want of proviſions in the Scottiſh camp, ſo greatly diſconcerted the earl of March, that he raiſed the ſiege, and retreated inglorioufly to the ſouthward.

Thus the Scottiſh nation was in effect ſubdued by a mere handful of men: and Baliol took the wiſe reſolution of being crowned; and the ceremony was accordingly performed on the 27th of September in the royal abbey of Scone, the place where moſt of the kings of Scotland had been crowned. This ſtep had an amazing effect in his favour: his party, and conſequently his army, daily increaſed; and he immediately reſolved to march to the ſouthward, in order to reduce the reſt of the kingdom, and open a communication with his friends in England. The earl of Fife, who with the greater part of the Scottiſh nobility had now ſubmitted to Baliol, was made governor of Perth, and every precaution taken to ſecure the tranquillity of that part of the kingdom.

During theſe alarming tranſactions, the young king of Scotland had appointed Sir Andrew Murray joint guardian of the kingdom with the earl of March; and the new guardian, in order to begin his new office with ſome luſtre, collected a large body of men, and attacked Baliol, who was now advanced almoſt to Roxborough. The battle was for ſome time, maintained with great obſtinacy by both armies; but at laſt, fortune declared entirely in favour of Baliol: Murray himſelf was taken priſoner and ſent to Durham; and the heads of his party ſued to Baliol for a truce, which he readily granted them, in order to aſſemble a parliament in tranquillity, and procure his title to be recognized by the whole Scottiſh nation.

A. D. 1333. Baliol ſeemed now firmly ſeated on the throne of Scotland, and might in all proba-

bility, have maintained his power, had not his imprudence, or perhaps his neceſſities, induced him to diſmiſs the greater part of his Engliſh ſoldiers. In this weak condition he was attacked near Annan notwithſtanding the truce, by Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chiefs of that party. Baliol at the head of an inconſiderable number of followers made a noble defence, but being overpowered by multitudes, was obliged to have recourſe to flight. His brother John Baliol was ſlain, and he himſelf obliged to make the beſt of his way to England, where he at laſt arrived in a very miſerable condition; having loſt his crown by a revolution as quick as it was acquired.

He was indeed ſenſible, while he enjoyed his ſhort-lived and precarious royalty, that it would be impoſſible for him to keep poſſeſſion of the throne, without the aſſiſtance of England, and had therefore ſent a ſecret meſſage to Edward, offering to acknowledge his ſuperiority, to renew the homage of his crown, and to eſpouſe the princeſs Jane, provided the pope's conſent could be obtained for diſſolving her former marriage with David his competitor, as it had not yet been conſummated. Ambitious of recovering that important ſacrifice made by Mortimer during his adminiſtration, Edward readily accepted the offer, but as the dethronement of Baliol had rendered this conceſſion abortive, the king prepared to reinſtate him in poſſeſſion of the crown; an enterprize which from the late attempt of Baliol, appeared ſo eaſy, and to be obnoxious to ſo few dangers. He, however, thought proper to conſult his parliament on this occaſion; but that aſſembly perceiving the reſolution was already taken, declined giving any opinion, and contented themſelves with voting him an aid of a fifteenth from the perſonal eſtates of the nobility and gentry, and a tenth of the moveables of the boroughs, in order to enable him to ſupport the war.

In the mean time the active Baliol was ſo ſucceſsful among his friends in the north of England, where he had a ſtrong party, that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army. The Scots were not ignorant of the gathering ſtorm, and expecting that the firſt attempt would be made upon Berwic, the regent threw a ſtrong garriſon into that place under the command of Sir William Keith, while he himſelf aſſembled a powerful army on the frontiers, in order to penetrate into England as ſoon as Edward ſhould have inveſted that fortreſs.

The preparations of the Scots gave Edward a very plauſible pretence for beginning hoſtilities. His army was leſs numerous, but better ſupplied with arms and proviſions than that of the enemy; and at the time, they obſerved a much ſtricter diſcipline. Berwic was inveſted, and, notwithſtanding the brave defence made by Keith, was in two months time reduced to ſuch extremities, that the garriſon engaged to ſurrender the place, if not relieved in a few days by their countrymen. As ſoon as the capitulation was agreed upon, Keith the governor, repaired, with Edward's leave, to Douglas the regent, who then lay before the caſtle of Banborough, to inform him of the ſtate of the garriſon, and acquaint him with the terms of the treaty, which was to laſt only fifteen days. Keith was fortunate enough to perſuade Douglas to attempt the relief of Berwic, but before he could arrive with his army, the fifteen days were expired. Edward therefore claimed the performance of the truce, but Seton, who commanded in the abſence of Keith, knowing that the attempt would be made in a very few days, raiſed ſo many objections, that Edward actually hanged up one or two of his ſons, who had been given as hoſtages to the Engliſh monarch. This may perhaps be conſidered as a piece of ſeverity, bordering on cruelty, but it was ſuch as Edward's affairs required; for the ſiege had now continued a conſiderable time, and the Scottiſh army marching to relieve it were ſo ſtrong, that the event became very doubtful unleſs the town ſhould previouſly fall into the hands of the Engliſh.

Three days after the expiration of the truce, Douglas having aſſembled the whole power of Scotland, appeared in ſight of the Engliſh army, which was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that it would have been madneſs to have made the attack. But Edward having now nothing to fear from the town and caſtle of Berwic, gallantly drew out his forces in order to riſque every thing on one deciſive battle. The Engliſh poſted themſelves ſo very advantageouſly on Halidon-hill, that the Scots ſoon perceived their error; but it was too late to rectify it; a battle was now unavoidable. All they could do was to endeavour, by various ſtratagems, to draw the Engliſh from their advantageous poſt, but all their attempts proved abortive, the Engliſh maintained their ſituation. One Turnbull, a Scotchman, of gigantic ſtature, and great addreſs in arms, ſent an inſolent defiance to the whole Engliſh army, for any one to meet him in ſingle combat. The challenge was accepted by Sir Robert Benhale, who after ſome time, laid his antagoniſt dead at his feet in ſight of both armies.

The Scottiſh commanders now diſpoſed of their army to the greateſt advantage, in four columns, all the ſoldiers were on foot, and their horſes ſent to ſome diſtance, as men reſolved to conquer or periſh. Each column of the Engliſh army was flanked with archers, which did prodigious execution upon the Scots as they marched up to the attack. As ſoon as Edward perceived the Scots were ſufficiently ſpent with marching up the hill, he gave the ſignal to his troops, who immediately ruſhed down upon their enemies with inconceivable fury. The Scots, who had already loſt a great many men, and were thrown into great confuſion by the Engliſh archers, could not ſupport the ſhock. Douglas, and his principal officers, endeavouring to ſtop their flight, were themſelves ſlain, and a promiſcuous carnage enſued, while the infeebled Scots, tired out by the fatigue of the attack, gave their throats to the ſword without reſiſtance, and acted like men who ſought relief in death, provided they could purchaſe it without the toil of fighting. All the nobles of diſtinction were either killed or taken priſoners: near thirty thouſand Scots fell in the action, while the loſs of the Engliſh amounted only to one knight, one ſquire, and eighteen private ſoldiers; an inequality almoſt incredible.

This victory was followed by the immediate ſurrender of the town and caſtle of Berwic, and Edward having made a triumphant entry into the town, annexed it to his own dominions, and made the lord Henry Piercy governor of the caſtle. He then ratified all his conventions with Baliol, and ſent him at the head of an army of ſix and twenty thouſand men to complete the conqueſt of Scotland.

Before

Before Baliol committed any hoſtilities, he ſent a meſſage to young David, offering to leave him in poſſeſſion of his liberty, and family eſtates, provided he would reſign his crown. This propoſal being rejected with indignation by the Scottiſh council, a reſolution was immediately taken to ſend the young king and his queen to the court of France. This was accordingly performed under the conduct of Malcolm Fleming, and Philip received the royal pair with all the honours due to an ally. Many of the Scottiſh clergy alſo choſe to retire beyond the ſeas to avoid the miſeries that they ſaw would inevitably fall upon their country.

A. D. 1334. Baliol's capital error ſeems to have conſiſted in his proceeding like a conqueror, rather than claiming the kingdom as his right by undoubted deſcent. He penetrated, at the head of his army into the heart of that unhappy country, where the late defeat at Halidon had ſtruck ſuch a panic into the inhabitants, that very few places or perſons made any reſiſtance; ſo that he conſidered himſelf as actually king of Scotland. His title was acknowledged by a parliament aſſembled at Edinburgh; the ſuperiority of England was again recognized; many of the Scots nobility ſwore fealty to him; and to complete the misfortunes of that nation, Baliol ceded to Edward, Berwic, Dunbar, Roxborough, and Edinburgh, together with all the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland; which were declared to be for ever annexed to the Engliſh monarchy.

The appearance of Baliol on his firſt entering Scotland, was terrible to that people, as they conſidered him as an inſtrument employed by England, for the ſubjection of their country. They were now convinced that their ſuſpicions were too well founded; and he accordingly became the object of univerſal hatred. Whatever ſubmiſſions they might be obliged to make, they conſidered him not as a prince but as the delegate and confederate of their determined enemy.

But Baliol's conceſſions to Edward were but inconſiderable when compared with what were ſoon after granted, both to that prince and his ſubjects. For all the acts of authority that had been paſſed by the Brucean family as kings of Scotland, the Scottiſh parliament annulled, and declared them of no effect; by which an opening was made to all who claimed under the firſt, ſecond, or third of Edward's grants. In conſequence of this, a multitude of claimants appeared, the chief of whom were the lord Henry Beaumont, who in right of his wife, one of the heireſſes of the late earl of Buchan, was inveſted with that earldom, which he had before enjoyed; but his great merit in bringing about the late revolution, was perhaps his beſt title. The lord Richard Talbot was put into poſſeſſion of another branch of the ſame eſtate, he having married another heireſs of that family. The lord Henry Piercy was inveſted with all Annandale, and Moffetdale, and had a grant of the caſtle or pile of Lochmaban. The lord David Strathbogie, earl of Athol, was reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his great eſtate. The lords Neville and Moubray, with Sir Edward Bohun, were all of them admitted to enjoy their reſpective claims, which were very extenſive. By this addition of members, the Scottiſh parliament was ſo much in the Engliſh intereſt, that Scotland, for a ſhort time, ſeemed to loſe both her power and her name.

Subjection may, by an artful government, be diſguiſed, eſpecially from the eyes of a degenerating people; but the Engliſh barons who now ſat in the Scottiſh parliament, were to the Scots, ſo many legible characters of infamy and ſubjection, which could not be miſtaken. The remembrance of their late glory under the intrepid Bruce, awakened in them firſt a ſenſe of ſhame, and then a paſſion for liberty. It is wonderful that ſuch ſentiments ſtill ſubſiſted, after ſo many defeats, and their being ſurrounded by ſo many dangers. It is, however, evident that even Edward himſelf was jealous of this ſpirit: he wrote to Baliol, exhorting him to conſtancy and perſeverance, promiſing to continue his unſhaken friend, provided he fulfilled his engagements. He was particularly ſollicitous that none of the Brucean party ſhould have any ſhare in the government. He even ſtooped ſo low as to form a faction againſt Baliol himſelf in the parliament of Scotland; for he wrote to the lord Beaumont, enjoining him as a peer of Scotland, to oppoſe any endeavours for reſtoring Miles earl of Strathern, one of the Brucean party, to his eſtate; and in a manner forced upon Baliol, the earl of Warrenne, who, for his great ſervice in the late revolution, he earneſtly recommended to the earldom of Strathern.

A. D. 1334. In the beginning of the year Edward held a parliament at York, in which the great charter, together with that of the foreſts, were confirmed, and ſeveral acts paſſed in favour of public liberty.

In the mean time the Brucean party gathered ſtrength daily, and, at laſt, they preſſed Baliol ſo cloſely, that he was obliged to take ſhelter in England. The earl of Athol however, together with the lord Beaumont, ſtill held out in the north, in hopes that either Edward or Baliol would ſoon come to their aſſiſtance. But Randolph earl of Murray, preſſed the earl of Athol ſo vigorouſly, that he was driven into the moſt barren parts of Scotland, and afterwards obliged to ſurrender both his perſon and fortune. Edward was therefore obliged to aſſemble an army and to march once more into Scotland. But the Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and faſtneſſes: he deſtroyed the houſes, and ravaged the eſtates of thoſe whom he called rebels. But this only confirmed them the more in their obſtinacy and antipathy both to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered deſperate, they were ready to take advantage of the firſt opportunity when their enemy retreated, and ſoon re-conquered their country from the Engliſh.

A. D. 1335. About the beginning of July, Edward again invaded Scotland with a powerful army, while Baliol, at the head of another body, entered that unhappy country by a different rout.

About the ſame time above one hundred and ſixty ſail of ſhips appeared on the coaſts of Scotland. It would have been madneſs for the Scots to have thought of reſiſting, in the open field, ſuch a deluge of power. They wiſely retreated to their faſtneſſes; while ſome of their light troops hovered about the Engliſh army in flying parties. The firſt attempt of any importance was on the caſtle of Cambermouth, which was reduced by Baliol. That fortreſs belonged to the earl of Athol, who was now in the Brucean intereſt. By the above capture ſeveral ladies and perſons of quality were made priſoners. But to balance this loſs the earls of Murray and Dunbar ſurprized and cut in pieces a detachment of five hundred archers, and a conſiderable number of foot ſoldiers, who were marching

ing careleſsly thro' the country, expecting to meet with no oppoſition. The ſame noblemen being joined by Sir Alexander Ramſay, and received intelligence, that the young earl of Namur, with his brother, was advancing to join the main body of the Engliſh army, at the head of an hundred men at arms and a proportionable number of foot and other troops, reſolved to attack him. The battle happened in a moor near Edingburgh, and the diſpute was equal and obſtinate, till Sir William Douglas, reinforcing his countrymen with a freſh body of troops, obliged the earl to make a ſudden retreat. One perſon, among others, was diſtinguiſhed on this occaſion, by perſonal courage and obſtinate reſiſtance; but, when overpowered by the enemy and ſlain, ſhe was diſcovered to be a woman of amazing beauty and extraordinary ſtature; but on what occaſion ſhe was transformed into a warrior, is unknown. At laſt, after often facing about, the gallant foreigners were obliged to take ſhelter upon the rock, where the caſtle of Edingburgh now ſtands. There they barricadoed themſelves, but being deſtitute of all the neceſſaries of life, and having no hopes of relief from the grand army, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The earl of Murray, from a principle of romantic honour or policy, as the earl of Namur was nearly related to the king of France, inſtantly gave them all their liberty, without any ranſom, and could not be perſuaded from waiting upon the earl to the borders of Scotland; but he paid dear for his ill-timed compliment, for in his return, he fell into an ambuſcade of Engliſh troops, detached from the garriſon of Roxborough, and was ſent priſoner into England.

By this time Edward had advanced with his army into the heart of Scotland, whence he detached a ſtrong body of troops under the command of his brother the earl of Cornwall, and the lord Lacy, to ravage Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, the counties where the Brucean intereſt was the ſtrongeſt. The Engliſh forces were followed by a flying party under Sir William Douglas, but they kept ſo well upon their guard, that after compleating the orders they had received, they marched through a vaſt tract of country, and joined Edward at Perth.

Baliol, after taking Cambermouth-caſtle, advanced very far into the country, where the Welſh in his army behaved with inſolence and cruelty. The town of Dundee, a place of ſome importance, was laid in aſhes by the mariners of Newcaſtle, who, with part of the Engliſh fleet, had entered the Tay, while the principal diviſion came up the Forth, where they committed great exceſſes on the religious houſes, and deſtroyed the towns and villages all along the coaſt. In the mean time Edward marched uncontrouled, over all the low countries, though the nation itſelf was far from being broken and ſubdued. Beſides being ſupported by their pride and anger, paſſions very difficult to tame, the Scots were encouraged amidſt all their calamities, by daily promiſes of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they promiſed themſelves, from this incident, a great diverſion of that force, which had ſo long oppreſſed and overwhelmed their kingdom.

A. D. 1336. But we are now entering upon a tranſaction, pregnant with the moſt memorable events recorded in hiſtory during more than a century; and it will therefore be neceſſary to trace it from its ſource. An opinion had long prevailed, that the crown of France could never deſcend to a female, and as nations, in accounting for principles which they regard as fundamental, and as peculiar to themſelves, are fond of founding them rather on primary laws, than on blind cuſtom, it had been uſual to derive this maxim from a clauſe in the Salian Code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; though that clauſe, when ſtrictly examined, carries only the appearance of favouring this principle, and does not really, by the confeſſion of the beſt critics, bear the ſenſe commonly impoſed upon it. But though poſitive law ſeems wanting among the French, for the excluſion of females, the practice had prevailed, and the rule was eſtabliſhed beyond controverſy, on ſome ancient, as well as ſome modern precedents. During the firſt traces of the monarchy, the Franks were ſo rude and barbarous a people, that they were incapable of ſubmitting to a female government; and in that period of their hiſtory, there are frequent inſtances of kings advanced to royalty in prejudice of females, who were related to the crown by much nearer degrees of conſanguinity. Theſe precedents, joined to ſimilar cauſes, alſo eſtabliſhed the male ſucceſſion in the ſecond race; and though the inſtances are neither ſo frequent nor ſo certain, during that period, the principle of excluding the female line ſeems ſtill to have prevailed, and to have directed the conduct of the nation. During the third race, the crown had deſcended from father to ſon for eleven generations, from Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin, and thus, in fact, during the interval of nine hundred years, the French monarchy had always been governed by males, no female, nor any deſcended from females, had ever mounted the throne. Philip the fair, father of Lewis Hutin, left three ſons. This Lewis, Philip the long, and Charles the fair, beſides one daughter, Iſabella, queen of England. Lewis Hutin, the eldeſt, left at his death one daughter, by Margaret, ſiſter to Euder, duke of Burgundy, and as his queen was then pregnant, Philip his younger brother, was appointed regent till it ſhould appear whether the child proved a ſon or a daughter: her iſſue proved male, but lived only a few days; when Philip was proclaimed king, and as the duke of Burgundy made ſome oppoſition, and aſſerted the rights of his niece, the ſtates of the kingdom, by a ſolemn and deliberate decree, gave her the excluſion, and declared all females for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France. Philip died after a ſhort reign, leaving three daughters, and his brother Charles, without either diſpute or controverſy, ſucceeded immediately to the crown. The reign of Charles was alſo ſhort; he left one daughter; but as his queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion provided the iſſue ſhould prove female. This prince was Philip de Valois, couſin german to the deceaſed king, being the ſon of Charles Valois, brother of Philip the fair. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter: the regency ended, and Philip de Valois was unanimouſly placed on the throne of France.

Edward, king of England, who was then a youth of fifteen years of age, embraced the notion that he was entitled, in right of his mother, to the ſucceſſion of the crown, and that the claim of the nephew was preferable to that of the couſin german.

There

There could not be conceived a notion weaker or worſe grounded. The principle of excluding females had been long eſtabliſhed in France, and had acquired equal authority with the moſt expreſs and poſitive law; it was ſupported by ancient precedents; it was confirmed by recent inſtances, ſolemnly and deliberately decided; and, what places it ſtill farther beyond controverſy, if Edward was diſpoſed to queſtion its validity, he thereby cut off his own pretenſions, ſince the thtee laſt kings had left daughters who were ſtill alive, and ſtood before him, in the order of ſucceſſion. He was therefore reduced to aſſert, though his mother Iſabella was, on account of her ſex, incapable of ſucceſſion, he himſelf, who inherited through her, was liable to no ſuch objection, and might claim by the right of propinquity. But beſides that this pretenſion was more favourable to Charles, king of Navarre, deſcended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, but was ſo contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of ſucceſſion in every country of Europe, was ſo repugnant to the practice both in private and public inheritances, that no body in France ever thought of Edward's right. Philip's title was univerſally recognized and acknowledged; nor did he ever imagine that he had any competitor, much leſs one ſo formidable as the Engliſh monarch.

But though the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward, had raſhly entertained this notion, he did not think proper to inſiſt on his pretenſions, which muſt have immediately involved him, on very unequal terms, in a dangerous and implacable war, with ſo powerful a monarch. Philip was a prince of mature age, of great experience, and at that time, of an eſtabliſhed character, both for prudence and valour; and by theſe circumſtances, as well as by the union of his people, and the acquieſcence in his undoubted right, he poſſeſſed every advantage over a thoughtleſs youth, newly raiſed by injuſtice and violence, to the government of the moſt intractable, and moſt turbulent ſubjects in Europe. But there ſoon occured an incident which required that Edward ſhould either openly declare his pretenſions, or for ever renounce and abjure them. He was ſummoned to do homage for Guienne: Philip was preparing to compel him by force of arms; that country was in a very bad ſtate of defence, and the forfeiture of ſo rich an inheritance, was, by the feudal law, the immediate conſequence of his refuſing to perform the duty of a vaſſal. Edward therefore thought it moſt prudent to ſubmit to the preſent neceſſity. He went over to Amiens; did homage to Philip; and as there had ariſen ſome controverſy concerning the terms of this ſubmiſſion, he afterwards ſent over a formal deed, in which he acknowledged that he owed liege homage to France, which was, in effect, ratifying, even in the ſtrongeſt terms, Philip's title to the crown of that kingdom. His own claim was indeed ſo unreaſonable, and ſo entirely diſavowed by the whole French nation, that to inſiſt upon it, was no better than to pretend to the entire conqueſt of the kingdom; and it is probable that he would never have farther thought of it, had it not been for ſome incidents which excited an animoſity between the two monarchs.

Robert de Artois was deſcended from the royal blood of France, was a perſon of great character and authority, had eſpouſed Philip's ſiſter, and by his birth, talents, and credit, was entitled to make the greateſt figure, and to fill the moſt important offices in the kingdom. This prince had loſt the province of Artois, which he claimed as his birthright, by a ſentence generally deemed iniquitious, by Philip the fair, and he was ſeduced to attempt to recover poſſeſſion by an action ſo unworthy of his rank and character, as that of forgery. The detection of this crime covered him with ſhame and confuſion. His brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but alſo proſecuted him with violence. Robert, incapable of bearing diſgrace, left the kingdom, and concealed himſelf in the Low Countries. Being chaſed from that retreat by the authority of Philip, he came over to England, where, in ſpite of the French king's menaces and remonſtrances, he was favourably received by Edward, and was ſoon admitted into the councils, and ſhared the confidence of that monarch. Abandoning himſelf to all the movements of rage and deſpair, he endeavoured to revive the prepoſſeſſions entertained by Edward, in favour of his title to the crown of France; and even flattered him, that it was not impoſſible for a prince of his valour and abilities, to render his claim effectual. The king was the more diſpoſed to liſten to ſuggeſtions of this nature, becauſe he had, in ſeveral particulars, complaints againſt Philip's conduct, with regard to Guienne; and becauſe that prince, had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and ſupported, or at leaſt, encouraged the Scots in their ſtruggles for independency. Thus reſentment gradually filled the breaſts of both the monarchs, and rendered them incapable of liſtening to any terms of accommodation propoſed by the pope, who never ceaſed interpoſing his good offices between them. Philip thought he ſhould be wanting to the firſt principles of policy if he abandoned Scotland: Edward pretended that he muſt relinquiſh all pretenſions to generoſity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert de Artois. The former, informed of ſome preparations for hoſtilities, which had been made by his rival, iſſued a ſentence of felony and forfeiture againſt Robert de Artois, and declared, that every vaſſal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, was involved in his ſentence; a menace that wanted no commentary: the latter, reſolute not to yeild, endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany; the only places from which he could make an effectual attack upon France, or produce ſuch a diverſion as might ſave the province of Guienne, which lay ſo much expoſed to the power of Philip.

A. D. 1337. The king began with opening his intention to the count of Hainault his father-in-law, and having engaged him in his intereſt, he employed the good offices and councils of that prince, in drawing into his alliance the other ſovereigns of that neighbourhood. The duke of Brabant was induced by his mediation, and by the large remittances of money from England, to promiſe his concurrence. The archbiſhop of Cologn, the duke of Guelders, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords Fauquemont and Bequen, were engaged by ſimilar motives to embrace the Engliſh alliance. Theſe ſovereigns could ſupply, either from their own territories or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops; and nothing was wanting to render the force on that quarter very formidable, but the acceſſion of Flanders, which Edward

procured by means ſomewhat extraordinary and unuſual.

As the Flemings were the firſt people in the northern parts of Europe, who cultivated arts and manufactures, the lower ranks of men in that province, had ariſen to a degree of riches unknown elſewhere to thoſe of ſimilar ſtations in that barbarous age; had acquired privileges and independence, and begun to emerge from that ſtate of vaſſallage, or rather ſlavery, into which the common people had been univerſally thrown by the feudal inſtitutions. It was probably difficult for them to bring their ſovereign and nobility to conform themſelves to the principles of law and civil government, ſo much neglected in every other country: it was impoſſible for them to confine themſelves within the proper bounds, in their oppoſition and reſentment, againſt any inſtance of tyranny. They had riſen in tumults; inſulted the nobles; chaſed their earl into France, and gave themſelves up to the guidance of a ſeditious leader; had practiſed all thoſe inſolences and diſorders, which the thoughtleſs and enraged populous are ſo much inclined to commit, wherever they are ſo unfortunate as to become their own maſters.

Their preſent leader was Jacob van Ardevelt, or Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who governed them with a more abſolute ſway, than had ever been aſſumed by any of their lawful ſovereigns. He had placed and diſplaced the magiſtrates at his pleaſure; he was accompanied with a guard, who on the leaſt ſignal from him, inſtantly aſſaſſinated any perſon, who happened to fall under his diſpleaſure. All the cities of Flanders were full of his ſpies, and it was immediate death, to give him the ſmalleſt umbrage. The few nobles who remained in the country, lived in continual apprehenſions of his violence. He ſeized the eſtates of thoſe whom he had either baniſhed or murdered; and, after beſtowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own uſe. Such were the firſt effects which Europe ſaw of popular violence, after having groaned, during ſo many centuries, under monarchical and ariſtocratical tyranny.

Jacob Ardevelt was the man to whom Edward applied for bringing over the Flemings to his intereſt; and that prince, the moſt haughty, and the moſt aſpiring of his age, never courted any ally with ſo much aſſiduity and ſo many ſubmiſſions, as he employed towards this ſeditious and criminal mechanic. Ardevelt, proud of theſe advances from the king of England, and ſenſible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain their connections with the Engliſh, who furniſhed them with the materials for their woollen manufacture, the chief ſource of their opulence, readily embraced the intereſt of Edward, and invited him over into the low countries. Edward, before he entered on this great enterprize, affected to conſult his parliament; aſked their advice, and obtained their conſent, and the better to ſtrengthen his hands, he obtained from them a grant of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool, which amounted to above an hundred thouſand pounds. This wool was a good inſtrument to employ with the Flemings; and the price of it with his German allies. He compleated the other neceſſary ſums by loans; pawning the crown jewels; by confiſcating, or rather robbing, at once all the Lombards, who now exerciſed the invidious trade, formerly monopolized by the Jews, that of lending money on intereſt; and being attended with a body of forces, and ſeveral of his nobility, he ſailed over into Flanders.

A. D. 1338 The German princes, in order to juſtify their unprovoked hoſtilities againſt France, had required the ſanction of ſome legal authority: and Edward that he might give them the ſanction deſired, had applied to Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, and had been created by him, vicar of the empire; an empty title, but which ſeemed to give him a right of commanding the ſervice of the princes of Germany. The Flemings, who were vaſſals of France, pretending the ſame ſcruples with regard to the invaſion of their liege lord, Edward by the advice of Ardevelt, aſſumed, in his commiſſion, the title of king of France, and by virtue of this right, challenged their aſſiſtance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the uſurper of his kingdom.

It happened fortunately for Philip, that while this mighty ſtorm was gathering, he had on foot a prodigious armament both by ſea and land, raiſed under pretence of an expedition againſt the infidels. Edward's negotiations with the princes of the continent was no ſecret to the court of France; and tho' Philip did not, perhaps, know all the particulars, he imagined he had ſufficient reaſons for ſtrengthening himſelf by new alliances, which were at once more cordial and powerful than thoſe of his antagoniſt. The pope, who at this time reſided at Avignon, was dependent on France, and being diſguſted at the connections formed between Edward and Lewis of Bavaria, whom he had excommunicaied, he embraced with zeal and ſincerity, the cauſe of the French monarch. The king of Navarre, the duke of Britany, and the count de Bar, were in the ſame intereſt; and on the ſide of Germany, the king of Bohemia, the elector palatine, the dukes of Lorrain and Auſtria, the biſhop of Liege, the counts of Deuxponts, Vaudemont, and Geneva. He had alſo promiſes of aſſiſtance from the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian. But he placed his chief dependence upon his fleet, the principal commanders of which were Genoeſe, the beſt ſeamen then in Europe. His ſhips were alſo much ſuperior both in goodneſs and number to thoſe of England. The allies of Edward were weaker than thoſe of France; and having no other object than his money, which ſoon began to be exhauſted, they were very ſlow in their motions, and very irreſolute in their meaſures. The duke of Brabant, the moſt powerful among them, ſeemed even inclined to withdraw himſelf wholly from the alliance; and the king was under the neceſſity of giving the Brabanters new privileges in trade, and of contracting his ſon Edward with the daughter of that prince, before he could prevail upon him to fulfil his engagements.

A. D. 1338. The Scotch did not omit taking the advantage of Edward's abſence: He was no ſooner returned to England than Sir Andrew Murray, who had been ſome time ſince created guardian of the realm, put himſelf at the head of the Brucean party, and retook the caſtles of Kinclevin, Dunotter, Kinneff, Lauriſton, and almoſt all the other places of ſtrength on the north ſide of the Tay. Thus all that Edward had been doing in that country, at infinite toil and expence, was overthrown with little or no loſs, by the reſolution of a few hardy, determined men, whoſe loyalty ſoftened all the rigours of the ſeaſon, and ſupported them amidſt the barrenneſs of the country. Encouraged by their amazing ſucceſs, the guardian attacked, in

in Angus, a party of the Engliſh, conſiſting of four thouſand men, moſt of whom were cut in pieces, and, among others, the lord Henry Montford. This victory was followed by the loſs of all the ſtrong places in Angus and Fife, except the caſtle of Couper, which ſtill held out for Baliol. Nor were the Engliſh more ſucceſsful in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom. The earl of March had, by Edward's command, re-fortified his caſtle of Dunbar. He had taken an oath of fealty to Edward, after the battle of Halidon, and was himſelf intruſted with the command of his own caſtle. But ſoon after, breaking that oath, he took the field in perſon, and left the care of the caſtle to his lady, a woman of extraordinary ſpirit and courage. As this fortreſs was of the utmoſt importance, it was beſieged both by ſea and land, by the Engliſh, commanded by the lord Henry Plantagenet, the earls of Saliſbury, Angus, Arundel, and other Engliſh noblemen. The place was preſſed with ſo much fury, that it muſt have capitulated, had not the gallant counteſs received a ſeaſonable reinforcement of men and proviſions, under the command of Sir Alexander Ramſay, who found means during the night, to paſs through the Engliſh fleet. This enabled the lady to make ſo vigorous a ſally, that ſhe demoliſhed the Engliſh works; and the news of the battle they had lately loſt in Angus, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, in order to march to the relief of their friends. Accordingly, two ſtrong detachments were made from the grand army, the one under the command of William Talbot, the other under the lord Richard Montacute. Both theſe detachments were defeated by the Scots at Panmuir, in Angus, where Talbot was taken priſoner.

But theſe ſucceſſes of the Brucean party were, in ſome meaſure, balanced, by the loſs of the biſhop of Glaſgow, who was taken priſoner; and the miſcarriage of Sir William Douglas, in his attempt to take the caſtle of Edinburgh. Theſe checks did not however prevent the Scots from making vaſt progreſs after the battle of Panmuir. Parties of them even made incurſions into England itſelf, where they ravaged the borders, and laid the country waſte with fire and ſword.

By this amazing revolution Edward ſaw himſelf in danger of loſing the whole country of Scotland, while his expences in maintaining the ſhadow of a king, and his adherents, were daily increaſing. The caſtles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Couper, were the only places of note that now remained either in his or Baliol's hands; and it was impoſſible to ſay, what ſo determined an enemy as he had to deal with, might attempt. He therefore thought it more prudent to enter into a negotiation with the Scots, than drive them to deſpair, in order, if poſſible, to give peace to the nothern parts of his dominions, while he was employed againſt his foreign enemies. But the Scots, about this time, met with an irreparable loſs in the death of the brave Sir Andrew Murray, by which the guardianſhip of the kingdom devolved upon the high-ſteward, his colleague.

A. D. 1339. Edward had been ſome time among his allies on the continent, but the greateſt part of the ſummer was waſted in conferences and negotiations, before he could lead his armies into the field; and he was at laſt obliged, in order to allure his German allies into his meaſures, to pretend that the firſt attack ſhould be made upon Cambray, a city of the empire, though garriſoned by Philip. But finding, on a nearer inſpection, the difficulty that muſt attend the enterprize, he conducted his army into the territories of France, and encamped near Capelle.

In the mean time Philip had preſerved the greateſt appearance of moderation, that he might ſeem the more blameleſs in the eyes of all Europe. He did not, however, neglect any precaution, and took particular care that his powerful fleet ſhould be ready to ruin the commerce of England, as ſoon as Edward began any hoſtilities. The march of that prince into the French territories was conſidered as a ſufficient reaſon for keeping no longer any meaſures with the enemy. Accordingly two large Engliſh ſhips, richly laden, fell into the hands of the French; the trade of England was every where diſtreſſed, and a deſcent from fifty gallies, was made upon Southampton. The ravages committed by the French near that town, were dreadful, and moſt of the Engliſh, who fell into their hands, were put to death without mercy. Sir John Arundel, however, having in a day or two, collected a conſiderable body of the country people, cut off about three hundred of the enemy, together with their general, a natural ſon of the king of Sicily. This perſon was an adventurer in the French ſervice, and was to enjoy all the captures he could make upon the Engliſh, either by ſea or land; but an Engliſh ruſtic, who was a ſtranger to the French language, put an end at once to his life and his ambition, by beating out his brains with a flail as he was crying out for quarter. About the ſame time another ſquadron of French gallies made an attempt upon the town of Harwich, but did not ſucceed; they, however, deſtroyed a great number of Engliſh veſſels in the ports of Devonſhire and Cornwall. They next entered the harbour of Plymouth, where they burnt ſeveral large ſhips, together with a conſiderable part of the town; but proceeding farther up the country, they were oppoſed by Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, a brave nobleman, above fourſcore years of age, who, at the head of the country people, drove them back to their ſhips, after cutting five hundred of them to pieces.

But this ſuperiority of the enemy at ſea muſt not be attributed either to the genius of the French for the marine, or to the negligence of Edward's government; it was in fact owing to the then maritime powers of Europe. For the Genoeſe, the Venetians, and the Portugueſe, had either by contract or by treaty, great numbers of their ſhips in Philip's ſervice. This powerful armament was indeed originally collected for an expedition againſt the infidels, but now employed againſt the king of England.

The French did not however long maintain this ſuperiority at ſea; the Engliſh ſoon re-aſſumed and aſſerted their empire on the ocean. The firſt happy omen of this was, the Engliſh chaſing from Rye a powerful fleet of French veſſels, conſiſting of twenty large ſhips, fifteen of a ſmaller ſize, and thirty-two gallies. The militia of the country had before prevented their landing near Sandwich, upon which they ſailed away for Rye, committing vaſt ravages all along the coaſt, but upon ſeeing a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips ſtanding towards them in excellent order, they made all the ſail they could towards the coaſt of France, and were purſued by the

the Engliſh into Boulogne, where they took part of the French fleet, ſet fire to the town, and hanged up four of their ſea captains.

The rapid ſucceſs of the French in the beginning of the war, the coolneſs of Edward's allies, and the fine condition for defence of all the frontiers of France, gave all Europe a very indifferent opinion of Edward's judgment in engaging in ſo weighty and dangerous an undertaking as that of the conqueſt of France. In the mean time his antagoniſt Philip, thinking himſelf ſure of ſucceſs, coolly meditated how to make Edward pay ſeverely for his temerity. He had already marched an army into Ponthieu, which was ſtill in Edward's hands, but now in the moſt imminent danger of being loſt. The whole kingdom of France ſeconded her monarch in his quarrel, eſpecially the Normans, who were then remarkable for being the beſt ſailors in France. Their country was in a flouriſhing condition, their nobility united, and ſo far from deſiring to return under the Engliſh government, that they treated every hint of that kind with contempt and abhorrence. They conſidered their country as in ſome meaſure, their own property; propoſed to put the eldeſt ſon of the king of France at their head; and, at their own expence, attempt a ſecond conqueſt of England. For this purpoſe they offered to raiſe five thouſand men at arms, and forty thouſand foot, and to maintain that numerous army during the expedition. Philip readily accepted the offer, but refuſed to take any more than twenty thouſand of their infantry, promiſing that the duke of Normandy, attended by a thouſand men at arms ſhould head them. The manner of their paſſage into England was regulated, as well as the ſhare which each adventurer was to receive, after the conqueſt of that kingdom ſhould be completed; the ſovereignty of which was to be immediately conferred upon the duke of Normandy.

It would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that the deſign of this great expedition could be long a ſecret either to Edward or his allies. It gave a quick turn to their deliberations. They were ſufficiently ſenſible, that if the intended attempt for conquering England ſhould ſucceed, they muſt ſoon after fall a ſacrifice to the ambition of France, and therefore determined to join immediately all their forces with the allied army, in order to make a powerful diverſion in favour of the Engliſh.

This obliged Philip to collect all his forces, and march towards the enemy, in order to prevent their ravaging his country; and the Norman expedition was totally laid aſide. Philip ſoon came within ſight of Edward with an army of double his force, compoſed chiefly of his native ſubjects, and it was daily expected that a battle would enſue. But the Engliſh monarch was averſe to engage againſt ſo great an inequality; and Philip thought it ſufficient if he eluded the attack of his enemy, without running any unneceſſary hazard. The two armies faced one another for ſome days; mutual defiances were ſent, and Edward at laſt retired back into Flanders, where he diſperſed his army.

Such was the fruitleſs and almoſt ridiculous concluſion of all Edward's mighty preparations; and as his meaſures were the moſt prudent that could be purſued in his ſituation, he might learn from experience in what a hopeleſs enterprize he was engaged. His expences, though they had led to no end, had been conſuming and deſtructive. He had contracted a debt of near three hundred thouſand pounds; he had anticipated all his revenues; he had pawned every thing of value, belonging either to himſelf or his queen, and he was now obliged, in ſome meaſure, to pawn even himſelf to his creditors, by deſiring their permiſſion to go over to England in order to procure ſupplies, promiſing on his word and honour to return in perſon if he did not remit them their money.

But Edward was a prince of too much ſpirit to be diſcouraged by the firſt difficulties of an undertaking; and was anxious to retrieve his honour by more ſucceſsful and more gallant enterprizes. For this purpoſe he had, during the courſe of the campaign, ſent orders to his ſon Edward, whom he had left with the title of guardian, to ſummon a parliament, and demand from them a ſupply in this urgent neceſſity. The barons ſeemed inclined to grant his requeſt; but the knights, who at this time acted as a ſeparate body from the burgeſſes, made ſome ſcruple of taxing their conſtituents without aſking their conſent; and therefore deſired the guardian to ſummon a new parliiament, who might be properly impowered for that purpoſe. The ſituation of the king and parliament was, for the time nearly ſimilar to that which they conſtantly fell into about the beginning of the laſt century, and ſimilar conſequences began to appear. The king, ſenſible of the frequent demands which he ſhould be obliged to make on his people, had been anxious to inſure to his friends, a ſeat in the houſe of commons; and at his inſtigation, the ſheriffs, and other placemen, had made intereſt to be elected into that aſſembly; an abuſe which the knights deſired the king to correct by the tenor of his writ of ſummons, and which was accordingly remedied. On the other hand the knights profeſſedly annexed conditions to their intended grant, and required a conſiderable retrenchment of the royal prerogatives, particularly with regard to purveyance, and the levying the feudal aids for knighting the king's eldeſt ſon, and marrying his eldeſt daugter.

The new parliament called by the guardian, retained the ſame free ſpirit, and though they offered a very large ſupply of thirty thouſand ſacks of wool, no buſineſs was concluded, becauſe the conditions they annexed, appeared too high to be compenſated by a tempory conceſſion. But when Edward himſelf came over to England, he ſummoned another parliament, and had the intereſt to procure a ſupply on more moderate terms. A confirmation of the two charters, and of the privileges of boroughs, a pardon for old debts and treſpaſſes, and a remedy for ſome abuſes in the execution of the common law, were the chief conditions inſiſted, and the king in return for his conceſſions on theſe heads, obtained from the barons and knights, an unuſual grant, for two years of the ninth ſheaf, lamb, and fleece on their eſtates, and from the burgeſſes, a ninth of their moveables reckoned at their true value. The whole parliament alſo granted a duty of forty ſhillings on each ſack of wool exported, on each three hundred wool-fells, and on each laſt of leather, for the ſame term of years. But, dreading the arbitrary ſpirit of the crown, they expreſsly declared, that this grant was to continue no longer, and was not to be drawn into precedent. Being ſoon after ſenſible that this ſupply, though very conſiderable, and very unuſual in that age, would come in ſlowly, and therefore not anſwer

ſwer the king's urgent neceſſities, both for his paſt debts, and preparations for war, they agreed, that twenty thouſand ſacks of wool ſhould be immediately granted him, and their value be deducted from the ninth, which were afterwards to be levied.

But there appeared at this time another jealouſy in parliament, and which was very reaſonable, being founded on a ſentiment that ought to have engaged them rather to check than ſupport the king in theſe ambitious projects, ſo likely to prove ſucceſsful, and if they did, ſo dangerous to the nation. Edward, who before the commencement of the former campaign, had, in ſeveral commiſſions, aſſumed the title of king of France, now more openly, in all public deeds, gave himſelf that appellation, and always quartered the arms of France with thoſe of England, in his ſeals and enſigns. The parliament thought proper to obviate the conſequences of this meaſure, by declaring that they owed him no obedience as king of France, and that the two kingdoms muſt for ever remain diſtinct and independent. They undoubtedly foreſaw, that France, if ſubdued, would in the end prove the ſeat of government, and therefore thought this proteſtation neceſſary, in order to prevent their country becoming a province under that monarchy.

A. D. 1340. As Philip was apprized from the preparations that were making both in England and the Low Countries, that he muſt expect another invaſion from Edward, he fitted out a powerful fleet, conſiſting of four hundred veſſels, manned with forty thouſand men, and ſtationed them off Sluiſe, with a view of intercepting the king in his paſſage. Edward was ſoon informed of theſe preparations, but neglecting this intelligence, the archbiſhop of Canterbury confirmed it, and adviſed the king to delay his departure till his fleet was ſtrong enough to oppoſe that of the enemy. The impatient monarch, however, treated even this advice, tho' given by a prelate whoſe ſincerity could not be doubted, with ſo much diſdain, that the archbiſhop who was then chancellor, reſigned the great ſeal, and retired from court. This conduct ſurprized Edward, who immediately ſent for Morley and Crab, two of his ableſt ſeamen, and aſked their opinion with regard to his paſſage over to the Low Countries. Theſe able commanders expreſſed their apprehenſions that the prelate's intelligence was but too well founded. Edward therefore ordered all the naval force in his dominions to rendezvous, and in a ſhort time he collected together, a fleet of two hundred and ſixty well manned and well armed veſſels. Nor did he think it beneath him, to ſend for the archbiſhop and re-deliver to him the great ſeal; a rare inſtance of docility in a young monarch, fluſhed with whatever had a tendence to flatter the ambition of royalty.

Every thing being ready, Edward embarked, and ſailed with this gallant fleet on the preciſe day he had appointed, without diſcovering the enemy till he arrived on the coaſt of Flanders, near Blankberg and Sluiſe. The French fleet, which conſiſted of four hundred veſſels, ninety of which were the largeſt then known in Europe, particularly the St. Chriſtopher, which had been taken by the French from the Engliſh. This powerful armament was commanded by three admirals, diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge in maritime affairs, Sir Hugh Quuriel, Sir Peter Bahuchet, and Sir Nicholas Barbenoire. The crews conſiſted chiefly of Normans, Picards, and Genoeſe; Barbenoire commanding the Italian or Genoeſe ſquadron. It happened very fortunately for Edward, that a very bad underſtanding ſubſiſted between theſe admirals, ſo that they were debating whether they ought to wait for the enemy's fleet in the harbour of Sluiſe, or to ſtand out to ſea and engage them, when they perceived the Engliſh navy advancing towards them in order of battle. This put a period to their deliberations, and the moſt memorable ſea-fight that had hitherto been known enſued on the twenty-third of June. The Engliſh advanced in three diviſions, the firſt conſiſting of their largeſt ſhips, compoſing the van, and in a ſhort time gained the wind of the French, and attacked them under a furious diſcharge of miſſiles, particularly from the Engliſh archers, then the moſt famous in the world. It was not long before the ſhips grappled with one another, till the whole formed a kind of ſtable body, on which the ſoldiers and ſeamen ſeemed to fight amidſt a wood of maſts.

The chief efforts of the French were directed againſt a large Engliſh ſhip, on board of which they imagined Edward was embarked, becauſe ſhe carried the royal ſtandard of England. But they were deceived; Edward was in another ſhip leſs conſpicuous, where he gave his orders with a coolneſs and intrepidity, which entitled him to the ſuperiority on the ſea, and to be the anceſtor of kings who were to command it. From ten in the morning till ſeven at night the battle continued with amazing obſtinacy, when the Engliſh having retaken the Chriſtopher, perceived the firſt omen of victory; for Morley forcing his paſſage through the enemy's ſhips, joined a ſquadron of the Flemings, who only waited an opportunity to engage, and the French were immediately attacked with ſo much fury, that they had no other method of eſcaping from the ſwords of the Engliſh, than by jumping into the ſea. In ſhort, Edward gained a moſt complete victory. Upwards of twenty thouſand of the French were killed, with the loſs of only four thouſand Engliſh. Many of the former eſcaped by ſwimming on ſhore; but not more than thirty of their veſſels, which fortunately gained the harbours of France. With regard to the French admirals, Quuriel was killed, Bahuchet was taken, and Barbenoire eſcaped. Bahuchet had been guilty of acts both of cruelty and piracy, and therefore he was, by Edward's expreſs order, hanged on the main yard of his own ſhip. Edward, who was the whole time in the fierceſt part of the battle, received a wound in his thigh, but ſo ſlight as not to confine him.

This victory, which conſidered in all its circumſtances, is the moſt memorable by ſea of any recorded in our annals, was chiefly owing to the conduct of Edward, whoſe perſonal valour and ſagacity, ſupplied the place of experience; but we ſhould be unjuſt to the memory and valour of the brave commanders who ſerved under him during that fortunate day, ſhould they be paſſed over in ſilence. They all behaved with that courage, conduct, and intrepidity ſo congenial to the Engliſh ſeamen, and which have deſervedly rendered them the moſt famous in Europe.

This ſucceſs gave the Engliſh monarch an extraordinary luſtre among the princes of Europe, and his allies now found themſelves obliged, both

in point of intereſt and honour, to be faithful to their engagements. They aſſembled their forces with the greateſt expedition, and joined the Engliſh army. Edward marched to the frontiers of France, at the head of above an hundred thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of foreigners; a more numerous army than either before or ſince has ever been commanded by any king of England. At the ſame time the Flemings, to the amount of fifty thouſand men, marched out under the command of Robert de Artois, and laid ſiege to St. Omers. But this tumultuary force, compoſed entirely of tradeſmen, and unexperienced in war, was routed by a ſally of the garriſon; and, notwithſtanding the abilities of the leader, thrown into ſuch a panic, that they were inſtantly diſperſed, and never after appeared in the field. The enterprizes of Edward, though not attended with ſo inglorious an iſſue, proved equally vain and fruitleſs.

The king of France had aſſembled an army more numerous than the Engliſh; was accompanied by all the chief nobility of his kingdom; was attended by many foreign princes, and even by three monarchs, the kings of Bohemia, Scotland and Navarre. He, however, ſtill adhered to the prudent reſolution of putting nothing into the power of fortune, and after throwing garriſons into all the frontier towns, he retired back, perſuaded that the enemy, after waſting their forces in ſome tedious and unſucceſsful enterprize, would afford him an eaſy victory.

It had been previouſly determined in the council of the allied army, to open the campaign with the ſiege of Tournay, at that time one of the moſt conſiderable cities in Flanders, containing about ſixty thouſand inhabitants of all ages, who where well affected to the French government. Philip was no ſtranger to this reſolution, and had therefore taken care to ſupply it with a garriſon of fourteen thouſand men, commanded by the braveſt of the French nobility; and reaſonably expected, that theſe forces, aſſiſted by the inhabitants, would be able to defend the city againſt all the efforts of the enemy. He was not miſtaken; and Edward, when he commenced the ſiege, about the end of July, found every where an obſtinate reſiſtance: the valour on the one ſide was encountered by equal valour on the other; every aſſault was repulſed and proved unſucceſsful; and the king was at laſt obliged to turn the ſiege into a blocade, in hopes that the great numbers of the garriſon and the inhabitants, which had enabled them to defend themſelves againſt his attacks, would only tend to expoſe them to be more eaſily reduced by famine. As ſoon as the governor perceived that the Engliſh had formed this plan of operations, he endeavoured to ſpare his proviſions, by expelling all the uſeleſs mouths; and the duke of Brabant, who was no friend to the enterprize, gave every one a free paſſage through his quarters.

By this means the garriſon was enabled to hold out for ten weeks, when the city was reduced to diſtreſs, and Philip recalling all his ſcattered garriſons, advanced at the head of a powerful army, within three leagues of the Engliſh camp, with an intention of ſtill avoiding any deciſive action, but of ſeeking an opportunity of throwing ſome relief into the place. Here Edward, irritated with the ſmall progreſs he had hitherto made, and with the diſagreeable proſpect that lay before him, ſent Philip a defiance by a herald, challenging him to decide their claims to the crown of France, either by ſingle combat, by an action of a hundred againſt a hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied, that Edward having done homage to him for his dutchy of Guienne, and having ſolemnly acknowledged his ſuperiority, it by no means became him to ſend a defiance to his leige lord and ſovereign; that he was confident, notwithſtanding all his preparations and his connections with the rebellious Flemings, to be ſoon able to chaſe him from the frontiers of France; that as Edward's hoſtilities had prevented him from executing his intended cruſade againſt the infidels, he truſted in the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, who would reward his pious intentions, and puniſh the aggreſſor, whoſe ill-grounded claims had rendered them abortive; that Edward propoſed a duel on very unequal terms, offering to hazard only his own perſon againſt both the kingdom of France and the perſon of the king, but that if he would increaſe the ſtake, and put the kingdom of England alſo on the iſſue of the duel, he would, notwithſtanding the terms would ſtill be unequal, very readily accept his challenge. It required very little ſagacity to perceive that theſe mutual bravades, were intended only to dazzle the populous, and that both the kings had too much wiſdom, ever to think of executing their pretended purpoſe.

During theſe tranſactions, and while a general action was every day expected, Jane, counteſs dowager of Hainault interpoſed her good offices, endeavoured to bring about a peace between the two contending monarchs, and prevent any farther effuſion of human blood. This princeſs was mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip, and though ſhe had taken the vows in a convent, and abandoned the world, ſhe left her retreat on this occaſion, and employed all her pious efforts to allay thoſe animoſities which had taken place between perſons ſo nearly related to her, and to each other. As Philip had no material demand upon his antagoniſt, ſhe found him very ready to liſten to her propoſals; and even the haughty and ambitious mind of Edward, now convinced of the folly of his fruitleſs attempt, was not averſe to a negotiation. Experience had convinced him that he had engaged in an enterprize which he could not complete, and that the power of England was never likely to prevail over a ſuperior kingdom, firmly united under an able and prudent monarch. He had diſcovered that all the allies whom he could gain by negotiation, were, in reality, averſe to his enterprize; and though they might ſecond it to a certain length, would immediately detach themſelves, and oppoſe its final accompliſhment, if ever they could be brought to think there was the leaſt reaſon to apprehend any danger of it. He even ſaw that their principal purpoſe was to obtain money from him; and as his ſupplies from England came in very ſlowly, and he had greatly diſappointed their expectations, he was convinced of their growing indifference in his cauſe, and of their zeal to embrace any plauſible terms of accommodation. Convinced at laſt that an undertaking muſt be imprudent which could only be ſupported by means ſo unequal to the end, he concluded a truce, which left both parties in poſſeſſion of their preſent acquiſitions, and prevented any farther hoſtilities on the ſide of the Low Countries, Guienne and Scotland, till the following

following Midſummer. A negotiation was ſoon after opened at Arras, under the mediation of the pope's legate, and the truce was attempted to be changed into a ſolid peace. Edward required that Philip ſhould free the dutchy of Guienne from all future claims of ſuperiority, and abandon entirely his protection of Scotland. But as he ſeemed to have no claim to ſuch exhorbitant demands, either from his former ſucceſſes, or future proſpects, they were abſolutely rejected by Philip, who agreed only to prolong the truce.

Soon after the king of France found means to detach the emperor from his alliance with England, and prevailed upon him to revoke the title of imperial vicar, which he had conferred on Edward. The king's other allies, on the frontiers of France, gradually withdrew from the confederacy, and Edward himſelf, harraſſed by his numerous and impatient creditors, was obliged to embark privately for England.

But we muſt now review the tranſactions in England during this buſy ſcene on the continent. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, was when Edward left England, in high credit at court. He was intruſted with the great ſeal. and nominated one of the commiſſioners for holding the parliament ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the ſeventh of July. But the ſpirit which prevailed at the court of Rome againſt Edward's undertaking, and the menaces of the pope, intimidated that prelate ſo much, that he was ſecretly, at leaſt in the opinion of Edward, an enemy to the claim of the Engliſh monarch. As the king, notwithſtanding all that had been granted him, had hardly any thing more remaining than what was neceſſary for his daily ſupport, his whole hopes were centered in the affections of his people for a liberal ſupply. He knew the archbiſhop's character gave him a deciſive weight in parliament, and therefore intruſted him with ſo much authority. At the opening of the ſeſſion the archbiſhop acquainted the members, that his majeſty had called them together to provide for his neceſſities abroad, to maintain the peace of the people at home, to provide for the defence of the northern border, to ſupport the ſuperiority of the nation at ſea, and to ſupply the deficiences that had happened in their laſt grant to the crown. Theſe demands were ſeconded by a ſeaſonable information from Edward of the great victory he had obtained at ſea over the enemy. This pleaſing account had ſuch an effect on the parliament, that they voted another ninth on their corn, wool, and leather; and made proviſions for the more ſpeedy collection of the ſupply. In order to prevent any more deficiences of which Edward ſo greatly complained, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of London, together with others of the clergy, undertook to raiſe, for the king's uſe, twenty thouſand ſacks of wool; for which his majeſty was to be anſwerable. At the ſame time the ſubſidies for the preſent year were mortgaged to the proprietors of the wool; who, in the mean time, were to have the king's patent for their ſecurity. But the neat produce of the wool fell far ſhort of Edward's expectations, while his neceſſities increaſed every day. The parliament had iſſued orders for the ſheriffs of different counties, to ſend up to London the moſt able merchants within their reſpective diſtricts, in order to their making an agreement with the contractors. Many both Engliſhmen and foreigners appeared, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury agreed with the contractors that they ſhould have the woo at a certain rate, as well as that of the ninth fleece, lately granted. At the ſame time they took ſecurity for the payment of the money to Edward or his order in Flanders, by the Michaelmas following. Tho' this ſaved the merchants the trouble of bringing the money to England, and remitting it back again to the king; yet it ſeems the merchants did not receive the wool from the collectors and officers of the revenues time enough for the market, which rendered it impoſſible for them to make good their payments on the day appointed.

This was an irretrievable diſappointment to Edward; and one of the principal reaſons which induced him to conclude the late truce with Philip. The king conſidered it as the higheſt affront that could be offered to his dignity, and reſented it accordingly. He ſent over to England the moſt bitter complaints on his repeated diſappointments; the ſhameful ſtreights to which he was reduced; and which were unworthy the character of majeſty. But as all his attempts to raiſe a ſpeedy ſupply were ſtill rendered abortive, Edward took the reſolution of coming over to England, in order to try his own credit with his ſubjects, and prevent, for the future, any diſappointments ſo fatal to the enterprize he had undertaken.

The firſt act he performed after his arrival, ſufficiently indicated that the unfortunate iſſue of the campaign had greatly irritated his mind. He landed unexpectedly, and finding the tower of London not properly guarded, he immediately committed the conſtable, and all the other officers in that fortreſs to priſon, and treated them with uncommon rigour. His vengeance fell next on the officers of the revenue, the ſheriffs, the collectors of taxes, and undertakers of all kinds. He diſmiſſed them all from their employments, and appointed commiſſioners to enquire into their conduct; and the latter, in order to gratify the ill humour of the prince, were ſure to find every perſon guilty who came before them. Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy ſeal, Sir John Stonore, lord chief juſtice, and Andrew Aubrey, mayor of London, were diſplaced and impriſoned, as were alſo the biſhop of Chicheſter, then chancellor, and the biſhop of Litchfield, treaſurer, Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had been principally intruſted with the charge of collecting the new taxes, fell alſo under the king's diſpleaſure, but eſcaped the immediate effects of it, by being abſent when Edward arrived.

The prelates of theſe times had ſo ſtrongly entrenched themſelves in privileges and immunities, and ſo openly pretended to be exempt from all ſecular juriſdiction, that no civil penalty could be inflicted on them for any malverſation in office; and as even treaſon itſelf was declared to be no canonical offence, nor was allowed to be a ſufficient reaſon for deprivation or other ſpiritual cenſure, that order of men had inſured to themſelves almoſt a total impunity, and were not bound by any political laws or ſtatutes. But at the ſame time they poſſeſſed almoſt all the learning of the age, and were beſt qualified for civil employments; the prelates enjoyed equal dignity with the greateſt barons, and gave weight, by their perſonal authority, to the powers intruſted to their hands. Add to this, that they could not endanger the crown by accumulating wealth or influence in their families, and were

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reſtrained, by the decency of their character, from that open rapine and violence ſo frequently practiſed by the nobles.

Theſe motives ſeemed to preponderate when weighed in the balance of policy, and had accordingly induced Edward, as well as many of his predeceſſors, to intruſt the principal departments of his government in the hands of eccleſiaſtics, notwithſtanding the danger of their diſowning his authority, whenever they ſhould find themſelves in danger of feeling the weight of civil reſentment.

A. D. 1341. Edward now experienced this with regard to archbiſhop Stratford, who perceiving the ſtorm that was gathering againſt him, determined to begin the attack, in order to convince the king that he well knew the privileges of his character, and was determined to ſupport them againſt all the rage of incenſed majeſty. He accordingly iſſued a general ſentence of excommunication on all, who, on any pretence, exerciſed violence on either the perſons or goods of clergymen, who infringed thoſe privileges ſecured by the great charter, and by the eccleſiaſtical canons; or who accuſed a prelate of treaſon or any other crime, in order to bring him under the king's diſpleaſure. The intention of this ſentence could not be miſtaken. Edward himſelf was convinced that it was levelled againſt him, both on account of the impriſonment of the two biſhops, and that of other clergymen concerned in levying the taxes, and on account of his ſeizing their lands and moveables, that he might make them anſwerable for any balance, which remained in their hands.

This ſentence now formed the clergy into a general combination againſt the king, and many calumnies were ſpread againſt him, in order to deprive him of the confidence and affections of his people. It was ſaid that the king intended to recall the general pardon, and the remiſſion of old debts, which he had granted, and to impoſe new and arbitrary taxes on the people, without the conſent of his parliament. The archbiſhop went ſo far in a letter he wrote to the king as to tell him, that there were two powers by which the world was governed, the holy pontifical apoſtolic dignity, and the royal ſubordinate authority: that of theſe two powers the former was evidently the ſupreme, ſince the clergy were to anſwer, at the tribunal of divine judgment, for the conduct even of kings themſelves: that the clergy were the ſpiritual fathers of all the faithful, and conſequently of kings and princes, and were entitled, by a heavenly charter, to direct their wills and actions, and to cenſure their tranſgreſſions: and that prelates had formerly cited emperors before their tribunal, had tried their life and behaviour, and had anathematized them for their obſtinate behaviour. Thus far his letter was highly blameable; but the other part does honour to his memory as an Engliſhman. He put Edward in mind of his father's fate, through the ſuggeſtions of evil counſellors, who had induced him to follow the ſame meaſures now purſued by his ſon. He informed him, that while he was directed by his counſellors, and the more honeſt part of his miniſtry, his government had been proſperous, and his people had granted him, even without repining, greater ſupplies than any king of England had ever before received. He then laid before him his late violations of the great charter, and preſſed him to make a ſtrict enquiry into the authors of his diſgrace before Tournay, by not timely remitting the money; adding, that for his own part, he was ready, as far as was conſiſtent with his character as a prieſt and a biſhop, to ſubmit his conduct to the judgment of his country. He concluded with reminding Edward, that the conqueſt of both France and Scotland, was not ſo eaſy a taſk as he imagined, even ſuppoſing the whole kingdom to be unanimous, and all his counſellors honeſt and diligent, which he believed was far from being the caſe.

This letter was followed by another to the lord chancellor, complaining of a new and illegal oppreſſion of the clergy. He obſerved, that by the late grants, ſuch of the clergy as did not hold by barony, were obliged to pay only a tenth; but notwithſtanding this, not only the tenth had been collected from them as clergy, but the ninth alſo had been levied on them as ſubjects. He then with an air of freedom, put the chancellor upon his guard, and inſinuated that he himſelf, not the king, would be anſwerable for all the invaſions of the rights of the people or clergy: adding, that if any brief, commiſſion or precept, contrary to the form of Magna Charta, or the privileges and liberties of the people, had already been iſſued out of chancery, it was his duty to cauſe them within ten days after the receipt of theſe letters, to be recalled and diſannulled. "It is, continued he, the will of our "lord the king, to cheriſh and maintain the great "charter, and the liberties and privileges of the "church, as we are aſſured, and it is not his will, "nor ought it ſo to be his will, that the clergy ſhould, "by any means, be burdened and grieved beyond "their own free grant."

On the 24th of April a parliament met at Weſtminſter, in order to make good the deficiences which had happened the preceding year, and to raiſe freſh ſupplies for carrying on the war with more ſpirit and ſucceſs. Stratford, who had always profeſſed himſelf ready to ſubmit his conduct to a parliamentary examination, repaired to the aſſembly without being ſummoned; but the ſeſſion being held within the king's palace, the officers of the houſhold denied him admittance, until he had appeared to an information exhibited againſt him in the exchequer. The archbiſhop therefore repaired to that court, took a copy of the charge, entered on appearance to anſwer it, and then, as a peer of England, demanded his ſeat in parliament. This requeſt could not now be refuſed, and, upon taking his ſeat he declared, that he would not have preſumed to have appeared in that aſſembly, had not he thought it his duty to promote, as far as lay in his power, both the honour of the king, and the proſperity of the kingdom; adding, that he would very readily ſubmit his conduct as a miniſter, to a parliamentary enquiry.

This declaration was received with great applauſe by the whole aſſembly, which gave the court party ſome uneaſineſs, and the houſe was adjourned from day to day for ſome time. At laſt Edward, either fearing that this affair might be attended with dangerous conſequences, or convinced that in his impatience he had groundleſsly accuſed the primate of malverſation in his office, he granted him a pardon, and took him again into his favour.

But this conceſſion was not ſufficient to allay the ferment raiſed in the nation, and it required all the genius and capacity of Edward to extricate himſelf from ſuch multiplied difficulties and embarraſſments.

barraſſments. His unjuſt and exorbitant claims on France and Scotland, had engaged him in an implacable war with theſe two kingdoms, his neareſt neighbours: he had loſt almoſt all his foreign alliances by his irregular payments: he was deeply involved in debts, for which he paid a very heavy intereſt: his military operations had vaniſhed into ſmoke; and, except his naval victory, none of them had been attended even with glory or renown, either to himſelf or to the nation: the animoſity between him and the clergy was open and declared: the people were diſcontented on account of the many arbitrary meaſures in which he had been engaged: and, what rendered it ſtill more dangerous, the nobility, taking advantage of his preſſing neceſſities, were determined to retrench his power, and, by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire to themſelves both independence and authority. But the aſpiring genius of Edward, which had ſo far tranſported him beyond the bounds of diſcretion, proved at laſt ſufficient to re-inſtate him in his former authority, and finally to render his reign the moſt triumphant of any recorded in the Engliſh annals. For the preſent, however, he was obliged to yield to the current of popular clamour, and ſatisfy the demands of a jealous people.

An act was framed by the parliament which ſeemed to threaten conſiderable innovations in the government. The preamble recited, that whereas the great charter had to the manifeſt ſlander of the king, and damage of his people, been violated in many points, particularly by the impriſonment of free men, and the ſeizure of their goods, without ſuit, indictment, or trial, it was neceſſary to confirm it anew, and to oblige all the chief officers of the law, together with the ſteward and chamberlain of the houſhold, the keeper of the privy-ſeal, the comptroller and treaſurer of the wardrobe, and thoſe who were intruſted with the education of the young prince, to ſwear to the regular obſervance of it. They alſo remarked, that the peers of the realm had formerly been arreſted, impriſoned, and diſpoſſeſſed of their temporalities and lands, and even ſome of them put to death, without judgment of their peers; and therefore they enacted that ſuch violences ſhould henceforth ceaſe, and no peer be puniſhed but by the award of his peers in parliament. They required, that whenever any of the great offices became vacant, the king ſhould fill them by the advice of his council, and the conſent of the other great men, who ſhould, at that time be found to reſide in the neighbourhood of the court. And they enacted, that on the third day of every ſeſſion, the king ſhould reſume into his own hands all theſe offices, except thoſe of the juſtices of the two benches and the barons of the exchequer; that theſe miniſters ſhould for the time be reduced to private perſons; that they ſhould, in that condition, anſwer before the parliament, to any accuſations brought againſt them; and that, if they were in any wiſe found guilty, they ſhould finally be diſpoſſeſſed of their offices, and perſons of better principles ſubſtituted in their place. By theſe regulations the barons approached as near as they dared to thoſe reſtrictions, which had formerly been impoſed upon Henry III. and Edward II. and which from the dangerous conſequences attending them, had become ſo generally odious, that they did not expect to have either the concurrence of the people in demanding, or the aſſent of the preſent king in granting them.

The parliament, in return for theſe important conceſſions, offered the king a grant of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool; and his wants were ſo urgent, from the clamours of his creditors, and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept of the ſupply on theſe hard conditions. He ratified this ſtatute in full parliament; but he ſecretly entered a proteſt of ſuch a nature as ſeems to have been ſufficient to deſtroy, for the future, all truſt and confidence with his people: he declared, that as ſoon as his affairs permitted, he would, from his own authority, revoke what had been extorted from him.

Nor did he make this proteſt in vain. He was no ſooner poſſeſſed of the parliamentary ſupply, than he iſſued out an edict containing many extraordinary poſitions and pretenſions. He firſt aſſerts, that the above ſtatute had been enacted contrary to the law; as if a free legiſlative body could ever do any thing illegal. He next affirms, that as it was injurious to the prerogatives of the crown, which he was ſworn to defend, he had only diſſembled when he ſeemed to ratify it; but that he had never, in his own breaſt, given his aſſent to it. He did not pretend that either himſelf or the parliament lay under any reſtraint; but only that ſome inconvenience would have enſued, had he not ſeemingly given his aſſent to that pretended ſtatute. He therefore, with the advice of his council, and of ſome earls and barons, abrogated and annulled it; and tho' he profeſſed himſelf willing and determined to obſerve ſuch articles of it, as were formerly law, he declared it to have thenceforth no force or authority. The parliaments afterwards aſſembled, took no notice of this exertion of royal prerogative, which, by a parity of reaſoning, left all their laws at the mercy of the king; and during the courſe of two years, Edward had ſo far reeſtabliſhed his influence, and freed himſelf from his preſent neceſſities, that he then obtained from his parliament, a legal repeal of the obnoxious ſtatute. This tranſaction, doubtleſs, contains remarkable circumſtances, which diſcover the manners and ſentiments of the age: and may prove what inaccurate work might be expected from ſuch rude hands, when employed in legiſlation, and in rearing the delicate fabric of laws and conſtitutions.

About this time a diſpute happened between John de Montfort, and Charles de Blois, about the dutchy of Britanny. Arthur the ſecond, duke of Britanny, had been twice married, and his only ſurviving ſon, by his firſt wife, had a grandaughter, named Joanna, married to Charles de Blois. By his ſecond wife he had an only ſon, who, in right of his mother, was earl of Montfort. Charles de Blois, being nephew to the king of France, was ſupported in his pretenſions by that whole court; but Montfort, on the death of his eldeſt brother by the firſt marriage, found means to get poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole dutchy. He, however, eaſily foreſaw, that it would be impoſſible for him to oppoſe the whole power of France without aſſiſtance. He therefore entered into a ſecret correſpondence with Edward; and even went ſo far, as to make a viſit to the court of England, where he offered to perform homage to Edward, as king of France for the dutchy of Britany. As all the nobility of that dutchy were of Montfort's party, this ſtep was of infinite conſequence to Edward, who thereby found a ſafe and ſpeedy entrance

into France. The connections, therefore, between Edward and Montfort became inſeparable; they were founded on mutual intereſt. Montfort offered to Edward the towns Nahtes, Rouen, Breſt, and Hennebon, as ſo many places of arms in his attempts againſt France. At the ſame time he offered to perform homage for the future to him, either as king of England, the dutchy of Britanny having formerly belonged to that crown, or as king of France. Edward, on his part, engaged to ſupport his new vaſſal with all his troops and treaſure.

Having ſucceeded in this treaty, Montfort returned to France, where he was cited before the court of peers. That nobleman, either hoping that the king of France, from what he had experienced of the reſentment of de Artois, would be very careful not to provoke him by any deciſion to his prejudice, or to remove all ſuſpicions of his connections with Edward, not only accepted the citation, but perſonally attended the court of peers, who were now ready to pronounce ſentence in the great cauſe between him and Charles de Blois.

Upon his arrival at Paris he underſtood, by a converſation he had with Philip, that neither his journey nor his errand into England, were any ſecrets at the court of France. Montfort readily confeſſed he viſited Edward, but denied his engagements with that prince. The king of France, far from being ſatisfied with this declaration, ordered him not to leave Paris till the deciſion of the court of peers ſhould be known. This command, together with the manifeſt partiality diſcovered by that court towards Charles de Blois, alarmed Montfort, and induced him to fly from Paris with a very few attendants. Soon after his departure, the peers paſſed ſentence in favour of Charles de Blois, who performed his homage to the king of France, as duke of Britanny, and received, at the ſame time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from Philip of his being powerfully ſupported in his rights to that dutchy. He loſt no time in making good his promiſe. The duke of Normandy was charged with executing the ſentence in his favour; and that prince advanced immediately at the head of a ſtrong army, and inveſted Nantes, which was defended by Montfort in perſon. The appearance of authority ſtrikes the minds of the people with awe. The duke of Normandy being armed with a legal power, met with a feeble reſiſtance from the townſmen of Nantes; ſo that by the firſt attack he became maſter of both the town and citadel, together with Montfort's perſon, who was ſent priſoner to Paris.

A. D. 1342. This event ſeemed to put a final period to all Montfort's pretenſions, but his affairs were ſoon retrieved by an unexpected incident which inſpired his party with freſh life and vigour. Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Montfort, the moſt extraordinary woman of that age, was rouzed by the captivity of her huſband, from thoſe domeſtic employments to which her genius had been hitherto confined, and nobly undertook to ſupport the falling fortunes of her family. As ſoon as ſhe received the fatal intelligence, ſhe aſſembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where ſhe then reſided, and carrying her infant ſon in her arms, laid before them, in the moſt pathetic manner, the calamity of their ſovereign, and recommended to their protection the illuſtrious orphan, the ſole remaining male heir of their ancient princes, who had long governed them with ſo much indulgence and lenity, and to whom they had hitherto profeſſed ſo zealous an attachment. She declared herſelf willing to face any dangers with them in ſo juſt a cauſe; diſcovered the reſources which ſtill remained in the alliance with England, and intreated them to make, at leaſt, one effort againſt the uſurper, who being impoſed on them by the arms of France, would, in return, make a ſacrifice to his protector of the ancient liberties of Britanny. Moved by the affecting appearance, and inſpirited by the noble conduct of the princeſs, the audience vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family. All the other fortreſſes of Britanny embraced the ſame reſolution. The counteſs went from place to place, encouraging the garriſons, providing them with every thing neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, and concerting their plans of defence. And after putting the whole province in a proper poſture of repelling the efforts of the enemy, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in Hennebon, where ſhe waited with impatience the arrival of thoſe ſuccours promiſed by Edward. In the mean time ſhe ſent over her ſon into England, in order at once to provide him a place of ſafety, and engage the king more ſtrongly by ſuch a pledge, to embrace with zeal, the intereſt of her family.

In the mean time, Charles de Blois, anxious to make himſelf maſter of ſo important a fort as that of Hennebon, and ſtill more ſo to take the counteſs priſoner, from whoſe vigour and capacity all the difficulties attending his ſucceeding ſucceſſion in Britanny now proceeded, inveſted the place with a numerous army, compoſed of French, Spaniards, Genoeſe, and ſome Bretons, conducting the attack with indefatigable induſtry. The defence was equally vigorous: the beſiegers were repulſed in every aſſault; frequent ſallies were made with ſucceſs by the garriſon, and the counteſs herſelf being the moſt forward in all military operations, every one was aſhamed not to do his duty to the utmoſt in this deſperate ſituation. While ſhe was one day giving her orders on the ramparts, ſhe perceived that the beſiegers were entirely employed in an attack, and neglected to guard a diſtant quarter of their camp, ſhe immediately ſallied out at the head of a body of two hundred cavalry, threw them into confuſion, put a great number to the ſword, and ſet fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines. But when ſhe was preparing to return, ſhe found ſhe was intercepted, and that a large body of the enemy had thrown themſelves between her and the gates. She inſtantly formed her reſolution; ordered her men to diſperſe, and make the beſt of their way to Breſt. She met them at the appointed place of rendezvous, collected another body of five hundred horſe; returned to Hennebon, broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, and was received with ſhouts and acclamations by the garriſon, who encouraged by this reinforcement, and by ſo rare an example of female fortitude and valour, determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity.

But it was impoſſible long to withſtand the reiterated attacks of the beſiegers, who had at length made ſeveral breaches in the walls. A general aſſault was alſo every hour expected, which muſt have overpowered the garriſon, diminiſhed in their number, and extremely weakened with watching and fatigue. It therefore became neceſſary to treat of a capitulation, and the biſhop of Leon was already engaged for that purpoſe in a conference with Charles de Blois, when the counteſs, who had mounted a high

tower,

tower, and was looking towards the ſea with great impatience, diſcovered ſeveral ſails at a diſtance. She immediately exclaimed, "Behold the ſuccours! "The Engliſh ſuccours! no capitulation!" This fleet carried a body of Engliſh cavalry, and ſix thouſand archers, whom Edward had prepared for the relief of Hennebon; but who had been long detained by contrary winds. They entered the harbour under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the braveſt officers in England, and having inſpired the garriſon with freſh courage, immediately ſallied forth, beat the beſiegers from all their poſts, and obliged them to decamp. This good fortune was, however, in ſome meaſure counterballanced by the taking of the towns of Dinant and Aurey, as alſo the city of Vannes, by Charles de Blois, whoſe forces being ſuperior to thoſe under Manny, obliged the latter, after ſome ſmall ſucceſs in the field, again to ſhut himſelf up in Hennebon. But the French, unable to take that place, agreed upon a truce with the counteſs of Montford, which was to continue in force till the fifteenth of May following. This treaty being finiſhed, the counteſs paſſed over into England, to conſult farther meaſures with Edward.

A. D. 1342. The beginning of the year was ſpent in making preparations for opening a vigorous campaign in Britanny. In a great council held the latter end of April, it was unanimouſly agreed, that Edward ſhould pay no regard to the alliances he had contracted in Germany and the Low Countries, but that he ſhould endeavour to penetrate immediately into the heart of France, by Britanny. A commiſſion had been already ſent over to Manny, impowering him, in Edward's name, to take poſſeſſion of all the towns of Britanny, and an embargo had been laid upon all ſhips proper for tranſports, in order to carry the troops over to Britanny. A convention was likewiſe made by which the counteſs of Britanny lent Edward a thouſand pounds ſterling; and the earl of Northampton had orders to make ready for heading a body of troops which were to ſail for Britanny. His commiſſion is dated the 27th of March: and the nation ſeeing themſelves freed from the exorbitant ſubſidies paid to the Germans, vigorouſly and chearfully ſupported Edward in all theſe meaſures; and Robert de Artois, who ſtill continued a reigning favourite at the Engliſh court, was appointed commander in chief till Edward arrived in perſon. Accordingly, about the middle of May, the counteſs of Montfort, with Robert de Artois, and a conſiderable number of the Engliſh nobility, embarked for Britanny, with a ſmall number of forces, on board forty-ſix ſhips of war. In their paſſage they were intercepted by a French fleet, manned with four thouſand marines beſides ſailors: a dreadful fight enſued, in which the counteſs, dreſſed in armour, and a ſword in her hand, was continually foremoſt in all the poſts of danger, encouraging the ſoldiers, and performing amazing acts of valour with her own hands. Notwithſtanding the inequality of the two fleets, the French being large, and the Engliſh only ſmall veſſels, the former could boaſt of no advantage, when night put an end to the combat; and a furious ſtorm which followed, rendered it impoſſible to renew the fight the next morning. This accident gave the Engliſh great advantage; for while the largeneſs of the French ſhips forced them out to ſea, or ſtranded them on the ſhore, the Engliſh fleet was able to double cape Uſhant, and the next morning arrived off Vannes. This place being of great importance, it was reſolved to beſiege it immediately, though it was ſtrongly garriſoned under the command of four Breton knights, in the intereſt of the Blois family. The Engliſh attempted in vain to take the place by aſſault; they were driven from the walls which they attacked in three places, the counteſs being always the foremoſt in the charge, and the laſt in the retreat. When night came on, inſtead of going to reſt, the Engliſh generals ordered the ſoldiers to take ſome refreſhment, and then divided them into three companies, one commanded by the earl of Saliſbury, another by Robert de Artois, and the third by the earl of Oxford and the lord Manny. The latter had orders to march ſilently, in the dead of night, under the loweſt part of the wall, where they were to lie concealed till they perceived what ſucceſs attended the other attacks, formed at two different places, by the other detachments. The attacks were made with amazing fury, and large fires were lighted up to direct the aſſailants. The beſieged, little expecting ſo quick a return of their enemies, hurried to the walls in confuſion, and regarding only the places attacked by the earl of Saliſbury, and Robert de Artois, they left that part under which the third column lay entirely defenceleſs. This being perceived, the troops, on a ſignal being given, clapped their ſcaling ladders to the walls, and mounting without reſiſtance, fell with amazing fury on the backs of the beſieged, as they were defending the two attacks, and cut them to pieces. The gates were immediately broke open; the Engliſh poured in like a torrent, a dreadful ſlaughter enſued of all who were found in the ſtreets; the city was plundered, and laid under military execution, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the four knights who commanded the garriſon eſcaped.

The town being thus taken, the counteſs left Robert de Artois to command in Vannes, and retired to Hennebon. But Robert was imprudent enough to ſend a large detachment of his forces under the earl of Saliſbury to Rennes, which being too well provided, all the earl could do was to ravage the neighbouring country. But this detachment ſo weakened de Artois's army, that two of the knights who had defended Vannes, made a moſt deſperate attack at the head of twelve thouſand men; took the place by ſtorm, put all the garriſon to the ſword, and forced Robert de Artois to fly to Hennebon mortally wounded. He immediately embarked for England, where he died almoſt as ſoon as he landed.

Thus fell one of the braveſt princes of the age; but his reſentment getting the better of his virtue, he ſeemed to have loſt all the ties of nature to his country, and of duty to his ſovereign. It is not neceſſary for us to examine whether natural allegiance be transferrable; but it is certain that his provocations were far from being of ſuch a nature as to juſtify the diſſolution of allegiance between him and Philip, unleſs, what is very improbable to ſuppoſe, he was convinced that Edward's claim was preferable. His affability, and the openneſs of his manners, endeared him to the Engliſh; while his knowledge of the French policy, country, and intereſt, rendered him a uſeful counſellor to Edward, who ſolemnly ſwore to revenge his death, which may, perhaps, be thought unjuſt, becauſe his life may be conſidered

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as the price he paid for his hatred to his country.

The affairs of the Montfort family now wore but an indifferent aſpect in Britanny. The counteſs could receive no ſupplies but by ſea, a tedious and uncertain reſource; while Charles de Blois had all France at his command, and the nobility of the dutchy of Britanny for his ſupport. Prince Lewis of Spain had manned a large fleet of merchant veſſels with about ſix thouſand men, in order to make deſcents on the coaſt, which held out for the Montfort family, and by this means took a great deal of valuable plunder. But Sir Walter Manny fitting out ſome veſſels, ſurprized the fleet of Lewis, while he himſelf was advanced to a conſiderable diſtance up the country, and finding the fleet unguarded, manned it with his own people, while the reſt of his forces marched up the country, where they met, and entirely defeated the enemy. Lewis, attended by a company of his troops, flew towards his ſhips, where he was received with a general diſcharge from the Engliſh archers. But being a perſon of intrepid courage, and amazing preſence of mind, he threw himſelf, with a few of his ſoldiers, into a ſmall bark, paſſed through the fleet amidſt a ſhower of arrows, and eſcaped with his few attendants, after loſing near ſix thouſand of his men.

This advantage did not, however, counterbalance the loſs of Vannes, and ſeveral other places of importance, which, about this time fell into the hands of the French, and Edward once more ſaw all his mighty expectations in danger of being wrecked, unleſs they were ſupported by all the power of England, and his armies headed by himſelf in perſon.

But the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Scots formed an invincible objection to his carrying this meaſure into execution. Sir Alexander Ramſay had already ſurprized the caſtle of Roxborough; and a general opinion prevailed that David would accept the invitation of his ſubjects, and return to his own kingdom. This report gave Edward great uneaſineſs; he ſaw to what degree of danger his dominions would be expoſed if he ſent over all his troops into France; he reflected on the amazing reſiſtance and ſucceſſes of the Scots when diſabled and diſunited, and dreaded what they might effect when their armies were numerous, and commanded by a young prince, who had been long abſent, and whom they adored both for his perſonal virtues, and his being the ſon of their great deliverer. Edward would gladly have given up Baliol's intereſt, and have concluded a definitive treaty with David's party, in order to have been at liberty to direct his whole force againſt France. But neither policy nor gratitude would permit David to embrace ſuch meaſures. His friends in Scotland, however, did not diſcourage the propoſal for opening conferences, becauſe it gave them an opportunity of ſending for their king with much greater ſafety. Commiſſioners were accordingly named by each party to conclude, if poſſible, a definitive treaty, or at leaſt a truce. But before the conferences could be opened, David had taken his leave of the French king, and landed in Scotland about the beginning of June, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand foot, and thirteen thouſand horſe. His firſt reſolution was to revenge his ſubjects on the Engliſh for the injuries they had received, and of which they ſo loudly complained.

Nor was it long before he put his threats into execution. He muſtered his army at Perth, and fell into England with the greateſt fury, laying the whole country waſte within forty miles, and forming the ſiege of Newcaſtle. The place was defended by Sir John Nevil, who acted with ſo much vigour, that in one ſally he routed a large body of the Scottiſh army, and killed five of their knights. The Scots, however, made ſeveral attacks upon the town, but with ſo little advantage, that they were at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire into their own country, and a truce was ſoon after concluded, which was to continue till the following May.

The tranquillity of the northern parts of the kingdom being thus reſtored, Edward, with all his army embarked at Sandwich for France, where he immediately after his landing, undertook the ſieges of Vannes and Nantes; the firſt was defended by Oliver Cliſſon and Henry de Leon, and the latter by Charles de Blois in perſon. But both places making a vigorous reſiſtance, he left them blocked up by two detachments of his army, and with the remainder fell upon Dinant, which he took by ſtorm, putting all the garriſon to the ſword, except the brave governor. In the mean time the detachment left to block up Vannes, under the command of the earl of Warwick, and Sir Walter Manny, were warmly attacked by a ſally from the place. The French were driven back with conſiderable loſs, and their two commanders, de Leon and Cliſſon taken priſoners. The place, however, as well as that of Nantes, ſtill held out, and gave Charles de Blois time to ſollicit and receive from the king of France a numerous body of troops for his relief. They were commanded by the duke of Normandy, eldeſt ſon to Philip, who obliged Edward to raiſe the ſiege of Nantes, and intrench himſelf ſtrongly with his whole army at Vannes. The French army ſoon advanced towards the Engliſh, and encampted in a neighbouring meadow in ſight of Edward's army, which was now very ſtrong from its ſituation. Edward, however, ordered the earl of Saliſbury to raiſe the ſiege of Rennes, and join the main army, as he every day expected to be attacked by the French. When the whole forces were collected they amounted only to ſixteen thouſand men, excluſive of the garriſons, thoſe left with the navy, and thoſe ſent to the aſſiſtance of the counteſs of Montfort, who remained ſtill at Hennebon, but they were all experienced, hardy veterans, and commanded by ſome of the beſt generals in the world. The French, on the other hand, though not ſo well officered, were greatly ſuperior in numbers; and the duke of Normandy, though inferior to Edward in abilities, was a general of great abilities and intrepedity; but found it unſafe to attack Edward in his ſtrong entrenchments, though his army amounted to four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand infantry, excluſive of a body that had juſt joined him under Charles de Blois. Several days both armies continued inactive: Edward neither attempting to attack the place, nor the duke of Normandy to attack Edward. But in this ſituation the fortune of the latter received ſome check by the activity of prince Lewis of Spain, who had fitted out another fleet, and after gaining ſome advantages over that of England, which ſtill lay at Morbeum near

Vannes

Vannes, obliged it to retire to Breſt and Hennebon, and thus cut off all Edward's ſupply by ſea. It muſt be owned that the Engliſh army was now in a very diſtreſſed condition for want of proviſions, while that of France ſuffered greatly through its damp and uncomfortable ſituation, in a wet and cold ſeaſon.

A. D. 1343. In this dangerous ſituation Edward very readily liſtened to the mediation of the pope's legate, the cardinals of Paleſtine and Treſcatti, who endeavoured to negotiate, if not a peace, at leaſt a truce between the two kingdoms. A treaty was accordingly concluded for a ceſſation of arms during three years, and Edward had the ability, notwithſtanding his preſent dangerous ſituation, to procure to himſelf very equal and honourable terms. It was agreed that Vannes ſhould be ſequeſtered during the truce, in the hands of the legates, to be diſpoſed of afterwards as they pleaſed; and though Edward knew the partiality of the court of Rome towards his antagoniſt, he ſaved himſelf by this device, from the diſhonour of having undertaken a fruitleſs enterprize. It was alſo ſtipulated, that all priſoners ſhould be releaſed; that the places in Britany ſhould remain in the hands of the preſent poſſeſſors, and that the allies on both ſides ſhould be comprehended in the truce. Soon after this treaty was concluded, Edward embarked with his whole army. The paſſage was difficult and dangerous, the Engliſh fleet was diſperſed, and ſome ſhips loſt, and it was the ſecond of March before Edward landed in England.

The truce, though calculated for a long time, was of a ſhort duration, and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the cauſe of its infraction. Hiſtorians differ in their relations of this affair; it is, however probable, that Edward in conſenting to the truce, had no other purpoſe than to extricate himſelf from a dangerous ſituation into which he had fallen; and was therefore very careleſs to obſerve it. In all the memorials remaining on this ſubject, he complains chiefly of the puniſhment inflicted on Oliver de Cliſſon, Henry de Leon, and other Breton noblemen, whom he ſays were partizans of the Montfort family, and conſequently under the protection of England. But it appears from the hiſtory, that at the concluſion of the truce, theſe noblemen had openly, by their declarations and conduct, embraced the cauſe of Charles de Blois; and if they had entered into any ſecret correſpondence and engagements with Edward, they were traitors to their party, and juſtly puniſhable by Philip and Charles, for their breach of faith: nor had Edward any juſt grounds of complaint againſt France for ſuch ſeverity. But when he laid theſe pretended injuries before the parliament, whom he affected to conſult on all occaſions, that aſſembly entered into the quarrel, adviſed the king not to be abuſed by a fraudulent truce, and granted him ſupplies for the renewal of the war. The counties were charged with a fifteenth for two years, the boroughs with a tenth, and the clergy conſented to give a tenth for three years.

A. D. 1344. Theſe ſupplies enabled the king to complete his military preparations, and he ſent his couſin, Henry earl of Derby, ſon to the earl of Lancaſter, into Guienne, for the defence of that province. This prince, the moſt accompliſhed of the Engliſh court, poſſeſſed, in a very high degree, the virtues of humanity, as well as thoſe of valour and conduct; and not contented with protecting and cheriſhing the province committed to his charge, he made a very ſucceſsful invaſion on the enemy. He attacked the count de Leille, the French general, at Bergerac, beat him from his entrenchments, and made himſelf maſter of the place. He reduced a great part of Perigord, and continually advanced in his conqueſts, till the count de Leille, having collected an army of ten or twelve thouſand men ſat down before Auberouche, in hopes of recovering that place, which had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1345. The earl of Derby came upon the French general by ſurprize, with only a thouſand cavalry, threw the enemy into diſorder, puſhed his advantages, and obtained a complete victory; de Leille himſelf with a great many noblemen, was taken priſoner. After this important advantage, Derby made a rapid progreſs in ſubduing the French provinces. He took Monſegur, Monpeſet, Villafranche, Miremont, and Tonnins, together with the fortreſs of Damaſſen. Aiguillon, a fortreſs deemed impregnable, fell into his hand, through the cowardice of the governor. Angouleme was ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege. The only place where he met with any conſiderable reſiſtance was Reole, which was, however, at laſt reduced after a ſiege of above nine weeks. Having made an attempt on Bloye, he thought it more prudent to raiſe the ſiege, than waſte his time before a place of ſmall impoatance.

The facility with which the earl of Derby made theſe conqueſts, was in a great meaſure owing to the embarraſſed ſituation of Philip's affairs at home. Beſides his unprecedented taxes, he had increaſed the value of his money, which created a general diſcontent throughout all his kingdom, and in ſome places public inſurrections, eſpecially in Normandy, where the people enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of liberty, privileges, and immunities, and were therefore the moſt violent againſt the impoſitions of the court. This diſcontent in France was fomented by Edward, who kindly received Geoffrey de Harcourt, a Norman nobleman, bold, valiant, intriguing, and enterprizing; and therefore extremely proper for executing the enterprize planned by Robert de Artois. The revolt of this nobleman, together with the diſcontent of the people, prevented Philip from ſending forces into Guienne againſt the earl of Derby, and obliged the duke of Normandy to direct his arms to other places in France.

It was equally aſtoniſhing that Edward, who was always remarkably forward in the field, did not in perſon ſupport the fortunate progreſs of the earl of Derby. But his whole attention was now engaged on a project which ambition alone could have either ſuggeſted or cheriſhed, and which proved fatal to its unworthy author. Ardevelt, or de Arteville, upon the return of the earl of Flanders to his dominions, finding his intereſt among the Flemings began to decline, meditated a deſign of ſupporting his authority, by ſetting aſide that earl and his family, and introducing that of Edward. His well-known influence encouraged the latter to liſten to the propoſal, but it was neceſſary for him to ſupport in perſon. Accordingly about the third of July, he appointed his ſon Lionel, regent of the kingdom, and embarked for Holland, taking with him the prince of Wales, whom it was propoſed the Flemings ſhould immediately receive as their ſove-

reign. Ardevelt had for ſome months before, been employed in ſounding the minds of his countrymen with regard to this project, and who, either intimidated by his power, or diſtruſting one another, gave him ſuch anſwers as made him imagine that this ſcheme would meet with little oppoſition. While Edward was on his voyage to Holland, Ardevelt had aſſembled at Ghent, the conſuls or deputies of the chief towns in Flanders, and after a magnificent entertainment, opened his mind more freely than he had ever done before. He laid before them, with that eloquence which he well knew had always been ſucceſsful in a popular aſſembly, the fatal connection which had ever ſubſiſted between their own earl and the court of France. He extolled Edward much, and his ſon more; he explained the advantages which would accrue to the country, ſhould one of them become her prince; and concluded by obſerving, that as Edward had an undoubted title to the crown of France, natural equity obliged their earl either to pay homage to him, or that they ſhould entirely withdraw their allegiance, and transfer it to the royal family of England.

Though the deputies were well affected to the Engliſh intereſt, yet this was a propoſal of too weighty a nature to admit of an immediate reſolution. They received it at firſt with ſilent aſtoniſhment; but underſtanding that Edward was on their coaſt in perſon, began firſt to diſtruſt, and then to diſlike it. They did not, however, expreſs any violent ſigns of reſentment; they only coolly demanded a month's time in order to conſult their conſtituents. But Ardevelt dreaded their deliberations: he plied with inceſſant ſollicitations, and courted their compliance by introducing them to all the luxuries and gaieties of Edward's court, which was kept on board his ſhips in the harbour of Sluiſe. Edward finding them too reſolute to comply, adviſed Ardevelt to lay aſide his project; and make the beſt retreat in his power: but this advice was given in vain; the ambitious leader ſtill inſiſted that the project was practicable, and undertook, while the deputies were conſulting their conſtituents, to bring all Flanders into his party. He was ſucceſsful with regard to the cities of Bruges and Ypres; but found a ſtrong faction formed againſt him in Ghent. It requires little art to awaken the minds of the people who have been deceived, to a ſenſe of their injury. The Flemings now reflected, with diſdain and horror, upon the indignities they had ſuffered from Ardevelt. His rapine, his extortions, his murders, and his inſolence, now roſe full to their view, and almoſt drove them into madneſs. But the demagogue, intoxicated with pride, took no other precaution to ſcreen himſelf from their reſentment, than by accepting a guard of five hundred Welſhman, lent him by Edward. And his ſucceſs with the reſt of Flanders made him diſdain the precaution of employing this whole guard about his perſon in Ghent. This oſtentation coſt him his life. The populace, encouraged by the principal perſons of the town, roſe in a body, attacked Ardevelt's houſe, and, deaf to all his eloquence, after forcing his guard, they broke into his apartment, dragged him into the ſtreet, where he was cut to pieces by his enraged countrymen. Thus vaniſhed Edward's ambitious project; and full of indignation, he returned to England, denouncing vengeance againſt the authors of Ardevelt's fate.

A. D. 1346. In the mean time the court of France having ſurmounted all her difficulties, the duke of Normandy attended by the duke of Burgundy, and other principal nobility, led towards Guienne a powerful army, which the Engliſh could not think of reſiſting in the open field. The earl of Derby ſtood on the defenſive, and permitted the the French to carry on, at leiſure, the ſiege of Angoulene, which was their firſt enterprize. John lord Norwich, the governor, after a brave and vigorous defence, found himſelf reduced to extremities, and was obliged to have recourſe to a ſtratagem, in order to ſave his garriſon, and prevent his being reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. He appeared on the walls, and deſired to ſpeak with the duke of Normandy. That prince ſoon appeared, and told Norwich that he ſuppoſed he intended to capitulate. "Not at all, replied the go-"vernor, but as to morrow is the feaſt of the Vir-"gin, to whom I know, that you, Sir, as well as "myſelf bear a great devotion, I would requeſt a "ceſſation of arms for that day." The propoſal was accepted; and Norwich having ordered his forces to prepare all their baggage, marched out, and advanced towards the French camp. The beſiegers imagining they were going to be attacked, ran to their arms; but Norwich ſent a meſſenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. The duke, who piqued himſelf on the faithful obſervance of his word, exclaimed, "I ſee the governor "has outwitted me; but let us be contented "with gaining the place;" and the Engliſh were accordingly allowed to paſs through the camp unmoleſted. After ſome other ſucceſs, the duke of Normandy laid ſiege to Aiguillon; and as the natural ſtrength of the fortreſs, together with a brave garriſon, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, and Sir Walter Manny, rendered it impoſſible to take the place by aſſault, he propoſed, after making ſeveral fruitleſs attacks, to reduce it by famine: but before he could finiſh his enterprize, he was called to another part of the kingdom, by one of the greateſt diſaſters that ever befel the French monarch.

Informed by the earl of Derby of the great danger to which Guienne was expoſed, Edward had prepared a fleet and army, with which he intended in perſon to bring it relief. He accordingly embarked at Southampton on board a fleet of near a thouſand ſail, of all dimenſions, carrying with him, beſides all the chief nobility of England, his eldeſt ſon, the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age. The wind proved long contrary; and the king in deſpair of arriving in time at Guienne, was, at laſt perſuaded by Geoffrey d'Harcourt, to change the deſtination of his enterprize. This nobleman, who was a Norman by birth, had long made a conſiderable figure in the court of France, and was generally eſteemed for his perſonal merit and valour; but being diſobliged and perſecuted by Philip, had fled over to England; had recommended himſelf to Edward, who was an excellent judge of men, and had ſucceeded to Robert d'Artois in the inviduous office, in exciting, and aſſiſting the king in every enterprize againſt his native country. He had long inſiſted that an expedition to Normandy, promiſed, in the preſent circumſtances, much more favourable ſucceſs, than one to Guienne; that Edward would find the northern provinces, almoſt deſtitute of military forces, which had been drawing to the

ſouthern

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

TRAGICAL DEATH *of*
Jacob Van Arderelt.

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ſouthern parts of the kingdom; that they were full of flouriſhing cities, whoſe plunder would enrich the Engliſh; that their cultivated fields, as yet unſpoiled by war, would ſupply them with plenty of proviſions; and that the neighbourhood of the capital rendered every event of importance in theſe parts. The reaſons, which had not before been properly weighed by Edward, began to make more impreſſion after the diſappointments which had attended his voyage to Guienne. He ordered his fleet to ſail to Normandy, and ſafely landed his army at La Hogue.

This army, which was, during the courſe of the enſuing campaign, crowned with the moſt ſplendid ſucceſs that ever attended the enterprize of an Engliſh monarch, conſiſted of four thouſand men at arms, ten thouſand archers, ten thouſand Welſh infantry, and ſix thouſand Iriſh. The Welſh and the Iriſh were light diſorderly troops, fitter for doing execution in a purſuit, or ſcouring the country, than for any pitched action. The bow was always eſteemed a frivilous weapon where true military diſcipline was known, and regular bodies of well armed foot maintained. The only ſolid force in this army were the men at arms, and even theſe being cavalry, were, on that account, much inferior to good infantry in the ſhock of battle: and as the whole were new levied troops, we are led to entertain a very mean idea of the military force of thoſe ages, which being ignorant of every other art, had not properly cultivated even the art of war, though the ſole object of their attention.

Soon after their landing the king created the earl of Arundel conſtable of his army, and the earls of Warwick and Harcourt mariſhals. At the ſame time he conferred the honour of knighthood on the prince of Wales, and ſeveral of the young nobility. After deſtroying all the ſhipping at La Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherburgh, he ſpread his army over the whole country, and gave them an unbounded licence of turning, ſpoiling, and plundering every place of which they became maſters. The looſe diſcipline then practiſed could not be much injured by theſe diſorderly actions; and Edward took care to prevent any ſurprize, by giving orders to his troops, however they might diſperſe themſelves in the day time, always to take up their quarters at night near the main body. In this manner Montbourg, Carenten, St. Lo, Valognes, and other places in the Contentin, were pillaged without reſiſtance, and an univerſal conſternation was ſpread over the whole province.

The news of this unexpected invaſion ſoon reached Paris, and threw Philip into great perplexity. He however iſſued orders for levying forces in all quarters, and diſpatched the count d'Eu, conſtable of France, and the count de Tankerville, with a body of troops to the defence of Caen, a populous, and commercial, but open city, lying in the neighbourhood of the Engliſh army. The temptation of ſo rich a prize ſoon allured Edward to approach it; and the inhabitants, encouraged by their numbers, and the reinforcements they daily received from the country, ventured, contrary to the advice of the conſtable, to meet the Engliſh monarch in the open field: but their courage failing them on the firſt ſhock, they fled with precipitation, the counts d'Eu and Tankerville were taken priſoners; the victors entered the city with the vanquiſhed, and a terrible maſſacre immediately followed, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. The citizens, in deſpair, barricaded their houſes, and aſſaulted the Engliſh with ſtones, bricks, and every miſſile weapon. The Engliſh made their way by fire to the deſtruction of the inhabitants; till Edward, anxious to ſave both the plunder and his ſoldiers, ſtopped the maſſacre, and after obliging the inhabitants to lay down their arms, gave his troops licenee to begin a more regular and leſs dangerous plunder of the city. The pillage continued for three days; the king reſerved for his own ſhare, the jewels, plate, ſilks, fine cloth and fine linen; and beſtowed all the remainder of the ſpoils upon his army. The whole was embarked on board ſome of his ſhips, and ſent over to England; together with three hundred of the moſt wealthy citizens of Caen, whoſe ranſom was an additional profit, which he intended afterwards to levy. Two cardinal legates ſent by the pope to negotiate a peace between Edward and Philip were ſpectators of this affecting ſcene of diſtreſs.

By this time the whole kingdom of France was alarmed; and Philip had ordered all the bridges upon the Seine between Paris and Rouen to be broken down, and arrived with his army in the city of Rouen, before the army of Edward, who marched from Caen directly for that place, in hopes of treating it in the ſame manner. The Engliſh monarch finding it impoſſible to croſs the Seine at Rouen, on account of that bridge being deſtroyed, he contented himſelf with ravaging the adjacent country as far as Chartrain. The ſuburbs of Pont de Lorch, Vernon, and Mulin, were laid in aſhes; and Edward advanced even to Poiſſy, a town only ſix leagues from Paris. But finding the bridges in thoſe parts broken down, he ſent over ſome boats full of ſoldiers, who ſet fire to the palace of St. Germain, and to many fine villages in the neighbourhood. Thus the very capital of France itſelf was illuminated by the hoſtile fires of the Engliſh, and the whole kingdom ſeemed already in danger of ſubjection.

But Philip, who had taken his meaſures with great precaution, continued marching in a line with the Engliſh army, hoping that Edward would penetrate ſo far into the country, as to render his retreat impracticable. With this view he ordered another army to aſſemble at St. Dennis, under the command of the old king of Bohemia, his ſon John of Hainault, and ſeveral others of the French nobility. In the mean time, being informed that Edward was preparing to paſs the Seine above Poiſſy, Philip marched to Pontoiſe, where he ordered the army aſſembled at St. Dennis to join him, in order to give battle to the Engliſh monarch. But his intelligence of Edward's motions was falſe, the Engliſh, by a ſudden counter-march returned to Poiſſy, where they ſoon repaired the bridge, marched over their whole army, and cut to pieces a conſiderable body of the militia of Picardy. But notwithſtanding all this ſucceſs, Edward was far from being pleaſed with his own ſituation: he began to fear he had advanced too far. He was then at Abbeville; the king of France was approaching his camp at the head of an hundred thouſand men; the whole country his enemies, ſurrounded with rivers, and attended with ſome difficulties in procuring proviſions. Happily for him, the meaſures purſued by Philip to prevent his progreſs, prevented him from taking the advantage of his ſuperior numbers.

numbers. But Philip, to ſupport the martial ſpirit of his people, ſent a formal challenge to Edward to meet him openly in the field, at any time within ſix days, provided he would, in the mean time, ceaſe from ravaging the country. Edward received this meſſage at Abberville, and in his anſwer obſerved, that he had, for ſome time endeavoured to give battle to the French army, but diſdained to be directed by his adverſary, either with regard to the place, time, or manner of the action. Soon after Edward penetrated into the Bauvoiſis, leaving the city of Beauvois on the right, in order to paſs the Somme, and by that means ſecure his retreat towards Flanders. But on his approaching that river, he found all the bridges either broken down, or ſo well fortified, that it was thought imprudent to attack them. By this time Philip was advanced as far as Amiens; a body of ten thouſand men under the command of Godemar du Fay, a knight of Burgundy, was aſſembled, and lined the oppoſite banks of the Somme, from whence they obſerved all Edward's motions. There was now a neceſſity for the Engliſh either to fight Philip's army, or paſs the Somme: the former ſeemed to threaten inevitable ruin, and the latter to be abſolutely impracticable. In this perplexing ſituation Edward ordered all his priſoners to be called before him, and promiſed, to any one of them who would diſcover a ford over the river Somme, his own liberty with twenty of his friends, and a large ſum of money. A Norman peaſant had not virtue ſufficient to reſiſt the golden temptation; he undertook to conduct Edward to a ford below Abbeville, not more than five hours march from his camp. The trumpets immediately ſounded a march, and the whole army moved under the direction of the Peaſant, who led them directly to the ford. Edward found it very practicable; the bottom being firm enough for his largeſt carriages to paſs over. But Philip's officers foreſeeing that he would attempt this paſſage, had taken care to oppoſe him. Accordingly the moment the diſpoſitions were all made, Godemar du Fay appeared on the oppoſite bank, at the head of ten or twelve thouſand men. Temerity now became wiſdom, and neceſſity directed the conduct of the Engliſh. Edward, ſecure in his genius, and maſter of his paſſions, even on this deſperate attempt, acted with the ſame coolneſs and intrepidity, as when drawing up his battalions in the abſence of his enemy. He ordered his archers to line the bank of the river, and to ply the enemy inceſſantly with their arrows, while his other troops attempted to force their paſſage under the command of Geoffrey de Harcourt and the earl of Warwick. Juſt at this moment advice arrived that the van of the French army, commanded by Philip in perſon, was in ſight. This intelligence rendered it neceſſary to attempt the paſſage immediately; and accordingly the two generals at the head of their reſpective diviſions immediately moved forward; and Edward at the head of the third, plunged into the river with this exclamation, "They who love me will follow me!" The French officers on the oppoſite of the river behaved with great intrepidity, and had not their aſſailants been Engliſhmen, not a ſoldier of Edward's army could that day have eſcaped either death or captivity. The proſpect of the one made them deſpiſe the other; and though the French puſhed their horſes into the water, and met them in the middle of the river with great intrepidity; yet in ſpite of all reſiſtance, the earls of Warwick and Harcourt, gained the oppoſite bank, and ſoon cleared the banks of a party of Genoeſe croſs-bowmen who were placed there to oppoſe the Engliſh archers. The conteſt was, however, ſoon renewed with double fury; nor was the advantage of the Engliſh deciſive, till, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, they cut in pieces the flower of the enemy's troops, while the reſt had recourſe to flight for ſafety. Thus did Edward perform the moſt memorable retreat recorded in hiſtory, ſince the time of Xenophon. His ſucceſs, next to his own courage and conduct, was owing to his archers, who were greatly ſuperior to the Genoeſe, and galled the enemy prodigiouſly with their arrows, drove the croſs-bow-men from their poſt, and obliged them to leave expoſed the flank of the French army. The time was likewiſe ſo critically ſeized, that the rear of the Engliſh was attacked in their paſſage over the river, by the van of Philip's army, under the command of the king of Bohemia and John of Hainault; but ſuffered very little loſs, except a few carriages loaded with baggage.

Edward's army had reached the oppoſite bank of the river, before Philip arrived to behold the rout of his own forces. The diſpoſition made by Godemar du Fay had been ſo excellent, and his poſts ſo ſtrong, that he conſidered the forcing of the paſſage as a thing abſolutely impracticable. At firſt Philip imputed their ſucceſs to treachery, and propoſed following the Engliſh; but this was impoſſible, as the tide had now greatly raiſed the waters of the river, and after tracing the Engliſh for fifty leagues, by the flames and deſolation left behind them, had the mortification to ſee them march coolly away, while he himſelf was obliged to continue his rout to the bridge above Abbeville, in order to paſs the Somme.

Edward had ſo much the quality of a truce here, that his courage was not more the effect of conſtitution than the reſult of reaſon. In proportion as he was terrible in the day of battle, he was humble in the hour of devotion. He thought it impious and ungrateful to proceed before he had paid his tribute of thanks to that power which had thus diſtinguiſhed the Engliſh arms, by almoſt viſible marks of protection. This being performed, he directed his march towards Crotoy, which he laid in aſhes, and ſeized in the harbour ſeveral ſhips laden with proviſions; a very ſeaſonable relief to his harraſſed, though victorious army.

The firſt advice Philip received with regard to the rout of the Engliſh was, that they had penetrated three leagues into Ponthieu, and taken poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp near the wood of Creſſy, a village on the river Maye, between Abbeville and Heſdirn. Here the Engliſh monarch reviewed his army, and held a council of war, the reſult of which was, to wait there for the enemy. This reſolution gave Edward a particular pleaſure, as he had now an opportunity, by one glorious action of recovering the earldom of Ponthieu, the inheritance of queen Eleanor, his grandmother. He could not diſſemble his ſatisfaction, and concluded a ſpeech he made in the council with this remarkable expreſſion, "God defend my right."

Edward's reſolution of fighting at this time was both brave and prudent, and even, in ſome meaſure neceſſary. A farther retreat would have appeared

peared inglorious before a purſuing enemy; his march before he could reach Flanders, would have been long and laborious; while his proviſions, ſhould he attempt it, muſt be collected by pillaging the open towns and villages; a very precarious ſubſiſtence; and, ſhould the French continue to purſue him, he well knew, that a precipitate retreat would ſoon deviate into flight, which muſt terminate in ruin and diſgrace. Theſe reaſons, induced the council to reſolve, as they were now in a plentiful country, neither to provoke nor decline a battle.

On the 25th of Auguſt Edward finiſhed a large intrenchment, parallel with the wood, which lay in the rear of his camp, and behind this intrenchment he placed all his baggage, probably with an intention of making there the laſt effort againſt the enemy, if he ſhould be forced to abandon the field of battle. Philip ſtill continued at Abbeville, in expectation of being reinforced by a thouſand ſpearmen, under the earl of Savoy. He, however, ordered the camp of the enemy to be reconnoitered, with a reſolution of giving them battle the next day. Edward, therefore, paſſed the night ſecurely with his officers, whom he mag nificently entertained, and at the ſame time diſcovered an unuſual gaiety of ſpirit.

Early in the morning the king called to him the prince of Wales; gave orders for the army to leave their camp, and to draw themſelves up on the place appointed for the battle. The ground lay on the declivity of a hill, on the eaſt ſide of the foreſt, having the river Maye and the village of Creſſy on the left, and the intrenchment already mentioned in the rear. The army was drawn up in three lines. The firſt was commanded by the prince of Wales, having under him the earls of Warwick and Harcourt, the lord John Chandois, and ſeveral others of the beſt officers in England. The earl of Warwick and lord Chandois received private orders to keep a watchful eye upon the prince, and not leave his perſon during the action. The ſecond line was commanded by the earls of Northampton and Arundel: and the third by Edward himſelf, who that morning created fifteen new knights, of whom the prince of Wales was one. With this diviſion Edward propoſed either to ſuccour the two firſt lines, or ſecure a retreat in caſe of any misfortune, or to puſh his advantage againſt the enemy.

The ſkill and order of this diſpoſition, with the tranquillity with which it was made, had a great effect in compoſing the minds of the ſoldiers; and the king, that he might ſtill farther inſpire them with the hopes of victory, rode through their ranks with ſuch an air of chearfulneſs and tranquillity in his countenance, as conveyed the higheſt confidence into every beholder. He pointed out to them the neceſſity to which they were at preſent reduced, and the certain and inevitable deſtruction which awaited them, if, in their preſent ſituation, encloſed on all ſides in an enemy's country, they truſted to any thing but their own valour, or gave the French an opportunity of taking revenge for the many inſults and indignities they had lately received. He reminded them of the acknowledged ſuperiority they had hitherto maintained over all the bodies of French troops who had fallen in their way, and aſſured them that the greater numbers of the enemy, which at preſent threatened them with deſtruction, was of ſo little conſequence as to be more than compenſated by the order in which he had placed his own army, and the reſolution he expected from them. He told them he requeſted nothing more than their imitating his own example and that of the prince of Wales; and as the honour, the lives, the liberties of all, were now expoſed to the ſame danger, he was confident they would make one common effort to extricate themſelves from the preſent difficulties, and that their united courage would give them a glorious victory.

Some hiſtorians relate that Edward, beſides the reſources which he found in his own genius and preſence of mind, employed alſo a new invention againſt the enemy, he placed in his front ſome pieces of artillery, the firſt that had yet been made uſe of on any remarkable occaſion in Europe. But this is the epoch of one of the moſt ſingular diſcoveries ever made by the human ſpecies, and which changed by degrees the art of war, and in conſequence many circumſtances in the political government of Europe. But the ignorance of that age in the mechanical arts, rendered the progreſs of this amazing invention very ſlow. The artillery firſt in uſe, were ſo clumſy, and ſo difficult to be managed, that men were not immediately ſenſible of their uſe and efficacy; and even to the preſent times, improvements have been continually making with regard to the ſtructure of this furious engine, which, though it ſeemed contrived only for the deſtruction of the human ſpecies, and the extermination of kingdoms, has in the iſſue rendered war much leſs bloody, and given greater ſtability to civil ſocieties.

The French were at this time no ſtrangers to the invention of artillery; but Philip in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, regarding them only as an uſeleſs incumbrance. All his other motions diſcovered the ſame imprudence and precipitation. Impelled by anger, a dangerous counſellor, and confiding entirely on the great ſuperiority of his numbers, he imagined every thing depended on forcing the Engliſh to a battle, and that, if he could once reach the enemy in their retreat, the victory on his ſide was certain and inevitable. He made a haſty march in great diſorder from Abbeville, but after advancing above two leagues, ſome gentlemen, whom he had ſent before to take a view of the enemy, returned with intelligence, that they had ſeen the Engliſh drawn up in excellent order, and waiting for his arrival with the greateſt tranquillity. They therefore adviſed him to defer the combat till the next day, when his army would have recovered from their fatigue, and might be diſpoſed into better order, than their preſent precipitate march had permitted them to obſerve. Philip was convinced of the propriety of this advice, but the former hurry of his march, and the impatience of the French nobility, to attack the enemy, rendered it impoſſible for him to put it in execution. One diviſion preſſed upon another; orders to halt were not ſeaſonably conveyed to them all: the body was too large, and too little acquainted with diſcipline to be manageable: and the French army very imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and diſordered, in preſence of the enemy. The firſt line, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bow-men, were commanded by Anthony Doria, and Charles Grimaldi; the ſecond line was led by the count de Alençon, brother to the

king; and the king himſelf was at the head of the third. Beſides the French monarch, there were no leſs than three crowned heads in this army; the king of Bohemia, the king of the Romans, his ſon, and the king of Majorca, together with all the nobility and great vaſſals of the crown of France. The army now conſiſted of above one hundred and twenty thouſand men, near four times the number of the enemy. But the prudence of one man was more than ſufficient to balance the advantage of this ſuperior force and parade.

Nor had this prodigious multitude any effect on the Engliſh. On the approach of the enemy, they kept their ranks firm and immoveable, when the Genoeſe began the attack. A thunder ſhower had happened a little before the engagement began which had wetted and relaxed the ſtrings of the Genoeſe croſs-bows, ſo that their arrows fell ſhort of the enemy. This was obſerved by the Engliſh archers, who taking their bows out of their caſes; which had preſerved them from the rain, poured in a ſhower of arrows upon the multitude oppoſed to them, and ſoon threw them into diſorder. The Genoeſe fell back upon the gens de armes of the count de Alençon, who, enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the ſword. The artillery fired amidſt the crowd; the Engliſh archers ſtill continued to pour in their arrows among them, and nothing was to be ſeen in that vaſt body but hurry and confuſion, terror and diſmay. The young prince of Wales had the preſence of mind to take advantage of this ſituation, and lead up his diviſion to the charge. The French cavalry, however, recovering in ſome meaſure their order, and encouraged by the example of their leader, made a brave reſiſtance; and having at laſt cleared themſelves from the Genoeſe runaways, advanced upon their adverſaries, and, by their ſuperior numbers, began to ſurround them. The earls of Arundel and Northampton advanced their line to ſuſtain the prince, who, ardent in his firſt feat of arms, ſet an example of valour, which was imitated by all his followers. The battle now became for ſome time hot and dangerous, and the earl of Warwick, apprehenſive of the event, from the ſuperior numbers of the French, diſpatched an officer to the king, deſiring him to ſend ſuccours to the relief of the prince. Edward had choſen his ſtation on the top of the hill; and ſurveyed in tranquillity the ſcene of action. When the meſſenger accoſted him, his firſt queſtion was, whether the prince was ſlain or wounded. And on receiving an anſwer in the negative, "Return, ſaid he, to my ſon, and tell him "that I reſerve the honour of this day to him: I "am confident he will ſhow himſelf worthy of the "honour of knighthood, which I ſo lately con-"ferred upon him: he will be able, without my "aſſiſtance, to repel the enemy." This ſpeech being reported to the prince and his attendants, inſpired them with freſh courage: they made an attack, with redoubled fury, on the French, in which the count de Alençon was ſlain: the whole line of cavalry was thrown into confuſion; the riders were killed or diſmounted; the Welſh infantry ruſhed into the thickeſt part of the combat, and with their long knives diſpatched all who had fallen; nor was there any quarter given that day by the conquerors.

In vain the king of France advanced with the rear to ſuſtain the line commanded by his brother: he found them already defeated; and their rout increaſed their confuſion, before but too prevalent in his own body. He had himſelf a horſe killed under him; he was remounted: and though left almoſt alone, ſtill ſeemed determined to maintain the combat, when John d'Hainault ſeized the reins of his bridle, turned about his horſe, and carried him off the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight; and were followed and put to the ſword by the victors, till the darkneſs of the night put an end to the purſuit. The king on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and exclaimed "My brave ſon, perſevere "in your honourable courſe: you are my ſon; for "you have valiantly acquitted yourſelf to day: "you have ſhown yourſelf worthy of empire!"

This battle which is known by the name of the battle of Creſſy, began after three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening. The next morning was foggy; and as the Engliſh obſerved, that many of the enemy had loſt their way in the night and in the miſt, they had recourſe to a ſtratagem to bring them into their power. They erected on the eminences ſome French ſtandards they had taken in the battle; and all who were allured by the falſe ſignal were put to the ſword, no quarter being given. In excuſe for this inhumanity, it was alledged, that the French king had iſſued ſimilar orders to his troops; but the real reaſon ſeems to have been, the dangerous ſituation of the Engliſh, which would not ſuffer them to be encumbered with priſoners.

Such was the iſſue of this famous battle: and it is but juſtice to obſerve, that had it been poſſible to have defended France that day, the hands employed for that purpoſe muſt have done it. Many of the principal noblity of that kingdom fell in the conteſt; among whom were the dukes of Lorrain and Bourbon, the earls of Flanders, Blois, Harcourt, Vaudemont and Aumale. The kings alſo of Bohemia and Majorca were ſlain. The former was blind through age, and diſtinguiſhed by his inviolable attachment to the royal family of France; bore the fatigues of the campaign with admirable conſtancy, and prevailed on his ſon, who afterwards filled the imperial throne, to join in the ſame cauſe. His ſon had a very dangerous poſt in the battle, and his father, on enquiring where he was, requeſted two of his knights who attended him, to lead him into the thickeſt part of the battle. They obeyed his requeſt, and leſt any accident ſhould ſeparate them from his perſon, placed him in the middle, and interlaced the reins of their horſes with one another. This being performed, they rode to the place where the prince of Wales fought in perſon, and the brave old king, after interchanging ſome blows with that young hero, was cut in pieces, and his dead body, together with thoſe of his attendants, were afterwards found among the ſlain, with their horſes ſtanding by them, joined together by the reins of their bridles. His creſt was three oſtrich feathers, and his motto two German words, ICH DIEN, I ſerve: which the prince of Wales and his ſucceſſors adopted in memory of this remarkable victory. It would be tedious to enumerate the actions of the principal perſons who fell in this battle; let it ſuffice to ſay, that the French loſt, by a moderate computation, twelve hundred knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, and about thirty thouſand men of inferior rank: a loſs

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the more remarkable when compared with that of the Engliſh, which amounted to no more than three knights, one eſquire, and very few of inferior rank.

As Edward was in the midſt of an enemy's country, he ordered his army to encamp upon the field of battle. The next morning preſented a dreadful ſcene of ſlaughter: and Edward, before he left the bloody ſpot, piouſly commanded it to be conſecrated, for the burial of the dead, and humanely ordered the greateſt care to be taken of the wounded. Nor was Edward ſo elated by his preſent proſperity, as to imagine himſelf in a condition to make a total conqueſt of France, or even of any conſiderable province: he only propoſed to ſecure an eaſy entrance into that kingdom, which might afterwards open a way to more moderate advantages. He knew the extreme diſtance of Guienne; he had experienced the difficulty and uncertainty of penetrating on the ſide of the Low Countries, where he had now loſt the greater part of his authority ſince the death of Ardevelt. The king therefore limited his ambition to the conqueſt of Calais. In his march thither he burnt Vaubon and Seram, took St. Joſſe and Eſtaples, deſtroyed the villages, and waſted all the country to the very gates of Boulogne; and about the ſeventh of September preſented himſelf, at the head of his victorious army, before the gates of Calais.

That place was then governed by John de Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, who knowing the place was ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for defence, encouraged the townſmen to perform the duty they owed to their king and country, to the utmoſt of their power. Edward, on being informed of this reſolution, and ſenſible that it would be in vain to attempt the reduction of the town by aſſault, propoſed to reduce it by famine. He therefore choſe a ſecure ſtation for his camp; drew entrenchments round the whole city; raiſed huts for his ſoldiers, which he covered with ſtraw and broom, and provided his army with every convenience, for enabling them to endure the inclemencies of the winter ſeaſon, which was now approaching. The governor ſoon perceiving his intention, put out all the uſeleſs mouths, which might conſume his proviſions; and the king had the generoſity to permit theſe unhappy people to paſs through his camp, and even ſupplied them with money for their journey. But as this ſiege continued for near a twelvemonth, we muſt leave Edward with his army before Calais, in order to attend the war carried on in other quarters.

The caſtle of Aguillon was ſtill blocked up by the French, under the command of the duke of Normandy, who loſt great numbers of his men during the ſiege; but ſeemed reſolved to take the place. After the battle of Creſſy, however, Philip ſent him peremptory orders to raiſe the ſeige, and march his army towards Paris. This retreat gave the earl of Derby an opportunity of favouring a briſk ſally made by the garriſon commanded by lord Walter Manny, upon the rear of the French, and of collecting all his forces into one body. He now paſſed the river Garrone, between Bourdeaux and Blaye, took by ſtorm the caſtle of Mirabel, Mortaigne in Poictou, Aunay, Surgieres and Benon; but the ſtrong caſtle of St. John d'Angely ſurrendered by capitulation. He next took and demoliſhed the town and caſtle of Luſignan; but was repulſed in the vigorous attack he made upon Niort. This did not however diſcourage him from attempting Bourg St. Maximiere, which he took by ſtorm, and put the garriſon to the ſword. In ſhort his ſucceſſes were ſo rapid, and ſtruck the French with ſuch aſtoniſhment and inactivity, that he met with very little reſiſtance till he came to Monſtruille-Boinin. He took this place by ſtorm, and gave the plunder, which was very conſiderable, to his ſoldiers. He then directed his march towards Bourdeaux, where he intended to put his army into winter quarters; but in his rout, partly by force and partly by addreſs, he made himſelf maſter of the rich and ſtrong city of Poictiers. There he refreſhed his ſoldiers for twelve days: but the largeneſs of the place obliged him to leave it ungarriſoned. This gave the inhabitants an opportunity of repairing the fortifications, and attempting, by way of repriſal, to retake Luſignan, where they were ſhamefully defeated.

In the mean time Charles de Blois invaded the province of Britany with a conſiderable army, and inveſted the fortreſs of Roche de Rien; but the counteſs of Montfort, reinforced by ſome Engliſh troops under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked the French in their intrenchments during the night, diſperſed the whole army, and took Charles de Blois priſoner. His wife, by whom he enjoyed his pretenſions to Britany, compelled by the preſent neceſſity, took upon herſelf the government of the party; and proved herſelf, in every reſpect, a formidable rival to the counteſs of Montfort, both in the field, and in the cabinet. And while theſe heroic ladies aſtoniſhed all Europe with their extraordinary actions, another princeſs in England, of ſtill higher rank, ſhewed herſelf equally capable of exerting every manly virtue.

When Edward made his late invaſion of France, David king of Scotland, was ſtrongly ſollicited to break his engagements with England, and invade the northern parts of that kingdom. The Scottiſh nobility being always forward in ſuch incurſions, prevailed upon David to break his truce with Edward, collect an army of fifty thouſand men, and enter the territories of England. As he advanced he laid the whole country waſte, and extended his ravages to the gates of Durham.

He did not, however, continue his devaſtations with impunity. Queen Philippa, aſſembling a body of twelve thouſand men, whom ſhe intruſted to the command of lord Piercy, ventured to approach the Scottiſh monarch, then at Neville's Croſs near the city of Durham. As ſoon as her troops arrived in ſight of the enemy, and were drawn up in order of battle, the queen rode through the ranks, exhorting every man to do his duty, and revenge, on theſe barbarous ravagers, the injuries they had offered to the Engliſh: nor could ſhe be perſuaded to leave the field till the armies were on the point of engaging.

The battle was begun with a ſhower of arrows, ſent by the archers of both armies; but the Engliſh having greatly the advantage, the high ſteward of Scotland charged the Engliſh ſword in hand, and put the firſt rank into ſuch diſorder, that they fell back upon lord Piercy's main body, which the Scotch were upon the point of routing, when the Engliſh were very ſeaſonably reinforced by a body of four thouſand horſe, who advanced under the lord Baliol, and charged the enemy with the utmoſt fury. Thus diſappointed of their victory, the

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Scots, inſtead of endeavouring to renew the fight, made an excellent retreat. Baliol not chuſing to follow them wheeled round to attack the diviſion commanded by David his rival, and here the battle became general; for David who poſſeſſed all the high ſpirit of a hero, and particularly jealous that the honour tranſmitted to him by his father, ſhould not periſh in his hands, fought with remarkable courage, even after his diviſion was flanked with freſh forces under the Engliſh generals. At firſt he expected that the body which had retreated under the high ſteward, would have wheeled, and fallen upon the rear of the enemy; but he was deceived, and nothing but his own perſonal valour could have prevented an immediate rout; for his nobility, aſhamed to ſee ſo brave a prince ſurrounded by his enemies, threw themſelves into a circular form, and oppoſed on all ſides, the attacks of the Engliſh. But the diſpute was unequal, and not above eighty of his faithful ſubjects were left about the perſon of the gallant king, who, tho' wounded by an arrow, diſdained to aſk for quarters. At laſt, ſinking under the loſs of blood, he conſented to deliver up his ſword to ſome perſon of quality. Upon this John Capland, a ſoldier, aſſuring David that he was an Engliſh baron, the king threw him his gauntlet, in token of being his priſoner. During this conteſt, the diviſions under the earls of Murray and Douglas, were ſtill entire, though unable to aſſiſt their king. They, however, did all in their power to retrieve the battle, but were ſoon cut to pieces, the earl of Murray was killed, and the earl of Douglas taken priſoner.

This battle had decided the fate of Scotland, had not the Engliſh been more intent upon plundering the enemy than purſuing their advantages they had acquired. All the plunder taken by the Scots, during their invaſion, was recovered, and many valuable particulars taken from the enemy. The loſs of the Scots was very great, not leſs than fifteen, ſome ſay twenty, thouſand of them being ſlain, among whom were many of the nobility, particularly Edward Keith, earl Mareſchal, and Sir Thomas Charteris, chancellor. Beſides the king himſelf, the earls of Southerland, Fife, Montieth, Carric, lord Douglas, and many other noblemen were taken priſoners.

Philippa having ſecured her royal priſoner in the tower, croſſed the ſea at Dover, and was received in the Engliſh camp, before Calais, with all the triumph due to her rank, her merit, and her ſucceſs. This age was indeed the reign of chivalry and gallantry: Edward's court excelled in theſe accompliſhments as much as in policy and arms; and if any thing could juſtify that obſequious devotion then profeſſed to the fair ſex, it muſt be the appearance of ſuch extraordinary women, as ſhone forth during that period of time.

A. D. 1347. During theſe tranſactions the town of Calais had been defended with remarkable vigilance, conſtancy, and bravery, by the inhabitants, during a ſiege of unuſual length: but Philip, informed of their diſtreſſed condition, determined at laſt to attempt their relief. Accordingly he approached the Engliſh at the head of an immenſe army, ſaid to have conſiſted at leaſt of two hundred thouſand men. But on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Calais, he found the Engliſh camp ſo ſurrounded with moraſſes, and ſecured by intrenchments, that without running on inevitable deſtruction, he found it impoſible to attack the enemy. He had now no other reſource left, than to ſend his rival a vain challenge to meet him in the open field, which being refuſed, he was obliged to decamp with his army, and diſperſe his troops in the ſeveral provinces.

In this diſtreſs, John de Vienne, ſaw the neceſſity of ſurrendering his fortreſs, which was reduced to the laſt extremity by famine and fatigue. He appeared on the walls, and made a ſignal to the Engliſh centinels, that he deſired a conference, and Sir Walter Manny was ſent to him by Edward. "Brave knight, ſaid the governor, I have been "intruſted, by my ſovereign, with the command "of this town; it is almoſt a year ſince you be-"ſieged me, and I have endeavoured, as well as "thoſe under me, to do our duty. You are ac-"quainted with our preſent condition: we are "periſhing with hunger, and without hopes of re-"lief: I am therefore willing to ſurrender, and "deſire, as the ſole condition, to inſure the lives "and liberties of thoſe brave men, who have ſo "long ſhared with me every danger and fatigue."

Manny replied, that he was well acquainted with the king of England's intention; that Edward was incenſed againſt the townſmen of Calais for their pertinacious reſiſtance, and for the evils they had made him and his ſubjects ſuffer; that he was determined to take exemplary vengeance of them, and would not receive the town on any conditions which ſhould confine him in the puniſhment of theſe offenders. "Is this, replied Vienne, the "treatment brave men are entitled to? Would not "your maſter have expected the ſame conduct "from any Engliſh knight whom he had intruſted "with the command of a fortreſs? The inhabi-"tants of Calais have done nothing more than "their duty, and ſhould therefore be pleaſing "rather than offenſive to Edward. But I will in-"form you, ſir, that if we muſt periſh, we ſhall "not periſh unrevenged; and that we are not yet "reduced to ſuch extremities, but our lives will "ſtill coſt the victor dear. Nature and humanity "jointly plead againſt ſuch deſperate extremities, "and I am even perſuaded that ſo brave a knight "as yourſelf, will interpoſe your good offices with "your prince, and labour to procure our pardon."

Struck with the juſtneſs of theſe ſentiments, and deſirous of ſaving the lives of perſons who had defended themſelves with ſo much bravery, Manny made uſe of all his credit, and pleaded with the utmoſt earneſtneſs in behalf of the diſtreſſed inhabitants of Calais. He repreſented to the king the danger of reprizals, if he ſhould treat them with rigour. Theſe reaſons were not entirely loſt upon Edward; he was prevailed upon to mitigate the rigour of the conditions at firſt demanded; and inſiſted only that ſix of the moſt conſiderable citizens ſhould be ſent to his camp, to be diſpoſed of as he thought proper; that they ſhould come to the camp bare headed, with ropes about their necks, and carrying in their hands the keys of their city. He added, that if theſe conditions were accepted, the lives of all the reſt ſhould be ſpared, otherwiſe he would treat the whole with the utmoſt rigour.

When this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, the inhabitants were ſtruck with amazement and horror. They thought it a crime againſt nature to ſacrifice ſix of their fellow citizens, for no other crime than that of ſignalizing their valour in the defence

defence of their country, and ſeemed deſirous of prefering the ſentence of a general, to that of a particular puniſhment. Some time was ſpent in deliberations without coming to any determinate reſolution. At laſt one of the principal inhabitants, called Euſtace de St. Pierre aroſe, and with the ſpirit of a Roman Curtius, devoted himſelf for the preſervation of his friends and companions. His generous example was followed by three of his relations, and two others. Theſe ſix heroic burgeſſes marched out of the city dreſſed like malefactors, through crowds of weeping kindred and friends, as the victims of hoſtile indignation. When they came before Edward, they fell at his feet, offering him the keys of their city. The king, who ſtood encircled by his officers and troops all drawn out, gave orders for the ſix burgeſſes to be put inſtantly to death. In vain did the noblemen about him endeavour to inſpire him with compaſſion for thoſe unhappy men; he was deaf to their intreaties, and refuſed to grant their requeſt. But tho' manly eloquence was ineffectual, the voice of affection was irreſiſtable. The queen, then big with child, fell on her knees, and with all the perſuaſive accents of love, implored his forgiveneſs. Edward's anger was now diſarmed, and compaſſion gained the aſcendant in his breaſt. The dreadful ſentence was recalled; the queen carried theſe heroic burgeſſes to her tent, ordered a repaſt to be ſet before them, and after making them a preſent of money and cloaths, diſmiſſed them in ſafety.

Edward now took poſſeſſion of Calais, and after cloathing and feeding the inhabitants, ordered them to evacuate the place, intending to people it entirely with Engliſh; retaining only a prieſt and two old men, as neceſſary for giving him the requiſite information with regard to the conſtitution of the place.

His entry into Calais was very magnificent, he cauſed the fortifications to be repaired, and new ones to be erected; he publiſhed proclamations in every part of England, for encouraging all merchants and others to repair to Calais, and people the town. This had the deſired effect, and the king made it the ſtaple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not the only commodities of the kingdom, for which there was any conſiderable demand at foreign markets. All the Engliſh were obliged to bring theſe goods to Calais, where foreign merchants reſorted to purchaſe them; and at a period when poſts were not eſtabliſhed, and when the communication between kingdoms was ſo imperfect, this inſtitution, though doubtleſs unfavourable to the navigation of England, was perhaps, of advantage to the kingdom in general.

A negotiation was now ſet on foot between Edward and Philip under the mediation of the pope's legates, and a truce was ſoon after concluded, which was to continue till the ninth of July following. As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, Edward returned to England, where he was received by his ſubjects as a being ſuperior to humanity. He had then many illuſtrious priſoners, beſides the king of Scotland, Charles de Blois, and the conſtable of France; and as he had a natural turn for magnificence, the winter was ſpent in grand tournaments, at which all his priſoners were invited to aſſiſt. This gave them a very favourable idea of the Engliſh monarch, who appeared as amiable in peace, as he had been terrible in war.

A. D. 1348. England now ſeemed to have attained the zenith of power. But the prodigious extenſion of commerce throughout the kingdom, the incredible influx of riches, by having all the moveables of the moſt opulent provinces in France carried into England, joined to the natural plenty of the ſeaſons, introduced luxury, and threatened to revenge, on the victors, the cauſe of France. Refinements in the methods of living, dreſs, and furniture became common. The plain ſide-boards hitherto adorned with veſſels and other utenſils of wood, now glittered with gold and ſilver plate, and the native charms of the Engliſh ladies were heightened with the reflected rays of jewels and embroidery. But this was not all, it was an age of heroines. The queen of England, the counteſs of Montfort, and the lady of Charles de Blois, with many other of the moſt exalted ranks, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the field; and thence private ladies affected, by an aukward imitation, diſtinctions foreign to their ſex. This prepoſterous cuſtom was encouraged by the manners of the court, the moſt glorious that had been ſeen during many ages in Europe. But the plague which ſoon after broke out in ſeveral parts of Europe, and extended itſelf to England, brought them back to a juſt ſenſe of what they owed to their ſex and to their duty. This dreadful viſitation of Providence rendered it alſo neceſſary for the kings of France and England to prolong the truce concluded at Calais.

A. D. 1349. When Edward made himſelf maſter of Calais, he gave the command of that important place to Aimery de Pavia, a gentleman of Lombardy, who had diſcovered both bravery and conduct in the late war with France, but was an utter ſtranger to every principle of honour and fidelity. This man agreed to deliver up Calais to Geoffrey de Charni, commander of the French forces in theſe quarters, for the ſum of twenty thouſand crowns. Geoffrey well knew, that if he ſucceeded in this ſervice, his conduct would not be diſavowed by Philip, notwithſtanding the truce. He therefore ventured, without conſulting his maſter, to conclude the treaty with Aimery. But the treacherous behaviour of the Italian was not long a ſecret to Edward: his ſecretary had informed the Engliſh monarch of the whole tranſaction; and Edward, without giving the governor the leaſt intimation of his being acquainted with his conduct, ſummoned him to London, on other pretences. After enquiring particularly into the ſtate of the garriſon, he charged him with the guilt, but promiſed him his life, on condition he would turn the contrivance to the deſtruction of the enemy. Aimery readily agreed to this double treachery: a day was appointed for the admiſſion of the French; and Edward, having prepared a force of a thouſand men, under Sir Walter Manny, departed ſecretly from London, taking with him the prince of Wales, and without being in the leaſt ſuſpected, arrived at Calais in the evening before the day appointed for delivering up the place. He immediately made a proper diſpoſition for the reception of the enemy, and kept all his forces, as well as the garriſon, under arms. On the appearance of Charni, a choſen troop of French ſoldiers was admitted at the poſtern, and Aimery receiving the ſtipulated ſum, promiſed that, with their aſſiſtance, he would immediately open the great gate to the enemy, who were waiting with im-

patience for the fulfilling of his engagement. But a very different fortune attended them. All the French that entered by the poſtern were immediately ſlain or taken priſoners; the great gate opened; Edward ruſhed out with cries of battle and of victory: the French, though aſtoniſhed at this event, behaved with valour. They found they were betrayed, but determined to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. Accordingly a fierce and bloody engagement enſued. As the morning broke, Edward, who was not diſtinguiſhed by his arms, and who fought as a private man under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, remarked a French gentleman, called Euſtace de Ribaumont, who exerted himſelf with ſingular vigour and bravery, and was ſeized with a deſire of engaging him in ſingle combat. He accordingly ſtept forth from his troop, and challenging Ribaumont, began a ſharp and dangerous encounter. He was twice beat to the ground by the valour of the Frenchman, and as often recovered himſelf. Blows were redoubled with equal force on both ſides, and the victory remained undecided, till Ribaumont, perceiving himſelf almoſt alone, ſurrendered his ſword in Edward's hand. Moſt of the French being overpowered by numbers, and intercepted in their retreat, were either ſlain or taken priſoners.

All the French officers, who had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, were conducted into Calais, where Edward diſcovered to them the antagoniſt with whom they had been engaged, and treated them with great reſpect and courteſy. They were admitted to ſup with the prince of Wales, and the Engliſh nobility; and after ſupper, the king himſelf came into the apartment, paſſed round the table, and converſed familiarly with many of his priſoners. He even addreſſed himſelf in an obliging manner to Charni, and avoided reproaching him with the treacherous attempt he had made upon Calais during the truce. But Ribaumont was diſtinguiſhed in a very particular manner; the king beſtowed the higheſt compliments on his intrepid behaviour; called him the moſt valorous knight he was ever acquainted with, and confeſſed that he never was in ſo much danger as when he was engaged with him in ſingle combat. Then taking a chaplet of pearls from his own head, he placed it upon that of Ribaumont, deſiring him to wear it for his ſake, and conſider it as a teſtimony of his eſteem for true valour; adding, "You are, ſir, no longer a priſo-"ner; I acquit you of your ranſom, and you are "at liberty to-morrow to diſpoſe of yourſelf in "whatever manner you may think proper."

During this interval of peace, Edward, to promote ſtill farther the ſpirit of emulation and obedience, inſtituted the order of the garter, in imitation of ſome orders of a ſimilar nature, both religious and military, which had been eſtabliſhed in different parts of Europe. The number received into this order conſiſted of twenty-four perſons beſides the ſovereign; and as the number has never been enlarged, this badge of diſtinction ſtill continues as honourable as at its firſt inſtitution. A vulgar ſtory prevails, though not ſupported by any ancient authority, that, at a court ball, Edward's miſtreſs, ſuppoſed to be the counteſs of Saliſbury, dropt her garter, and the king taking it up, obſerved ſome of the courtiers to ſmile, as if he had not obtained this favour merely by accident: upon which he cried out *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*, evil to him that evil thinks; and as every incident of gallantry among theſe ancient warriors, was magnified into a matter of the laſt importance, he inſtituted the order of the garter in memory of this event, and gave the above words as the motto of the order.

In the mean time the peſtilence extended its ravages in a moſt alarming manner. It began in the northern parts of Aſia, and after ſpreading over all that country, entered Europe and continued its deſtruction from one extremity to the other; depopulating, in a great meaſure, every kingdom and ſtate through which it paſſed. Above fifty thouſand perſons are ſaid to have periſhed by it in London only.

About this time Philip de Valois, king of France paid the debt of nature, without being able to reeſtabliſh the affairs of France, which his unfortunate campaign againſt the Engliſh had thrown into the greateſt diſorder. He was ſucceeded by his ſon John, a prince diſtinguiſhed by many virtues, particularly a ſcrupulous honour and fidelity. Nor was he deficient in perſonal courage: but wanting that maſterly prudence and foreſight, which his difficult ſituation required, his kingdom was at that time torn to pieces by inteſtine commotions, and oppreſſed with foreign wars. But the principal ſource of all its misfortunes was Charles king of Navarre, diſtinguiſhed by the epithet *bad* or *wicked*, and whoſe actions were very conformable to that appellation. He was courteous, affable, engaging, eloquent; full of inſinuation and addreſs; inexhauſtible in his reſources; active and enterprizing. But theſe ſplendid accompliſhments were, at the ſame time, attended with ſuch defects, as rendered them at once pernicious to his country, and deſtructive to himſelf: he was fickle, inconſtant, faithleſs, revengeful, malicious: reſtrained by no principle or duty: inſatiable in his pretenſions: and whether ſucceſsful or unfortunate in one enterprize, he immediately undertook another, in which he was never deterred from employing the moſt criminal, and moſt diſhonourable expedients.

He had been guilty of many crimes and treaſons againſt the crown of France, and juſtly apprehended that the moſt exemplary vengeance would be taken on him whenever John was in a capacity to effect it. He therefore entered into a ſecret correſpondence with England, by means of Henry, earl of Derby, now earl of Lancaſter, who was then employed in fruitleſs negotiations for a peace at Avignon, under the mediation of the pope. This correſpondence was not, however, long a ſecret; John found means to diſcover the whole, and to prevent the fatal conſequences that might reſult from it, ſent a conſiderable number of forces into Normandy, the chief ſeat of the king of Navarre's power, and attacked his caſtles and fortreſſes. But being informed that Edward was preparing an army to ſupport his ally, he had the weakneſs to propoſe an accommodation with Charles, and even to purchaſe a reconciliation with this traiterous ſubject, at the price of an hundred thouſand crowns. But this pretended reconciliation rendered him a ſtill more dangerous enemy.

Though all Europe was now ſeeking reſpite from the miſeries of war, inveterate rancour reigned in the minds of the two fair competitors in Britany. There acts of hoſtility were ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the late truce; and Dagworth, who commanded

commanded the Engliſh forces in the ſervice of the counteſs of Montfort, was, about this time, unfortunately killed in an ambuſcade of the French. This, and other hoſtilities of a ſimilar nature, induced the earl of Lancaſter to make an irruption into the French dominions, where, after taking above forty towns and caſtles in about ten days, ſat down before the city of Thouloufe. But not being able to take the place, he ſet fire to the ſuburbs, and after drawing off his troops, agreed to a renewal of the truce within the extent of his command. This prevented Edward from taking, as he intended, the field in perſon.

But a new foe now ſtarted up againſt Edward. The French had found means to engage the Spaniards ſo fully in their intereſt, that they interrupted the Engliſh navigation and commerce, and even burnt a fleet of Engliſh merchant ſhips lying in Sluiſe, laden with wine. Edward's marine was now on ſo reſpectable a footing, that it was not reaſonable to imagine he would patiently ſubmit to ſuch an indignity. He inſtantly embarked at Sandwich, taking with him the prince of Wales, the earls of Warwick, Northampton, and Saliſbury, with many more of his beſt officers, and ſailed in queſt of the enemy's fleet, which conſiſted of forty ſail of very large ſhips, all well manned and armed. The Engliſh, whoſe ſhips were much ſmaller, and lower built than thoſe of the Spaniards, ſoon came up with the enemy, and a moſt obſtinate fight enſued, in which Edward depended chiefly on his archers for clearing the decks of the enemy. He was not diſappointed; they performed the taſk ſo ſucceſsfully, that, notwithſtanding the Spaniards were ſuperior at the beginning of the engagement, they were obliged, after fighting a whole day, to have recourſe to flight, and leave ſeventeen of their beſt ſhips in the hands of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1351. The peſtilence which had ſo long raged in different parts of Europe, was now greatly abated, and in proportion as health returned, the paſſion for war, which ſeemed to ſlumber under the afflicting rod of Providence, was revived. The truce between France and England was only obſerved when neither party found it their intereſt not to break it; and the French had now formed a kind of blockade round Calais, by poſſeſſing themſelves of all the roads leading to the town, and cutting off all communication between the garriſon and the adjacent country. This determined the Engliſh governor, Sir John Beauchamp, to ſcour the roads at the head of a party conſiſting of five hundred men. In one of theſe incurſions he was attacked by a ſuperior number of French, and though he behaved with the utmoſt bravery, and killed the French commander with his own hand, yet being oppoſed by freſh numbers, he was, at laſt, overpowered and taken priſoner, having loſt almoſt his whole detachment in the unequal conteſt.

Beauchamp was ſucceeded in the government of Calais by Sir Robert Herle, who revenged the captivity of his predeceſſor, by making ſeveral inroads, and laying the greater part of the adjacent country deſolate. Hoſtilities now roſe to ſuch a height, that Edward ſent over the duke of Lancaſter, to carry on the war, which was continued with various ſucceſs, for ſome years.

A. D. 1355. During theſe tranſactions, the king of Navarre, inſolent from paſt impunity, and deſperate from impending dangers, ſtill continued his intrigues; and aſſociating himſelf with Geoffrey de Harcourt, who had received his pardon from the late king of France, but perſevered ſtill in factious diſpoſitions, he increaſed his partizans in different parts of the kingdom. He even ſeduced, by his addreſs, Charles, the king of France's eldeſt ſon, a youth of ſeventeen years of age, the firſt that bore the title of Dauphin, by the re union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. But this prince being made ſenſible of the danger and folly of ſuch connections, promiſed to make an atonement for the offence, by the ſacrifice of his aſſociates. Accordingly he invited the king of Navarre and ſeveral noblemen of the party to a feaſt at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of the king of France. Some of the moſt obnoxious were led immediately to execution; and the king of Navarre was thrown into priſon. But this treacherous conduct of the Dauphin, and act of ſeverity in the king, was far from being followed by the conſequences intended. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffrey de Harcourt, put all the towns and caſtles belonging to that prince into a proper defence; and applied immediately to England for protection in this deſperate extremity.

Pleaſed with the many factions that now exiſted in France, Edward determined to attack the enemy in two places at once; on the ſide of Guienne by an army under the command of the prince of Wales; and by that of Calais by a ſtill ſuperior force commanded by himſelf in perſon. He found that as the parties increaſed in France his power there augmented; and that what his pretenſions to the crown could not procure, had been effected by a ſpirit of oppoſition.

The prince arrived ſafe in Gaſcony, attended by the earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, Oxford, Suffolk, and other noblemen, and on muſtering his army found it amounted to ſixty thouſand men. He was ſoon after joined by the vaſſals of Gaſcony, and immediately took the field, and carried on with impunity his ravages and devaſtations, according to the method of making war in that age. He reduced all the villages as well as ſeveral towns in Languedoc to aſhes. He preſented himſelf before Thouloufe, paſſed the Garonne, burnt the ſuburbs of Carcaſſone, and advanced to the gates of Narbonne, laying all the country deſolate through which he paſſed. Six weeks were ſpent in this incurſion, when young Edward returned with a vaſt booty, and many priſoners to Guienne, where he put his army into winter quarters.

This prodigious ſucceſs determined Edward to ſupport his ſon by making a powerful diverſion on the ſide of Calais. Accordingly he ordered a rendezvous of all his military tenants to be held at Sandwich; and landed about the beginning of October at Calais, where he was joined by a thouſand men at arms from Flanders and Brabant. Edward was attended by his ſons Lionel, earl of Ulſter, and John of Ghent, earl of Richmond, the duke of Lancaſter, the earls of Northampton and Stafford, the lord Walter Manny, and ſeveral other noblemen of great rank and experience in war. His deſcent was expected by John, who lay at Amiens, and advanced as far as St. Omers, at the head of a powerful army. But not chuſing to engage the Engliſh monarch, he retreated and was followed by Edward as far as Heſdin. John, however, ſtill kept

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at a diſtance; and Edward finding it impoſſible to bring the enemy to an engagement returned to Calais, from whence he paſſed over into England, to defend that kingdom againſt the Scots, who now threatened to invade the northern parts of the nation.

They had taken advantage of Edward's abſence, ſurprized Berwic, and collected a body of troops, with a view of entering and committing ravages on the northern parts of the kingdom. But on the approach of the Engliſh monarch, they abandoned that town, and retiring to their mountains, left the enemy at full liberty to lay waſte the whole country between Berwic and Edinburgh. Baliol attended Edward in this expedition, and perceiving his life was drawing to a period through age and infirmities, and at the ſame time, that his adherence to Engliſh intereſt had inſpired his countrymen with an unconquerable averſion to his title, he finally reſigned into Edward's hands his pretenſions to the crown of Scotland, and received an annual penſion of two thouſand pounds, with which he paſſed the remainder of his days in peace and retirement.

A. D. 1356. In the mean time, the war was continued with great vigour in France. The prince of Wales, encouraged by his late ſucceſs, took the field early in the ſpring, at the head of twelve thouſand men, and ventured, with this ſmall force, to penetrate into the heart of France. Edward had ſent over a ſmall force to aſſiſt the king of Navarre, under the command of the lord Miles Stapleton, a knight of the garter, with a promiſe that he ſhould be further ſupported by the duke of Lancaſter, who was appointed commander in Britany. This occaſioned a powerful diverſion in Normandy, where the friends of the king of Navarre ſtill held ſeveral places, and had fortified the iſle of Contentin againſt John. The French monarch, thus ſurrounded by armies, was perplexed with regard to the part he ought to act. At laſt, perceiving that the duke of Lancaſter was too ſtrongly ſituated; that Edward had rendered Calais almoſt impregnable; and, that the prince of Wales, though the moſt active, commanded the weakeſt army, he determined to march againſt that young general. In the mean time the prince, after ravaging the Agenois, Quercy, and Limouſin, entered the province of Berry, and made ſome unſucceſsful attacks upon the towns of Bourges and Iſſoudun. It appeared that his intentions were to march into Normandy, and to join his forces with thoſe under the duke of Lancaſter, augmented by the partizans of the king of Navarre; but finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every paſs carefully guarded, he was obliged to change his intentions, and think of making his retreat into Guienne. This reſolution he found the more neceſſary to be purſued on account of the motions of the king of France, who, provoked at the inſult offered him by this incurſion, and entertaining the moſt ſanguine expectations from the temerity of the young prince, had collected an army of ſixty thouſand men, was advancing with haſty marches to intercept the enemy. The prince, who had not received proper intelligence of the French monarch's approach, loſt ſome days in his retreat before the caſtle of Remorantin, which gave the enemy an opportunity of overtaking him. The two armies came within ſight of each other at Maupertuis, near Poictiers, and young Edward, ſenſible that his retreat was now abſolutely impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and all the prudence of the oldeſt and moſt conſummate general.

John now conſidered the prince of Wales as already his priſoner; but he was fatally miſtaken. The young prince, had indeed, occaſion for every ſpark of thoſe divine qualities which diſtinguiſh the hero from the man, and ſtamp actions with immortality. He found a ſimilarity between his own ſituation and that of his father at Creſſy, though the preſent difficulties were far greater. He was ſurrounded by an army ſo diſproportioned to his own, that even hope itſelf was preſumptuous. He could ſpare no party to gain intelligence, ſo that he was entirely ignorant of the enemy's deſigns. All he could do was to intrench himſelf in the moſt convenient poſt he could find, and there wait the approach of the enemy. The two nights preceding the battle were ſpent in making ſuch diſpoſitions among the hedges, vines, and buſhes, which ſurrounded his camp, as to render the approach of the enemy as dangerous and difficult as poſſible. But the utmoſt ſtretch of human prudence muſt have been rendered abortive, had the king of France known how to make a proper uſe of his preſent advantages. His vaſt ſuperiority in numbers enabled him to ſurround the enemy, and by intercepting all their proviſions, which were already become ſcarce in the Engliſh camp, to reduce this ſmall army, without a blow, to the neceſſity of ſurrendering at diſcretion. But ſuch was the impatient ardor of the French nobility, and ſo much had their minds been fixed on overtaking the Engliſh as their ſole object, that this idea never ſtruck any of the commanders, and they immediately made preparations for the attack, as for a certain victory. John, however, thought it neceſſary to order ſome of his beſt generals to reconnoitre the ſituation of the Engliſh army before the aſſault was given. They performed their orders with great preciſion, and declared in their report, that the prince had made ſo wiſe a diſpoſition with his handful of men, by lining the hedges, incloſing a narrow lane, the only way by which the Engliſh main body could be attacked, that they would be able to flank their enemies to great advantage: that at the termination of this lane, through which only four horſes could paſs a-breaſt, there was a ſquare battalion compoſed of the flower of the Engliſh archers, which it was neceſſary to break, before the French could profit by their numbers. They therefore propoſed that the attack ſhould begin by a ſquadron of three hundred horſe, picked out of all the army, and ſupported by the reſt of the cavalry diſmounted, except the German cuiraſſiers.

This reſolution being agreed to, the French army was drawn up in order of battle, but before the aſſault was made, the operations were ſuſpended by the arrival of the cardinal of Perigord; who having learned that the two armies were on the point of engaging, haſtened to the field of battle, and interpoſed his good offices to prevent the farther effuſion of chriſtian blood. This prelate was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about a peace; he remonſtrated with John on the danger of puſhing an enemy to deſpair, when he might ſubdue them by negotiation; and to the prince, the impiety of ſacrificing his handful of troops to inevitable deſtruction. Edward told him, that he would

would liſten to any terms conſiſtent with his own honour and that of his country, and offered to purchaſe a retreat by reſigning all the conqueſts he had made during this and the preceding campaign, and by ſtipulating not to ſerve againſt France during ſeven years. But John, imagining that he had now got into his hands a ſufficient pledge for the reſtitution of Calais, required that Edward ſhould ſurrender himſelf priſoner together with an hundred of his attendants; and on theſe terms, he offered a ſafe retreat to the Engliſh army. The prince rejected the propoſal with diſdain; and declared that whatever fortune might attend him, England ſhould never be obliged to pay the price of his ranſom. This ſpirited reſolution cut off all hopes of accommodation; but as the day was already ſpent in negotiating, the battle was deferred till next morning. This interval however was of more prejudice to John's affairs than the moſt determined enemy. The prince of. Wales had leiſure during the night to ſtrengthen the intrenchments of his camp he had ſo judiciouſly choſen.

John was attended by his four ſons, and all the princes and nobility of France. His army when drawn up made a moſt glorious appearance, amounted to an hundred thouſand men, and the greater part of that prodigious number cavalry. It was divided into three lines, the firſt was led by the duke of Orleans, brother to the king; the ſecond by the dauphin of France, with his brothers the dukes of Anjou and Berry; and the laſt by John in perſon, accompanied by his younger ſon Philip duke of Tourrenne, with the flower of all the French nobility, nd forty thouſand of his beſt troops.

The prince of Wales was obliged to conſult the nature of his ſituation, in order to defend the ſpot he had ſo judiciouſly choſen. At the ſame time he contrived an ambuſh of three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, putting them under the command of the Capital de Buche, whom he orderd to make a circuit round an adjacent hill, and keep himſelf concealed under covert of the hedges and ditches, with which the place was ſurrounded, till the battle ſhould begin, and then fall either on the flank or rear of the French army. The van of the Engliſh was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince in perſon. The lords Chandois, Audeley, and many other brave and experienced commanders, were at the head of different corps of Edward's army.

The French monarch appeared conſpicuous over all his troops. He was mounted on a ſtately white courſer, and flew from rank to rank to inſpire his army with courage. He put them in mind that the long deſired day was arrived for revenging the many affronts offered them by the Engliſh. That he was now going to give them an opportunity of putting their threats ſo often and ſo vehemently expreſſed, in execution, and of wiping off the ſtains the arms of France had received from the ſame enemy, in the fields of Creſſy.

On the other hand the prince of Wales animated his ſoldiers with all the manly eloquence of true courage. He ſhewed them that they never could, with more glory to themſelves, and greater honour to their country, pay that debt which all mortals owe to nature: That if they conquered, their names muſt be immortal: that whatever might be the fortune of the day, they had the ſatisfacton of reflecting, that by a glorious death, they ſhould increaſe even their former luſtre, while the whole kingdom of England was ready to draw the ſword, and take ample vengeance on the foe. "As for myſelf," ſaid he, "I will here conquer or periſh."

By this time the three hundred French horſe were advancing up the lane, towards the main body of the Engliſh; but were ſo terribly galled by the earl of Warwick and the archers, that the horſes, though covered with harneſs, broke their ranks, and either fell back upon the foot, or ran madly upon the battalion of archers, commanded by the prince in perſon, where they were inſtantly deſtroyed. The diſmounted cavalry, though abandoned, or diſordered by their horſe, were ſtill advancing with great reſolution: but were ſo warmly plied by the battalions under the earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, and Suffolk, that they fell back and diſordered the German cuiraſſiers. Upon this, that part of the French which ſtood at the foot of the hill, where the Capital de Buche and his detachment were concealed, advanced under John of Clermont, in order to flank the battalions under the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk; but the Engliſh having foreſeen this, were quickly ſupported by ſo ſtrong a detachment, from the prince's diviſion, that they were ſoon cut to pieces. This occaſioned a great confuſion; which was ſeaſonably improved by the Capital de Buche, who fell unexpectedly on them with ſo much fury, that they were ſtruck with terror; the Engliſh archers plying them in front, flank, and rear, while the other infantry and cavalry, with ſwords and battle-axes, opened their thickeſt ranks, till their whole ſquadron began to give way; and at laſt, all the French, who were actually engaged in the front, fell into total confuſion, and by breaking their own ſecond line completed what their enemies had begun. But this ſucceſs was far from putting an end to the diſpute. All the houſehold troops headed by their king and their nobility, with many thouſands of the moſt diſciplined forces in Europe, remained ſtill entire under John, whom the prince of Wales advanced to attack at the head of his diviſion, at the very time when the two firſt lines of the French were broken. When this battle joined, all that paſſed before ſeemed but as a prelude of arms to a trial for victory. The prince, animated by this pledge of ſucceſs, mindful of the fields of Creſſy, his father's honour, and his country's glory, appeared to the French like a dreadful comet, bright terrible, and portending their deſtruction. The troops under the dauphin of France, who had ſuffered more by their own diſorder, than by their enemies ſwords, could not ſtand the ſhock; and Edward beheld that day three princes of the blood, at the head of their diviſions, fly at his approach. John ſaw with grief and indignation, the unmanly retreat, and ſtrove by his own actions, to wipe out the diſhonour of his family. The German cuiraſſiers had by this time recovered from their diſorder; but were ſoon diſperſed by the prince, and the greater part of their officers either killed or taken priſoners. This opened a way for young Edward to attack the line commanded by John in perſon, and which was ſtill more numerous than the whole Engliſh army; but greatly diſmayed by the precipitate flight of their companions. John here made the utmoſt efforts to retrieve, by his valour, what his imprudence had betrayed; and the only reſiſtance made that day

was by his line of battle. The conflict was dreadful; the king was in the vigour of manhood, the prince in the flower of youth; the former armed with a battle-ax, the latter with a ſword; each irreſiſtable where he fought in perſon: Edward hoping to be greater, John fearing to be leſs. The prince's conduct bade fair to gain the victory without the aſſiſtance of courage, while his courage ſeemed to render conduct unneceſſary. On the other hand, John ſeemed to carry an army in his own perſon, while every private ſoldier knew how to diſcharge the part of a general. The troops of the king were animated by duty, thoſe of the prince by love, and both by a ſenſe of honour. The charge was terrible, and, for ſome time doubtful; the reſolution of the Engliſh made head againſt the impetuoſity of the French, their compacted battalions of projected ſpears, checked the fury, and their dreadful ſhowers of well-aimed arrows, diſordered the ranks of the enemy. The ſprightly ſteed, galled by the barbed arrows, ſpent his fire in raging with his own pain; and the ſingle valour of each French nobleman was uſeleſs, when oppoſed to that of a whole body, acting as if informed by one ſoul, and directed by one eye. But the example of their king and his brave young ſon, ſcarce fourteen years of age, might have taught the French to have depended upon united, rather than ſeparate courage, and they were actually forming themſelves into a battalion like that of the Engliſh, when the earls of Warwick, Saliſbury, and Suffolk, having diſperſed the two firſt lines of the French, without any probability of rallying, attacked, at the head of their diviſions, the flank of the French, who were ſtill fighting with invincible reſolution. The Engliſh ſeeing how doubtful the ſcales of fortune were ſuſpended, aſſumed freſh ſpirits from the near approach of complete victory. They attacked as if they had been freſh to the field; the enemy melted away like ſnow before the ſun, till John was reduced to a ſmall battalion of faithful friends, who ſeemed to court death rather than victory. Charni, who carried John's ſtandard was beat to the ground: a deluge of the nobleſt blood of France was ſhed by the ſwords of the Engliſh; and even the king himſelf, ſpent by fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, might eaſily have been diſpatched; but every Engliſh gentleman, ambitious of taking alive the royal priſoner, ſpared him in the action, called to him to ſurrender himſelf, and offered him quarter. Several who attempted to ſeize him, ſuffered for their temerity. He ſtill cried out, "Where is "my couſin, the prince of Wales?" and ſeemed unwilling to ſurrender himſelf to any perſon of inferior rank. But being told that the prince was at a great diſtance on the field, he threw down his gauntlet, and yielded himſelf a priſoner to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who for murder had been obliged to fly his country. The young prince who had never left his father, and had received a wound while fighting valiantly in his defence, was taken with the French monarch.

In the mean time the prince of Wales was exploring every ſcene of danger; and, after opening with his own hands the files of the enemy, left it to his followers to complete their rout. In this manner he was employed, flying from rank to rank, charging in the van, the center, and the rear, wherever danger or reſiſtance called, till he ſaw the number of the enemy ſo greatly diminiſhed as to be unworthy his valour; when he ordered a tent to be pitched on the field of battle in order to repoſe himſelf after the fatigues of the battle, but ſtill anxious for the fate of the French monarch. He therefore diſpatched Warwick to gain intelligence, and that nobleman fortunately reached the ſpot ſoon enough to ſave the life of the captive king. The Engliſh had taken him by violence from Morbec: the Gaſcons claimed the honour of detaining the priſoner; and ſome brutal ſoldiers, rather than yeild the prize to their rivals, had threatened to put him to death. The preſence of Warwick overawed both parties, and approaching the king, with great demonſtrations of reſpect, offered to conduct him to the prince's tent.

Edward's real and truly admirable heroiſm now appeared. Victories are vulgar things in compariſon of that moderation and humanity diſplayed by this young prince, then only twenty-ſeven years of age, not yet cooled from the fury of battle, and elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected ſucceſs as had ever crowned the arms of any general. He came out of his tent to meet the captive king, with all the ſigns of regard and ſympathy: adminiſtered comfort to him amidſt his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praiſe due to his valour; and aſcribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or rather to a ſuperior Providence, which controuls all the force of human prudence. The behaviour of John ſhewed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment: his preſent abject fortune never made him forget a moment that he was a king: more ſenſible to Edward's generoſity, than to his own calamities, he confeſſed, that, notwithſtanding his defeat and captivity, his honour was ſtill unimpaired, and that, if he yeilded the victory, it was at leaſt gained by a prince of ſuch conſummate valour and humanity.

The ſignals for the retreat were ſtill continued, which put an end both to the purſuit and ſlaughter; the prince wiſely conſidering that night was now coming on, and therefore dangerous for his little band to diſperſe themſelves, by following an enemy ſo much ſuperior in numbers. Among the ſlain were two dukes and nineteen earls of France, and among the priſoners, beſides the king and his ſon, were ſeventeen earls, and fifteen hundred barons, knights, and eſquires, not to mention the common men, who in all amounted to near double the number of the whole Engliſh army. This rendered it dangerous for them to keep their priſoners. The greater part of them therefore were immediately releaſed on very moderate terms, and their own paroles of honour taken for the ſtipulated payment.

But the prince ſet the moſt illuſtrious pattern of diſintereſted generoſity. He viſited, he comforted, he rewarded the wounded: he thanked, he commended, he extolled the brave. He ſettled four hundred marks a year, out of his own revenues, on the lord John Audley, who had remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf; and Audley, who was deſperately wounded, divided the whole equally among his faithful eſquires.

This glorious emulation in generous acts and ſentiments was unprecedented in that age; it had been unknown to many of the preceding, and can be attributed only to a prince, born to take from victory the fierceneſs with which the moſt amiable conquerors had long diſgraced it. The generoſity of

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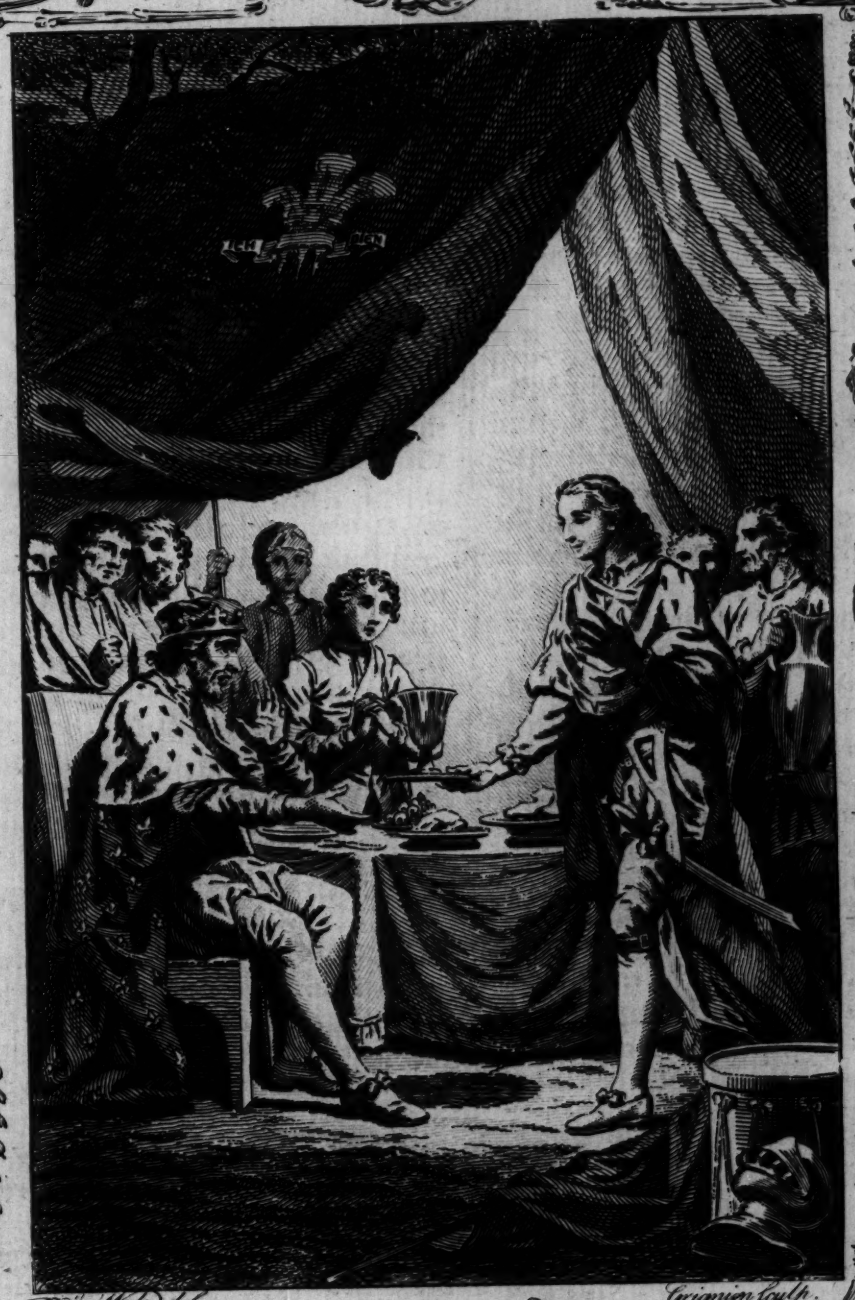

Wale) del. *Grignion sculp.*

Edward *the Black Prince waiting on* John *King of France his* Prisoner.

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of Scipio, the chaſteſt character in the brighteſt age of Roman glory, was only an exertion of continence, a philoſophical ſelf-denial. Scipio ſtopped ſhort in that glorious carreer which our young hero was born to complete. Beauty has not allurements for every mind; but ambition has charms for all whoſe nature is not either greater or leſs than human. The conqueſt of a foe, is leſs than the conqueſt of paſſion; but when the conqueſt of an inſolent provoking foe melts reſentment into pity, and converts rancour into friendſhip, it is a conqueſt more than Roman, it is Chriſtian. Even the elder Edward, great as he was, became too often little by the mean uſes he made of his victories. But the younger Edward ſeparated vanity from greatneſs, he gave endearment to power, he ſmoothed the bed of anguiſh, he cheered the gloom of captivity.

When the toils of the day were over, Edward ordered a magnificient repaſt to be prepared in his tent for the royal priſoner, and he himſelf ſerved at the king's table, as if he had been one of his retinue: he ſtood behind his royal captive's chair during the repaſt; conſtantly refuſed to take a place at table; and declared, that being a ſubject, he was too well acquainted with the diſtance between his own rank and that of royalty, to aſſume ſuch freedom. All his father's pretenſions to the crown of France, were now buried in oblivion: John, in captivity, received the honours of a king, which were refuſed him when ſeated on a throne: his misfortunes, not his title, were reſpected; and the French priſoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more than by their defeat, burſt out into tears of joy and admiration, which were only checked by the reflection, that ſuch genuine and exalted heroiſm in an enemy, muſt certainly, in the iſſue, prove the more dangerous to their native country.

A mind leſs generous and leſs diſcerning than that of young Edward, would, after ſuch a victory, have endeavoured to purſue the blow; but victory to him ſerved only to increaſe his moderation, and ſucceſs added to his diffidence. Beſides he wiſely conſidered that he had with him but a handful of men laden with ſpoils, incumbered with priſoners, and ſurrounded with enemies. He therefore conducted his royal captive to Bourdeaux, where he concluded a two years truce with France, which was alſo become requiſite, in order to conduct the captive king with ſafety into England.

A. D. 1357. The prince landed at Southwark on the twenty-fourth of May, and was met by a prodigious concourſe of people, of all ranks and ſtations. The priſoner was dreſſed in royal apparel, and mounted on a white courſer, diſtinguiſhed by its ſize and beauty, and by the richneſs of its furniture. The prince rode by his ſide in meaner attire on a black palfry. In this manner, far more glorious than all the inſolent parade of a Roman triumph, the young hero paſſed through the ſtreets of London, and preſented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the ſame courteſy and reſpect, as if he had been a neighbouring potentate, who had come voluntarily to pay him a friendly viſit.

Beſides the generous treatment the king of France met with in England, he had the melancholy conſolation of the wretched, that of ſeeing companions in affliction. The king of Scotland had been eleven years a captive in Edward's hands; and the good fortune of that monarch had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates with whom he was engaged in war, to be priſoners in his capital. But Edward, perceiving that the conqueſt of Scotland was not the leaſt facilitated by the captivity of its ſovereign, and that the government, conducted by Robert Stuart, his heir and nephew, was ſtill able to defend itſelf, conſented to reſtore David Bruce to his liberty, for a ranſome of an hundred thouſand marks ſterling; and that prince, after delivering the ſons of all his principal nobility as hoſtages for the payment, returned to Scotland, where he was received with the greateſt affection.

A. D. 1358. The captivity of the French monarch was followed by the moſt dreadful confuſion ever experienced in any age or nation. The dauphin, now about eighteen years of age, naturally aſſumed the royal authority during the confinement of his father. He was endowed with excellent abilities, but wanted both experience and that degree of authority, neceſſary to defend a ſtate, aſſaulted at once by a foreign enemy, and ſhaken by internal factions. At the ſame time he was deſtitute of money, and, in order to obtain a ſupply he aſſembled the eſtates of the kingdom. But the aſſembly, inſtead of ſupporting his adminiſtration, were infected with the ſpirit of diſcord and confuſion; and laid hold of the preſent opportunity to demand limitations to the royal power, the puniſhment of former malverſations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provoſt of the merchants, and firſt magiſtrate of Paris, put himſelf at the head of the unruly populace, and from the violence and temerity of his character, puſhed them to commit the moſt criminal outrages againſt the royal prerogative. They detained the dauphin in a ſort of captivity; they murdered in his preſence Robert de Clermont, and John de Conflans, mareſchals of France; they threatened all the other miniſters with the like fate, and when Charles, who was obliged to temporize and diſſemble, made his eſcape from their hands, they levied war againſt him, and openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, ſhook off the dauphin's authority, took the government into their own hands, and ſpread the diſorder through every province. The nobles, whoſe inclinations led them to ſupport the crown, and were naturally diſpoſed to check theſe tumults, had loſt all their influence, and being reproached with cowardice on account of the baſe deſertion of their ſovereign in the battle of Poictiers, were treated with univerſal contempt by the inferior orders. The troops, who from a deficiency in pay, were no longer retained in diſcipline, threw off all regard to their officers, ſought the means of ſubſiſtence by pillage and robbery, and aſſociating to them all the diſorderly people, with which that age abounded, formed numerous bands which infeſted all quarters of the kingdom. They laid the open country deſolate, burned and plundered the villages, and by cutting off all means of communication or ſubſiſtence, reduced even the inhabitants of the walled towns to the greateſt neceſſity. The peaſants, formerly oppreſſed, and now left unprotected by their maſters, became deſperate from their preſent miſery, and riſing every where in arms, carried to the laſt extremity theſe diſorders which were derived from the ſedition of the citizens and diſbanded ſoldiers. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were every where

where expoſed to the violence of popular rage; and inſtead of meeting with regard for their former dignity, became only, on that account, the objects of greater inſult to the mutinous peaſants. They were hunted like wild beaſts, and put to the ſword without mercy; their caſtles were laid in aſhes, or leveled with the ground; their wives and daughters were firſt raviſhed and then murdered; the ſavage populace proceeded ſo far in barbarity as to impale ſome gentlemen, and roaſt them alive before a ſlow fire: a body of nine thouſand of them broke into Meaux, where the wife of the dauphin with above three hundred ladies had taken ſhelter: the moſt brutal treatment, and moſt attrocious cruelty were juſtly dreaded by this helpleſs company; but the Capital de Buche, though in the ſervice of Edward, moved by generoſity and the gallantry of a true knight, flew to their aſſiſtance, and beat off the peaſants with great ſlaughter. In other civil wars, the oppoſite factions, falling under the government of their ſeveral leaders, commonly preſerve the veſtige of ſome rule and order, but here the wild and ferocious ſtate of nature ſeemed to be renewed: every man was thrown looſe and independent of his fellows: and the prodigious multitude of people who had ariſen from the preceding policy of civil ſociety, ſerved only to increaſe the horror and confuſion of the ſcene.

The king of Navarre found means amidſt theſe diſorders, to make his eſcape out of priſon, and threatened the government with becoming a dangerous leader to the furious malecontents. But the ſplendid talents of this prince qualified him only to do miſchief, and to increaſe the puplic confuſions; he wanted the ſteadineſs neceſſary for rendering his intrigues ſubſervient to his ambition, and forming his numerous partizans into a regular faction. He revived his pretenſions to the crown of France; and indeed if female ſucceſſion was to be admitted, his mother, the daughter of Lewis Hutin, brought him undoubtedly the only lawful title, and ſtood before Iſabella, the mother of Edward, in the courſe of deſcent. But while he advanced this claim, he relied entirely on his alliance with the Engliſh, who were concerned in intereſt to diſappoint his pretenſions; and who, being public, and inveterate enemies to the ſtate, ſerved only by the friendſhip which they ſeemingly bore him, to render his cauſe the more odious. And in all his operations, he acted more like a leader of banditti, than one who aſpired at being the head of a regular government, and who was engaged by his ſtation to endeavour to re-eſtabliſh order in the community.

Every Frenchman therefore who wiſhed to ſee peace reſtored to their miſerable and deſolated country, turned their eyes towards the dauphin; and that young prince, though not at all remarkable for his military talents, poſſeſſed ſo much prudence and, ſpirit, that he gained daily the aſcendant over all his enemies. Marcel, the ſeditious provoſt was ſlain, while he was endeavouring to deliver up the city to the king of Navarre, aſſiſted by the Engliſh; and the capital on the death of that turbulent leader, returned to its duty. The moſt conſiderable bodies of the mutinous peaſants were diſſipated, and put to the ſword; ſome bands of military robbers underwent the ſame fate: and though many grievous diſorders ſtill remained, France began gradually to aſſume the face of a civil government, and to form ſome plan for its defence and ſecurity. Such dreadful confuſions ſeemed to offer a favourable opportunity to Edward for puſhing his conqueſts in that kingdom; but the truce had prevented him from taking the proper advantage, he could only aſſiſt in ſecret the party of Navarre. Beſides the ſtate of the Engliſh finances and military power during thoſe ages, rendered the kingdom incapable of making any regular or ſteady effort, and obliged the government to exert their force at very diſtant intervals, by which means all the projected ends were generally diſappointed. Edward employed himſelf, during this favourable opportunity, in negotiations with his priſoner; and John had the weakneſs to ſign terms of peace, which, had they taken effect, muſt have totally ruined and diſmembered his kingdom. He agreed to reſtore all the provinces poſſeſſed by Henry II. and his two ſons, and to annex them for ever to the crown of England without any obligation of homage or fealty on the part of the Engliſh monarch. But the dauphin and the ſtates of France rejected this treaty, ſo diſhonourable and pernicious to the kingdom; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having now, by ſubſidies and frugality, collected a ſufficient quantity of treaſure, made preparations for invading anew the kingdom of France.

A. D. 1359. It was no dificulty to raiſe troops for this expedition: the great authority and renown of the king and the prince of Wales, the ſplendid ſucceſs of their former enterprizes and the certain proſpect of plunder from the defenceleſs provinces of France, afforded ſufficient encouragement, and ſoon brought together not only all the military power of England, but invited to Edward's ſtandard, all the hardy adventurers in the different countries of Europe.

As ſoon as the military preparations were completed, Edward appointed his youngeſt ſon, Thomas of Woodſtock, then only five years of age, his lieutenant in England, during his abſence, embarked at Sandwich, and landed at Calais on the 28th day of October, with an army of an hundred thouſand men; a force which the dauphin could not pretend to reſiſt in the open field. He knew that his only hope muſt conſiſt in eluding the blow, and therefore put all the conſiderable towns in a poſture of defence; ordered them to be well ſupplied with magazines of ſtores and proviſions; furniſhed them with proper garriſons; ſecured every thing valuable in the fortified cities; and choſe his own ſtation at Paris, in order to give the enemy time ſufficient to ſpend their fury on the open country.

In the mean time a council of war was held in the Engliſh camp, where it was reſolved that without waſting the time in taking any of the places in Flanders, or making that country the ſeat of war, they ſhould penetrate into the very bowels of France, and direct their march to the gates of Paris: a wiſe reſolution; but unfortunately diſregarded. The army was headed by the king and his four eldeſt ſons, under whom ſerved the duke of Lancaſter, the earls of March, Warwick, Suffolk, and Saliſbury; the lords Piercy, Nevil, Spencer, Chandois, and Cobham; and many other of the principal nobility both of England and the Low Countries. This powerful army was, for the better procuring of ſubſiſtence, ſeparated into three diviſions; the firſt was led by the king in perſon; the ſecond by the prince of Wales; and the third by the duke of Lancaſter. The van, which conſiſted of five hundred knights,

compleatly

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

Edward the Black Prince making his Entry into London,
with the KING of FRANCE his PRISONER.

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completely armed, and a thouſand archers, was commanded by the earl of March, as conſtable of England, and in the rear marched ſix thouſand waggons loaded with proviſions, hand-mills, artillery, and every thing neceſſary for ſubſiſting in a country already ruined by former inroads and depredations. In this order the whole army proceeded through the province of Artois, but not without meeting with prodigious difficulties. The winter was advancing, the ſeaſon rainy, the roads bad, the ſoldiers diſtreſſed for proviſions, and their horſes ſtill more for corn and forage. Edward's genius and reſolution, however, ſurmounted every difficulty. He continued his march without harraſſing his troops, till he came into the Cambreſis, a more plentiful country, and where he found every thing neceſſary for refreſhment. Here he reſted his army ſeveral days, and then proceeded into the Tirache, where the lord Burwaſh took St. Quintin, and made the governor priſoner, after a bloody diſpute. Edward next marched into Champagne, where, from a ridiculous paſſion of being crowned king of France at Rheims, the uſual place in which that ceremony is performed, he took the fatal reſolution of beſieging that city,

The place was bravely defended by the archbiſhop, John de Craon, the earl of Porcein and his brother, and ſeveral other French noblemen. Edward offered very advantageous terms to the garriſon and inhabitants, provided they would admit him to be crowned in their city. They told him, that they knew only one perſon who had a right to their crown, and that they would continue faithful to him till death put a period to their exiſtence. This anſwer exaſperated Edward, and he determined to puſh the ſiege with all imaginable vigour; but his army being too numerous to continue in one place, he detached a large party of horſe and archers, under the duke of Lancaſter, and the earls of Richmond and March, to ſcour the country, and reduce all the adjacent caſtles and places of ſtrength. Their firſt attempt was on Cremois, which they took by ſtorm, and put the whole garriſon to the ſword. This ſeverity ſtruck the ſtrongeſt places in the neighbourhood with terror, and the Engliſh, after taking Autry and Menheue, returned to the camp before Rheims. But theſe ſucceſſes were very inſignificant compared to the prodigious expence of men and money attending the fruitleſs ſiege of Rheims.

In the mean time the French court wiſely adhered to their reſolution of ſecuring their armies behind their walls, and by that means obliged Edward to keep his Chriſtmas before Rheims. But though they ſeemed to have abandoned all thoughts of reſiſting the enemy in the open field, they were meditating a deſcent upon England, in the abſence of Edward. They had a powerful fleet ready in the ports of Normandy, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty ſail, on board of which twenty thouſand land forces were embarked under the command of St. Paul. They ſoon after left the harbours of France, and landed, without oppoſition at Rye, Haſtings, and Winchelſea, where they committed the moſt ſhocking barbarities. But the government of England acted with ſo much reſolution, and the people with ſo much unanimity, that the French thought it prudent to re-embark, and return to their own country, with the loſs of ſome thouſands of their men. The Engliſh, however, could not think of letting an inſult on their coaſt paſs without retaliation: the city of London and other ſea-ports fitted out a powerful fleet, conſiſting of an hundred ſhips, on board of which they embarked fourteen thouſand ſoldiers. This armament inſulted the coaſt of France, and confined the enemy within their own harbours: the ſame maxim being obſerved both by ſea and by land, of not venturing a battle.

A. D. 1360. This conduct was attended with all the ſucceſs that could be expected; for Edward, after triffling away two months before Rheims, without venturing once to aſſault the place, raiſed the ſiege, and conducted his army into Burgundy. He took and pillaged Tonnerre, Gaillon, Avalon, and other ſmall places; but the duke of Burgundy, in order to preſerve his country from farther ravages, conſented to pay him the ſum of an hundred thouſand nobles. Edward then directed his march towards the Nivernois, which ſaved itſelf by a like compoſition: but he laid waſte the Brie and Gatinois, and after a long march, very deſtructive to France, and fatiguing to his own troops, he appeared before the gates of Paris, and taking up his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, extended his army to Longjumeau, Mont-rouge, and Vaugirard.

Edward was now within ſight of the prize which was to reward his painful marches and aſſiduous toils. He had loſt many of his troops during their march, and in revenge, he had raiſed ſuch contributions, and committed ſuch ravages, that he was at no expence to ſubſiſt his army. But the time was now come, when he could have wiſhed theſe ſpoils had remained untouched. He ſaw himſelf before the walls of a much larger city than that which had already baffled all his efforts, while his ravages having deſolated all the country behind him, deprived his army of all means of ſubſiſtence. He had, however, many encouragements. The king of France was his priſoner, and Paris was the only ſtake the Valois family had to venture for the royal diadem; he was at the head of an invincible army, above the fear of all offenſive alliances, and greatly depended on a deciſive blow threatened by the king of Navarre, with whom he had renewed a private intelligence.

Upon Edward's invaſion of France, all parties in the kingdom ſeemed to unite againſt him as a common enemy; and the regent, who was no ſtranger to the king of Navarre's character, had always watched him with ſo ſtrict an eye, though in a very ſecret manner, that he never could compaſs his intention. At laſt, when Edward appeared before Paris, the king of Navarre broke out of the city, and ſhutting himſelf up in Mante, declared war againſt the regent, without any other viſible cauſe, than his hatred of the Valois family. There was, however, a party in Edward's army, headed by the excellent duke of Lancaſter, who did not fail to lay before Edward both the danger and temerity of his conduct. He was told, that he took an unuſual method of conciliating the affections of a people, over whom he pretended a right, by carrying fire and ſword through their country; and that though he immediately ruined France, yet his own army muſt in the end be equally ſufferers by the very deſolation they themſelves had effected: that it would appear ſtrange to the Engliſh, on whom the expence of the expedition muſt at laſt fall, that tho' he had penetrated into the heart of France, at the

head of an hundred thouſand men, he had not been able to make himſelf maſter of any place of importance; a conſideration that muſt in the end greatly diſcourage both the people and parliament from furniſhing farther ſupplies, or diſcharging the debts he had already contracted.

Theſe remonſtrances had ſome effect upon Edward, he agreed to open conferences for concluding a definitive treaty of peace. But the French commiſſioners ſoon found, that no treaty would be concluded, but on the baſis of the convention lately rejected. This determined the French to run all hazards, rather than ſubmit to Edward's terms.

Hoſtilities being thus renewed, Edward advanced ſtill nearer the gates of Paris, drew up his army in three lines, and ſent by the duke of Lancaſter a defiance to the regent, promiſing if he loſt the battle, to give up his claim to the crown of France. But this had no effect on that prudent prince; who determined not to alter his plan of operations. Paris was ſafe from the danger of aſſault by its numerous garriſon, and from that of a blockade from its well furniſhed magazines, eſpecially as Edward could not long ſubſiſt his own army in a country waſted by foreign and domeſtic enemies, and left alſo without inhabitants by the precaution of the dauphin. Accordingly the king was obliged to remove his quarters, and ſpread his army into the provinces of Maine, Beauſſe and the Chartrain, which were abandoned to the fury of their devaſtations.

But the cool regent of France was far from looking upon this retreat as a triumph. He knew Edward's determined reſolution, and that he would return to the ſiege in autumn with deciſive advantages, while all the intermediate time would be ſpent in laying the country deſolate, and ruining both the friends and allies of France. He therefore ordered the biſhop of Terouenne, Simon de Langreſs, and the abbot of Clugny, to follow the Engliſh army with freſh propoſitions of peace. They heard that Edward was marching very ſlowly, but with all the terrors of devaſtation by fire and ſword, and directing his progreſs towards Maine in Normandy, with an intention of falling into Britany in order to eſtabliſh the Montfort family, upon the ruins of their enemies. While he was on this march, the French commiſſioners overtook him and renewed their inſtances for reſuming the conferences for a peace. Edward was inclined to liſten to their propoſals. He had found very little effect in his favour from the king of Navarre's defection from the regent; and the duke of Lancaſter renewed his inſtances with Edward, in order to ſoften the rigour of the terms already offered, and to finiſh the war on more equal and reaſonable conditions. He juſtly obſerved to the king, that notwithſtanding his great and ſurprizing ſucceſſes, the object of the war, if ſuch was to be eſteemed the acquiſition of the crown of France, was not become any nearer than at the commencement of it, or rather was placed at a greater diſtance by thoſe very victories and advantages, which ſeemed to lead to it; that its claim of ſucceſſion had not from the firſt procured him one ſingle partizan in the kingdom, and the continuance of theſe deſtructive hoſtilities, had united every Frenchman in the moſt implacable animoſity againſt him; that though inteſtine faction had crept into the government of France, it was abating every moment, and no party, even during the greateſt heat of conteſt, when ſubjection under a foreign enemy uſually appears preferable to the dominion of fellow citizens, had ever adopted the pretenſions of the king of England: that the king of Navarre himſelf, who alone was allied with the Engliſh, inſtead of being a cordial friend, was Edward's moſt dangerous rival, and, in the opinion of his partizans, appeared to poſſeſs a more favourable title to the crown of France: that the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the Engliſh ſoldiers, was ruinous to the king himſelf, who bore all the expences of the armament, without reaping any ſolid or durable advantage from it: that if the preſent diſorders of France continued, that kingdom would ſoon be reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſolation, as to afford no ſpoils to its ravagers; if it could eſtabliſh a more ſteady government, it might turn the chance of war in its favour, and by its ſuperior force and advantages, be able to repel the preſent victors: that the dauphin, even during his greateſt diſtreſſes, had yet conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence as to prevent the Engliſh from acquiring even a foot of land in the kingdom, and therefore it was better for the king to accept by a peace, what he had in vain attempted to acquire by hoſtilities, which, however hitherto ſucceſsful, had been extremely expenſive, and might prove very dangerous. And that Edward having acquired ſo much glory by his arms, he could now only court the praiſe of moderation; an honour ſo much the greater, as it was durable, united with that of prudence, and might be attended with the moſt real advantages.

Theſe reaſons had their weight with Edward, who began to think his terms were too ſevere. He had now advanced within two leagues of Chartres when a dreadful tempeſt aroſe, attended with uncommon appearances, that the elements ſeemed to mingle in one mighty ſhock, and threaten an univerſal wreck of nature. A hurricane of the moſt violent wind that had ever been known, attended with a deluge of rain, lightning, and hailſtones of ſuch prodigious ſize as to be mortal, while the moſt dreadful peals of thunder ſhook the boldeſt with diſmay. Even Edward's heart failed him at this dreadful ſcene. In a moment he ſaw ſix thouſand of his horſes, and a thouſand of his beſt troops, ſtruck dead to the ground. He conſidered it as the voice of heaven, commanding him to give peace to an harraſſed people, and in the melancholy proſpect before him, read the reproof of his own obſtinacy. He inſtantly threw himſelf from his horſe upon the ground, and ſolemnly vowed to heaven, that he would accept of a peace, if juſt and honourable terms were offered. The conferences were accordingly renewed in a few days, and a peace concluded on the following conditions: it was ſtipulated, that John, king of France, ſhould be reſtored to his liberty, and ſhould pay as his ranſom, three millions of crowns of gold, about one million five hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money, which was to be diſcharged at different payments: that Edward ſhould for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; and ſhould receive in exchange, the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge l'Agenois, Perigort, the Limoſin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other diſtricts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guiſnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu,

thieu, on the other ſide of France: that the full ſovereignty of all theſe provinces, as well as that of Guienne ſhould be veſted in the crown of England, and that France ſhould renounce all title to feudal juriſdiction, homage, or appeal from them: that the king of Navarre ſhould be reſtored to all his honours and poſſeſſions; that Edward ſhould renounce his confederacy with the Flemings; John his connections with the Scots; that the diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion of Britany, between the families of Blois and Montfort, ſhould be decided by arbitors appointed by the two kings; and if the competitors refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence, the diſpute ſhould no longer be conſidered as a ſufficient foundation for war between the kingdoms; and that forty hoſtages, ſuch as ſhould be agreed on, ſhould be ſent to England as a ſecurity for the execution of all theſe conditions.

In conſequence of this treaty of peace, the king of France was brought over to Calais, where Edward alſo ſoon after arrived; and both parties there ſolemnly ratified the treaty. John was ſent to Boulogne; the king accompanied him a mile on his journey, and the two monarchs parted with many profeſſions, probably cordial and ſincere, of mutual friendſhip and amity.

About the latter end of October, Edward embarked for England, and landed at Dover, with all his hoſtages, on the firſt of November. Hence he proceeded to pay his devotions at Canterbury, giving orders, purſuant to an obligation he had entered into, that the hoſtages ſhould every where be treated with all the regard due to their high quality, and to admit them upon their parole of honour to all the liberty of exerciſe and diverſions.

A. D. 1361. Edward having kept his Chriſtmas at Woodſtock amidſt the acclamations of his ſubjects, proceeded about the middle of January, to hold a parliament, which he had ſummoned to meet about the middle of that month. Never did a parliament meet a king with hearts more full of gratitude and affection, than this did Edward. They ſaw peace reſtored with honour, and had the moſt pleaſing proſpect of its continuance. Edward communicated to them the articles of the treaty of Britany; and they were ratified with the ſame ceremony and ſolemnity, as had been uſual at the confirmation of the great charters of national liberty.

But notwithſtanding all theſe appearances unſurmountable difficulties occured, when the treaty came to be executed; for when Edward ſent over commiſſioners to take poſſeſſion of the ceded territories, the earls of Armagnac, Perigord, Foix, and others within the dutchy of Aquitain, refuſed to ſubmit to his ſovereignty; and their example was followed by many other noblemen, and alſo by ſeveral of the towns on the ſea-coaſts of Poictou, eſpecially the city of Rochelle. The court of France ſeemed to be in great pain about this refuſal; and the lord James of Bourbon was ſent on the part of John, to perſuade them to ſubmit. Their reluctance however alarmed Edward. He began now to be ſenſible of his error in relaxing the terms in the treaty of Britany, with regard to what concerned the renunciation of the ſovereignty; and he immediately ſent over Sir Thomas Vedal, with Dunclent, a civilian, to preſs the execution of the ceſſion; and to intimate to the court of France, that he ſhould be ready to exchange the renunciation of ſovereignty, homages, and ſuperiority, at the time appointed. The French, perceiving that Edward was not to be trifled with, redoubled their attention to have the articles of ceſſion punctually executed; and Edward was accordingly put in actual poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Aquitain, from the river Loire to the Pyrenean mountains; and of the earldom of Ponthieu, the town of Calais, the territory and town of Guiſnes, with ſeveral other places and poſſeſſions. The lord John Chandois, one of Edward's beſt ſtateſmen as well as officers, was appointed to act as his governor of Aquitain, and accordingly repaired to that province with full powers to eſtabliſh a civil polity, and appoint officers, both civil and military in thoſe parts. He took up his reſidence at Niort in Poictou, where he kept up a very ſplendid court, and juſtified his maſter's choice of him by his exemplary courage and wiſdom.

About the time of the execution of this part of the treaty by the court of France, Edward gave orders that the places ſtipulated to be reſtored to that court ſhould be punctually evacuated. But though this order met with very little difficulty yet it was attended with vaſt inconveniencies. We have already hinted, that during the continuance of the truce the two preceding years, great numbers of ſoldiers and others, who had ſerved under Edward, had continued their depredations, and refuſed to lay down their arms. The evacuation of Edward's troops out of the ceded places, increaſed their number, ſo that they were found to conſiſt not only of Engliſh and French, but of Germans, Brabanters, Hainaulders, and other nations. For as moſt of the caſtles that had been evacuated belonged to private noblemen, who guarded them at their own expence, and with their own troops, the latter were diſbanded, and left to procure ſubſiſtence for themſelves. They now amounted to above ſixteen thouſand men, and engaged the ſerious attention of the French government, for they proceeded with all the licentiouſneſs of avowed robbers, and ſoon formed themſelves into ſuch a regular body, as to have all the appearance of diſcipline and ſubordination.

At firſt they pretended to act under a commiſſion from the king of Navarre, but that prince appearing to be now entirely ſatisfied, they ſoon loſt that pretence. They next, with a greater appearance of reaſon, pretended they had been diſmiſſed, without receiving their ſtipulated pay. But however that be, their numbers and power ſoon became ſo formidable, that their ravages were more dreadful than thoſe of Edward's army; and John was obliged to order the lord James of Bourbon, to put the lord Chandois into the full poſſeſſion of his government, and to march againſt theſe deſperate Banditti, with an army of twelve thouſand men. But the rebels acted with ſo much art that they concealed their numbers, gave the king's army battle, cut moſt of them to pieces, took many of the nobility priſoners, and mortally wounded the general.

Another accident happened about the ſame time, which gave the court of France freſh complaint againſt Edward, though without foundation. One John Gouge a Frenchman, taking advantage of the diſtractions of that kingdom, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of France, and by the aſſiſtance of one John Verney an Engliſh gentleman, who for his irregularities had been baniſhed his native country, collected together ſuch a number of the rebels, who were now called the companies, that they ravaged all the neighbouring parts, and Verney made himſelf

himſelf maſter of the fortreſs of Codelet, near Avignon. But this danger was ſoon ſuppreſſed, Verney being defeated and taken by John's troops, and Gouge by the ſeneſchal of Province.

Nor was this the only difficulty that occurred. An event of a very important nature alſo happened at this critical conjuncture, which ſeemed to ſhake the newly-cemented alliance between the two courts, and its conſequences threatened a renewal of the war. We mean the death of the young Burgundy, ſoon after his being betrothed to the daughter of the earl of Flanders. This event intereſted the courts of England, France and Navarre. Edward had indeed very little right to the ſucceſſion, but hoped to derive ſome advantage to his family by bringing about a match between that young princeſs and his fifth ſon Edmond, afterwards earl of Cambridge. The king of France founded an indiſputable claim, at leaſt to a part of the dutchy, in right of his mother, queen Joan, the younger ſiſter of Eudes, fourth duke of Burgundy, grandfather to the duke lately deceaſed; but his ſtrongeſt claim was founded on his being nearer in blood to the deceaſed than any other competitor, and in virtue of that right he ſeized the dutchy. The king of Navarre's claim reſted wholly upon the right of his grand-mother Margaret of Burgundy, eldeſt ſiſter to Eudes abovementioned, and in this right, ſuppoſing it to have been an impartable female fee, he certainly ought to have obtained the preference; and, however that might be decided, he thought himſelf indiſputably entitled to the counties of Champeigne and Brie, of which his family had been formerly in poſſeſſion. But he now hoped to recover them from the crown of France, to which they were annexed by an exchange of the ſucceſſion of Burgundy.

Such a perplexity of claims and intereſts, muſt at once have overthrown any treaty leſs ſolemnly guaranteed than that of Britany. But the crown of France was now leſs than ever in a condition to renew its diſpute with England. The companies after the late defeat they had given to the lord of Bourbon, ravaged, uncontrouled, the richeſt provinces of France, and, at laſt, formed a deſign of making themſelves maſters of Avignon, which had been for ſome years the reſidence of the papal court. Accordingly they marched to that city, with a power ſo formidable, that the pope was obliged to preach up a cruſade, promiſing pardon and indulgencies to all who would take up arms againſt them, as againſt a common enemy; and the cardinal of Oſtia was nominated general of the army. At firſt, indeed, he met with ſome ſucceſs in the levies; many of the diſſolute and abandoned, who were deſirous of ſinning with impunity joined his ſtandard. But as their whole pay conſiſted in papal bulls, they ſoon diſperſed, and many of them even enliſted with the rebels themſelves. Happily for the pope, there was at that time a war in Italy, between the marquis of Montferrat, and the lord of Milan, and his holineſs obliged the former to come to Avignon, in order to treat about taking the companies into his pay, promiſing him, at the ſame time, a large ſum, to beſtow upon them by way of levy money to engage them in his ſervice. The marquis readily embraced the propoſition, came to Avignon, and entered into terms with the chief of the companies, who was an Engliſhman. His name was Hawkwood, and afterwards diſtinguiſhed by many brave exploits in the Italian wars.

So happy a deliverance from this formidable enemy did not, however, remove the difficulties that attended the execution of the treaty of Britany. The feaſt of St. Andrew was now approaching, and freſh difficulties occurred. Edward preſented to the court of France a memorial, containing no leſs than twelve heads of infractions, which he pretended had been made on the part of France, and inſiſted on having the places of ſome of the French hoſtages, who had died in England, filled up by others from France. But notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, the term for the renunciations elapſed without the neceſſary exchanges being made. It is, however, certain that Edward was already in poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Aquitain, or what the French call Guienne, though the former is more extenſive than the latter, and that he deſigned to erect it into a principality in favour of his eldeſt ſon.

About this time another peſtilence broke out in France, which increaſed the miſeries of that country, cut off above thirty thouſand inhabitants in Paris, and ſpreading into England, raged with equal violence in London. Among others ſwept away by this contagion, was Henry duke of Lancaſter, who, from his great humanity had obtained from the country people, the ſurname of the good duke. With regard to his military accompliſhments the many great actions he performed in Edward's reign, ſufficiently demonſtrated, that they could only be equalled by his prudence, which directed the wiſeſt tranſactions of the Engliſh cabinet. His only ſurviving ſiſter became his heir, and had ſome time ſince been married to John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth ſon, who, in right of his brother-in-law, was the following year created duke of Lancaſter. Mowbray, the firſt duke of Norfolk, and the lord Reginald Cobham, two other principal ornaments of Edward's court, paid the debt of nature about the ſame time. Nor muſt we conclude the tranſactions of this year without obſerving that the prince of Wales, with the approbation of his father, married about this time the counteſs dowager of Kent.

A. D. 1362. The beginning of this year was remarkable for a very violent hurricane, which deſtroyed a great number of ſtately buildings, and for a ſolemn embaſſy ſent from the kings of Armenia and Cyprus, imploring the aſſiſtance of Edward againſt the infidels. The Engliſh court, notwithſtanding the late affliction of the plague, was at this time extremely magnificent; and Edward might be ſaid to have reached the higheſt ſeat of honour, capable of being filled by any Engliſh monarch. The prince of Wales was now created duke of Aquitain, and preſented with ſeveral other noble poſſeſſions ceded to the Engliſh by the treaty of Britany.

A. D. 1363. About the beginning of February the prince of Wales ſailed for Aquitain, and landed ſafely at Rochelle. He was attended by the lord Chandois, who reſigned into his hands the government of that dutchy, but was appointed by the prince, high conſtable of all his poſſeſſions in France. From Rochelle, the prince removed his court to Poictiers, where his affability and courteous behaviour gained him the love of the people, and his prudence reconciled many differences that had long

ſubſiſted

ſubſiſted between the principal nobility of the province, and thoſe who were united in no other ſentiment were ſatisfied with living under his government.

Edward ſeemed now to be ſatisfied with glory, and was therefore leſs rigorous and exact in obſervances, which he had hitherto very ſtrictly regarded: for he now permitted the dukes of Orleans, Anjou, Berry, and Bourbon, to paſs over to Calais, and allowed them free liberty of riding about the country, in order to their being nearer to Paris, the more effectually to ſollicit the payment of the remainder of John's ranſom; and, conſequently, their own liberty. This indulgence was not, however, granted without terms; Edward exacting of them a releaſe from all damages committed by the companies in different parts of France; that thoſe places in Guienne, that continued under the French government, ſhould be evacuated, and that they ſhould uſe all their intereſt to procure the immediate renunciations from the king of France and the dauphin, of the ſovereignty of the places yielded up by that treaty.

Soon after the marquis of Montferrat had taken into his pay the companies that had ſo long deſolated the French territories, John ſet out for Avignon in order to confer with the pope on the project of a marriage between either himſelf or his ſon Philip, and the fair though wicked queen of Naples and Sicily. Urban V. had then juſt ſucceeded Innocent VII. in the papal chair; and though the project for the treaty miſcarried, yet the Pontiff prevailed with John to ſtay ſome time at Avignon. While he was there the king of Cyprus arrived at the ſame court, to ſollicit a cruſade againſt the infidels in Paleſtine. The pope not only encouraged him in this applicaton, but alſo prevailed on the king of France to engage in the ſame expedition; and he, together with all his chief followers, took the croſs from the pope's own hand. The like application was made to Edward in England, but he wiſely anſwered, that he was too far advanced in years to engage in ſuch expeditions, and that he hoped to paſs the remainder of his days in domeſtic tranquillity. The king of Cyprus alſo viſited other courts in Europe, in order to prevail on their reſpective princes to follow John's example. Among others he applied to the prince of Wales, who politely excuſed himſelf from engaging in ſuch deſtructive expeditions. Soon after John had engaged in this romantic project, the king of Navarre began once more to engage in deſigns againſt the court of France, on account of his pretenſions to the dutchy of Burgundy.

In the mean time the hoſtages at Calais began to loſe all hopes of obtaining their liberty; for ſome time they were amuſed with general anſwers; but ſuch was the impatience of the duke of Anjou, that he broke his parole, and eſcaped to Paris, to the great indignation of his father, one of the moſt punctual princes of his time, with regard to affairs of honour. Edward complained loudly of this behaviour as well as of the non-execution of the ſtipulated renunciations, and received an additional cauſe of diſpleaſure by the dauphin and the French nobility, who abſolutely refuſed to ratify the engagements entered into by the hoſtage princes. All theſe particulars were extremely diſpleaſing to John, who now ſaw himſelf more deeply involved than ever. He therefore took a generous reſolution of coming over to England, in order to adjuſt theſe differences. His council endeavoured to diſſuade him from this raſh deſign, and probably would have been pleaſed to have ſeen him employ more chicanery, for eluding the execution of ſo diſadvantageous a treaty. But John replied, that though good faith were baniſhed from the reſt of the earth, ſhe ought ſtill to continue her ſeat in the breaſt of princes. Some hiſtorians would detract from the merit of this honourable behaviour, by repreſenting John as enamoured of an Engliſh lady, to whom he was glad, on this pretence, to pay a viſit; but beſides that this ſurmiſe is not founded on any good authority, it appears very unlikely on account of the advanced age of that prince, who was now in his fifty-ſixth year.

A. D. 1364. He was lodged in the Savoy, the palace where he had reſided during his captivity, and where he ſoon after ſickened and died. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the great dominion of fortune over men, than the calamities which purſued a monarch of ſuch eminent valour, goodneſs, and honour; and which he incurred merely from ſome ſlight imprudences, which in other ſituations would have been of no importance.

John was ſucceeded in the throne by Charles the dauphin, a prince educated in the ſchool of adverſity, and well qualified by his conſummate prudence and experience to repair all the loſſes which the kingdom had ſuffered from the errors of his two predeceſſors. Contrary to the practice of all the great princes of thoſe times, who held nothing in eſtimation but military courage, he ſeems to have fixed it as a maxim never to appear at the head of his armies, and he was the firſt prince in Europe who ſhewed the advantages of policy, foreſight, and judgment, above a raſh and precipitate valour. The events of his reign, compared with thoſe of the preceding, are a proof how little reaſon kingdoms have to value themſelves on their victories, or to be humbled by their defeats; which, in reality ought to be aſcribed entirely to the good or bad conduct of their rulers, and go but a very little way towards eſtabliſhing national characters.

Before Charles could think of counterbalancing ſo great a power as England, it was neceſſary for him to remedy the many diſorders to which his own kingdom was expoſed. He turned his arms againſt the king of Navarre, the principal diſturber of France during that age. He defeated that prince by the conduct of Bertrand du Gueſclin, a gentleman of Britany, one of the moſt accompliſhed characters of the age, whom he had the diſcernment to chooſe, as the inſtrument of all his victories, and he obliged his enemy to accept of moderate terms of peace. Du Gueſclin was, however, leſs fortunate in the wars of Britany, which ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the mediation of France and England. He was defeated and taken priſoner at Auray by Chandois. Charles de Blois was there ſlain, and the young count de Montfort ſoon after acquired entire poſſeſſion of that dutchy. But the prudence of Charles broke the force of this blow. He ſubmitted to the deciſion of fortune, he acknowledged the title of Montfort, though a zealous partizan of England, and received the offered homage for his dominions. But the chief obſtacle which the French monarch met with in the ſettlement of the ſtate, proceeded from obſcure enemies, whom their crimes alone had rendered eminent, and their

numbers dangerous. We mean the companies already mentioned, and who had been taken into the pay of the marquis of Montferrat. But that war being terminated, they returned into France, and purſued their ravages with more inſolence than ever. Charles was unable to redreſs ſo enormous a grievance by open force, and was therefore led by neceſſity, as well as by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy, and to contrive ſome method of diſcharging into foreign countries this dangerous and inteſtine evil.

A. D. 1366. Peter, king of Caſtile, ſtigmatized both by his cotemporaries and poſterity, with the epithet of cruel, had filled with blood and murder his kingdom and his own family; and having incurred the univerſal hatred of his ſubjects, he kept only from preſent terror, an anxious and precarious poſſeſſion of the throne. His nobles fell every day the victims of his ſeverity; he put to death ſeveral of his natural brothers merely from groundleſs jealouſies; each murder, by multiplying his enemies, became the occaſion of freſh barbarities, and as he was not deſtitute of talents, his neighbours no leſs than his own ſubjects, were alarmed at the progreſs of his cruelty and injuſtice. The ferocity of his temper, inſtead of being ſoftened by his ſtrong propenſity to love, was rather inflamed by that paſſion, and thence took freſh occaſion to exert itſelf. Inſtigated by Mary de Padilla, who had acquired the aſcendant over him, he threw into priſon Blanche de Bourbon, his wife, ſiſter to the queen of France, and ſoon after made way by poiſon for placing his miſtreſs with him on the throne.

Henry count de Tranſtamere, his natural brother, ſeeing the fate of every one who became obnoxious to this tyrant, took up arms againſt him; but being foiled in the attempt, he ſought refuge in France, where he found the minds of the people extremely inflamed againſt Peter, on account of his murdering the French princeſs. He propoſed to Charles the inliſting the companies into his ſervice, and leading them into Caſtile, where from the concurrence of his own friends, and the enemies of his brother, he had the proſpect of certain and immediate ſucceſs. Charmed with the project, the French king employed du Gueſclin, in negotiating with the leaders of theſe banditti. The treaty was ſoon concluded; the high character of honour which that general poſſeſſed made every one rely upon his promiſes. Though the intended expedition was kept a ſecret, the companies implicitly inliſted under his ſtandard, and required no other condition before their engagement, than an aſſurance that they were not to be led againſt the prince of Wales in Guienne. But that prince was ſo little averſe to the enterprize, that he allowed ſome gentlemen of his retinue to enter into that ſervice, under du Gueſclin.

That general having completed his levies, led the army firſt to Avignon, where the pope then reſided, and demanded, ſword in hand, an abſolution for all his ſoldiers, and the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres. The former was very readily promiſed; but more difficulty was made with regard to the latter. "I believe," replied du Gueſclin, "my fellows "may make a ſhift to do without an abſolution, "but the money is abſolutely neceſſary." The pope then extorted from the inhabitants in the city and neighbourhood, the ſum of an hundred thouſand livres, and offered the money to du Gueſclin. "It is not my intention," replied the generous warrior, "to oppreſs the innocent people; the pope "and the cardinals themſelves, can eaſily ſpare me "that ſum from their own pockets. This money, "I inſiſt, muſt be reſtored to the owners, and "ſhould they be defrauded of it, I ſhall myſelf re-"turn from the other ſide of the Pyrannees, and "oblige you to make them reſtitution." The pope ſaw the neceſſity of ſubmiſſion, and paid him from his own treaſury, the ſum demanded. The army hallowed by the bleſſings, and enriched by the ſpoils of the church, proceeded on their expedition, and paſſed the Pyrenian mountains.

It is natural to imagine that ſuch experienced and hardy ſoldiers, conducted by ſo able a general, muſt eaſily prevail over the king of Caſtile, whoſe ſubjects, inſtead of ſupporting their oppreſſor, were ready to join the enemy againſt him. Peter fled from his dominions; took ſhelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the prince of Wales, whom his father had inveſted with the ſovereignty of theſe conquered provinces, under the title of the principality of Aquitain. The prince ſeemed now to have entirely changed his ſentiments, with regard to the Spaniſh tranſactions. Whether he was moved by the generoſity of ſupporting a diſtreſſed prince, and thought, as is but too common among ſovereigns, that the rights of the people were of much leſs conſideration, or dreaded the acquiſition of ſo powerful a confederate to France, as the new king of Caſtile; or what is more probable, was impatient of reſt and eaſe, and ſought only an opportunity of exerting his military talents, by which he had already acquired ſo much renown, he promiſed his aſſiſtance to the dethroned monarch; and having obtained the conſent of his father, he levied a great army, and ſet out upon his enterprize.

A. D. 1367. The prince was accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter. Chandois alſo, who maintained among the Engliſh the ſame character as du Gueſclin had acquired among the French, commanded under him in his expedition.

The firſt blow which the prince of Wales gave to Henry de Tranſtamere, was the recalling all the companies from his ſervice, and ſo much reverence did they bear to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain and inliſted under his ſtandard. Henry, however, beloved by his new ſubjects, and ſupported by the king of Arragon and other princes in his neighbourhood, was able to meet the enemy at the head of an army of an hundred thouſand men, forces three times more numerous than thoſe commanded by Edward. Du Gueſclin, and all his experienced officers, adviſed him to delay any deciſive action; to cut off the prince of Wales's proviſions, and to avoid every engagement with a general, whoſe enterprizes had hitherto been always conducted with prudence, and crowned with ſucceſs. But Henry truſting too much to his numbers, ventured to encounter the Engliſh prince at Nagara. He, however, paid dear for his temerity: he was chaſed off the field with the loſs of above twenty thouſand men, while only four knights and forty private men were ſlain on the ſide of the Engliſh.

Peter, who ſo well merited the infamous epithet he bore, propoſed to murder all his priſoners in cold blood, but was reſtrained from this barbarity by the remonſtrances of the prince of Wales. All

Caſtile

Caſtile now ſubmitted to the victor: Peter was reſtored to the throne, and Edward finiſhed this dangerous enterprize with his uſual glory. But he had ſoon reaſon to repent of having aſſociated himſelf with a man of Peter's character, abandoned to all ſenſe of virtue and honour. The ungrateful tyrant refuſed the ſtipulated pay to the Engliſh ſoldiers, and Edward finding his men daily periſhed by ſickneſs, and his own health impaired by the climate, was obliged, without receiving any ſatisfaction on this head, to return into Guienne.

The brutal cruelties exerciſed by Peter over his helpleſs ſubjects, whom he now regarded as vanquiſhed rebels, revived all the animoſity of the Caſtilians againſt him; and on the return of Henry de Tranſtamere, together with du Gueſclin, and ſome forces levied anew in France, the tyrant was again dethroned, taken priſoner, and his brother, in reſentment, murdered him with his own hand, after which he was placed on the throne of Caſtile, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. The duke of Lancaſter, who eſpouſed by his ſecond marriage the eldeſt daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of that ſovereignty, and increaſed the animoſity of the new king of Caſtile againſt England.

A. D. 1368. In the mean time the prince of Wales found his coffers exhauſted by his late expedition; and his greateſt difficulty conſiſted in raiſing money to pay the troops he had brought back to Aquitain. He declared that he was reſolved punctually to fulfil his engagements with them, whatever might be the conduct of Peter, "As for "my own part, ſaid he, honour ſhall be my reward." He was however obliged to impoſe on his principality, a new tax, which ſome of the nobility ſubmitted to with extreme reluctance; while others abſolutely refuſed to comply. They aſſerted that it was an unprecedented tax, having never been demanded by the French court, and was abſolutely contradictory to the prince's oath, who had ſworn to maintain all their lands and lordſhips free from ſuch duties. But fearing a peremptory refuſal might exaſperate the prince, they offered to conſult with their tenants and feudatories, how far they might comply without greatly prejudicing themſelves.

This incident revived the animoſity, which the inhabitants bore to the Engliſh, and which all the amiable qualities of the prince of Wales were unable to mitigate or aſſwage. They complained that they were conſidered as a conquered people; that their privileges were diſregarded; that all the places of truſt were filled with Engliſhmen; that every office of honour and profit was conferred on theſe foreigners, and that the extreme reluctance which moſt of them had expreſſed to receive this new yoke, was likely to be long remembered to their prejudice. They caſt their eyes therefore towards their ancient ſovereign, whoſe prudence they obſerved had now brought the affairs of his kingdom into excellent order; and the counts of Armagnac, Comminge, and Perigord, the lord d'Albert, and ſeveral other noblemen, repaired to Paris, and were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, againſt theſe oppreſſions of the Engliſh government.

In the mean time the prince of Wales ſent repeated meſſages for his barons to attend his parliament, which he held ſometimes at Niort, and ſometimes at Angouleſme, Poictiers, and Bourdeaux: but they knowing the king of France favoured their requeſt, refuſed to obey, and were daily importuning Charles to take a final reſolution. After many deliberations Charles determined to conſider himſelf as ſtill ſuperior of theſe provinces, notwithſtanding the treaty of Britany, by which a renunciaton of the homage and fealty due for Guienne and other provinces ceded to the Engliſh, was ſtipulated.

A. D. 1369. He was, however, guided in theſe deliberations more by views of policy than thoſe of juſtice. The injuries the French had received from the Engliſh, the pride of their triumphs, and the ſevere terms impoſed by the treaty of peace, ſeemed to render every prudent means of revenge honourable. Theſe conſiderations determined Charles to engage in meaſures ſo unexpected to the Engliſh. He conſidered the declining years of Edward; the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health; the affection which the inhabitants of all theſe provinces bore to their ancient maſter; their diſtance from England, and their proximity to France; the great animoſity expreſſed by his own ſubjects againſt theſe invaders, and their ardent thirſt of vengance: and having weighed all theſe reaſons; and ſecretly made the requiſite preparations, he ſent the prince of Wales a ſummons to appear in his court at Paris, in order to juſtify his conduct towards his vaſſals. The prince replied that he would certainly come to Paris, at the head of ſixty thouſand men; in order to inforce the obſervance of that treaty which Charles had ſo unjuſtly broken.

Edward was ſtill perſuaded that the unwarlike character of Charles would ſtill oblige him to have recourſe to negotiation, rather than to arms; and in conſequence of this opinion neglected to ſend over the neceſſary ſupplies to the prince of Wales, who was greatly diſtreſſed for want of money, and had no other friends to depend upon, beſides the lord Chandois, the Capital de Buche, and a few others, who were inviolably attached to his perſon.

The firſt act of hoſtility committed on the part of Charles, was by the earl of Perigord, who attacked Sir Thomas Wake, the ſeneſchal of Rovergne, as he was on his march from one part of his province to the other. The ſeneſchal, however, had the good fortune to eſcape by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe; but all his company, conſiſting of ſixty lances, were put to the ſword. This alarmed the prince, who immediately reinforced the garriſon of Montauban; but found himſelf only in a condition of acting on the defenſive till he received ſufficient ſuccours from England. Charles, however, had taken care to lay his ſcheme ſo artfully, that the blow was ſtruck before Edward had time to prevent it. The citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to the French army; thoſe of Valeroi, Rue, and Crotoy, imitated the example, and the whole province of Ponthieu, was, in a ſhort time, reduced to ſubmiſſion.

It was now ſufficiently evident, that the deſigns of Charles had been deeply and wiſely laid; and Edward perceived, that he had loſt in a moment what muſt coſt him years to recover. But theſe misfortunes were retrievable. They gave indeed a ſhock to his ambition; but an event was then impending which was to affect all that could be dear to glory, to nature, to virtue. The indiſpoſition of the prince of Wales, was now ſettled into a confirmed dropſy, which had brought him ſo low, that he

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was unable to mount on horſeback. Edward, though thus ſurrounded with diſappointments and calamities, was not wanting to himſelf. He ſent for the French embaſſador, who ſtill remained in England, and delivered to him a memorial, requiring the king of France to make ſatisfaction for his breach of the treaty of Britany, and to execute the renunciations ſtipulated by that convention.

But this memorial had no other effect on Charles than that of haſtening a declaration of war on the part of France, and it was reſolved in a court of peers held at Paris, to proceed in the proceſs of appeal againſt the prince of Wales. War was proclaimed with the uſual formalities, and a letter of defiance ſent by Charles to Edward.

As ſoon as this defiance was received, the lords Piercy, Nevil, and Windſor, received orders to embark immediately for France, with all the forces that could be collected on ſo ſhort a warning; but the expedition was laid aſide on advice being brought that the greater part of Edward's poſſeſſions in France had revolted to Charles. Edward therefore thought proper to call a parliament, which accordingly met at Weſtminſter on the 27th. of May. The chancellor, William of Wickham, biſhop of Wincheſter, laid before the aſſembly a particular ſtate of the riſe and progreſs of the differences between the two crowns; and concluded with requiring the advice of the aſſembly, whether the king might not now legally reſume the titles and arms of France. This queſtion was anſwered in the affirmative, without one diſſenting voice. A large ſupply was alſo voted; and Edward publiſhed a proclamation, promiſing to his ſubjects the property of all they ſhould recover or conquer in France, the ſovereignty of the places only excepted.

In the mean time Charles proceeded with equal rapidity in reconquering the provinces in the hands of the Engliſh. The king of Caſtile furniſhed him with a very conſiderable fleet, which joined the navy of France; though the place where the ſtorm was intended to fall, was ſtill uncertain. Edward, however, took care to guard every quarter; he ordered a fleet of obſervation to cruize in the channel; and a ſtrong body of archers were ſent down to guard the borders of Scotland, and a conſiderable force embarked for Ireland, under the command of the lords Windſor and Fauconberg. Both Edward and the prince of Wales depended on the ſervice of the companies in order to oppoſe the armies of the king of France; but in this they were deceived. Charles had carried on his intrigues in ſo ſecret and ſucceſsful a manner, that all except thoſe who were natives of England, joined the French ſtandard. The prince of Wales, by this diſappointment, found himſelf too weak to make head againſt the power of France.

Edward, incenſed at theſe injuries, threatened to put to death all the French hoſtages, who remained in his hands; but after mature reflection he abſtained from that ungenerous revenge, and determined to take ſome other method to make the enemy feel the effects of his reſentment. Accordingly he ordered the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke to march at the head of five hundred lances, and a thouſand archers to the ſea-coaſt, in order to embark immediately for France, and join the prince of Wales; but as the French were then maſters of the ſea, and the paſſage betwen England and Guienne, both long and dangerous, the duke of Britany was requeſted to grant them a paſſage through his dominions. Leave was very readily obtained; the reinforcement landed at St. Malo, and arrived at the prince's camp, about the ſame time which his forces were joined by ſeveral of the companies, under the command of the lord Chandois, and Sir Hugh Caverly. Theſe reinforcements enabled the prince, whoſe indiſpoſition would not permit him to act in perſon, to carry on the war pretty briſkly on the Loire. But in the mean time, the Engliſh loſt the important city of Cahors, by the preaching of the archbiſhop of Tholouſe, and the whole neighbouring country declared for the French. By the ſame powerful inſtrument of eloquence, ſeconded by the dread of the duke of Anjou's arms, the archbiſhop drove the Engliſh out of fifty other cities and towns in that neighbourhood; and the dignified clergy in other parts of the kingdom, following the prelate's example, were more or leſs ſucceſsful in the ſame cauſe. The duke of Anjou was then at Tholouſe, whence he detached the earls of Perigord and Cominges to ravage the country of Quercy, where they took Roanville, a ſtrong town, and put the Engliſh garriſon to the ſword. Nor was the duke of Berry leſs ſucceſsful in Avergne, Limoſin, and other ports of the Engliſh dominions. But the French were not equally ſucceſsful in Picardy, where the caſtle of Andres, near Calais, repulſed the viſcount de Fiennes at the head of twenty thouſand men. This defeat was, however, in ſome meaſure repaired by the taking of Roche de Pazay, which obliged the prince of Wales to ſend Sir Guiſcard d'Angle at the head of a body of troops from Montauban to reinforce the garriſon of Poictiers.

During this active ſcene of war and devaſtation, another of religion and learning equally active with the former was opened. Charles had obſerved the prodigious effects which religion and acts of devotion had produced on the minds of the people, in inſtigating them to take up arms againſt the Engliſh, and rightly imagined, that the more brilliant the examples were, the more prevalent they would prove. Purſuant to this reſolution, he and his queen performed every day pilgrimages, penances, prayers, proceſſions, vigils, and viſitations for the proſperity of the French arms, and the revival of their long-obſcured glory. This had ſo prodigious an influence upon the people, that Edward thought proper to engage in the ſame ſpiritual warfare. He and his queen performed many ſolemn acts of devotion, and his ableſt divines were ordered to expatiate on the juſtice of his cauſe, and raiſe in the people a ſpirit equal to that of the French. Simon Sudbury, biſhop of London, a man of learning and eloquence for the times, proved the moſt powerful advocate, and laboured inceſſantly to make the people ſenſible of the juſtice of his majeſty's cauſe, and of the neceſſity of ſupporting him.

But notwithſtanding each monarch had recourſe to religion to influence the minds of the people in their favour, the final appeal was made to the ſword. The lord Chavigny, with many others, now went over to the French intereſt, though the town of Chavigny was ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh. But that nobleman having delivered up to Charles the town of Breuſe in Maine, the lord Audley penetrated into Berry at the head of twelve thouſand men, and thence into Touraine, giving no quarter to any who were found upon Chavigny's eſtates. At laſt he retook Breuſe, and after putting the whole

whole garriſon to the ſword, returned to Poictiers. Sir Robert Knolles, who for the great ſervices he had done the Montfort family, had been nobly rewarded with a plentiful eſtate in Britany, now offered his ſervice to the prince of Wales, who received him with great marks of eſteem, and conferred on him the chief command of the Engliſh in theſe parts. His firſt undertaking, after he had received his commiſſion, was againſt Durmel, a fortified priory near Cahors, where he was repulſed, as he was alſo before Domme; but he had better ſucceſs before Foines, which he took, as he did Rochmador, and Villefranche in Perigord, the whole country being ravaged and deſolated by the Engliſh. Nor was another diviſion of Edward's army leſs ſucceſsful before Bourdeilles, which was beſieged by the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke. The ſiege was carried on with great fury for eleven weeks, and the place might have defied the power of the enemy had it not been for the raſhneſs of its garriſon, which venturing beyond the barriers, gave the Engliſh army an opportunity of entering and plundering the town.

By this time the lord Chandois, and Sir Robert Knolles had joined their forces in Quercy; and ſoon after the junction, received orders from the prince of Wales to beſiege Roch-ſur-yon, an important caſtle in the lower Poictou. While the neceſſary diſpoſitions were making for carrying on this ſiege, the Engliſh companies had taken the caſtle of Belleperche, in the Bourbonnois, and made the lady Iſabella, mother to the queen of France, a priſoner. But the place was ſoon after inveſted by the duke of Bourbon, who had been joined by the troops under the marquis de Sancerre. The earl of Cambridge attempted to raiſe the ſiege by offering the enemy battle, which they declined; and the garriſon finding the place untenable, abandoned it, and carried the dutcheſs with them. By this time the ſiege of Roch-ſur-yon was completely formed, and preſſed with ſo much vigour, that the commander offered to give it up, if not relieved within a month, provided the Engliſh agreed to pay him ſix thouſand florins for the proviſions and ammunition in the caſtle. The conditions were accepted, and the place accordingly given up; but the French were ſo highly exaſperated at this proceeding, that the governor was afterwards, by order of the duke of Anjou, ſown up in a ſack, and thrown as a traitor into the river.

It has been already obſerved, that Charles had received a very conſiderable addition to his navy by a fleet of ſhips ſent him by the king of Caſtile. This encouraged him to form the deſign of carrying the war into England. With this view he had drawn all the flower of his troops to the coaſts of Picardy, and had been ſome time in perſon at Rouen giving orders for the embarkation, which he pretended was deſigned againſt Portugal; but having imparted his deſign to his council, they diſſuaded him from making ſo deſperate an attempt. They informed him, that his real intention was no ſecret at the court of England; that whatever ideas he might entertain of the number and ſtrength of his fleets, they were unable to meet the Engliſh on the open ſea. Charles, however, continued obſtinate in his reſolution of invading England; but, before he had finiſhed the neceſſary preparations, Edward had a ſtrong ſquadron at ſea, on board of which was the duke of Lancaſter, with the earls of Warwick, Hereford, and Saliſbury, the lords Manny, Roſs Piercy, with many other noblemen and officers, five hundred men at arms, and as many archers. After cruiſing ſome time in hopes of meeting with the French fleet, entered the harbour of Calais; and the duke of Lancaſter who had received a commiſſion to take upon him the command of the troops in that town and neighbourhood, carried fire and ſword into the French territories. This unexpected irruption of the Engliſh, diſconcerted all Charles's meaſures. He ordered his land forces to diſembark, and the duke of Burgundy, who had been appointed to command in this expedition, to advance againſt the duke of Lancaſter, but not on any terms to hazard a general engagement.

This prohibition was a great diſappointment to the Engliſh, who had ſeldom failed of gaining the victory, by the precipitate behaviour of the French. The duke of Lancaſter did all in his power to force them to a battle; he laid waſte the whole country near his rout, and ſent daily a large booty to Calais. To check theſe incurſions the duke of Burgundy paſſed the Somme at Abbeville, and advancing to Monſtreville, he encamped near that city, while the Engliſh took up their quarters at Tournehem, in a valley between St. Omers and Ardres. The French camp commanded that of the Engliſh; their number alſo exceeded that of the latter, and hence the duke of Lancaſter flattered himſelf that a general engagement muſt enſue; but he was miſtaken. The French kept cloſe within their trenches, and ſeemed ſatisfied with having prevented the enemy from penetrating farther into the country. Such a ſtate of inactivity was, however, very diſagreeable to the French nobility and gentry, four thouſand of whom ſerved under the duke of Burgundy. Their diſcontent at laſt arrived to ſuch a height, that the duke was obliged to write to the king his brother, for leave to fight the enemy, or ſuffer the greater part of his officers to ſerve elſewhere. Charles had too fatally experienced the terrible conſequences that followed the defeats at Creſſy and Poictiers, to permit the French to fight the Engliſh. On receiving this order the duke of Burgundy broke up his camp, and retreated in ſuch excellent order, that the duke of Lancaſter did not think it prudent to follow him, and therefore returned to Calais.

As ſoon as the duke of Burgundy reached the neighbourhood of St. Omers, he gave permiſſion to his officers to diſpoſe of themſelves in whatever manner they thought proper, and reſigning the command of the army to the conſtable de Fiennes, and the earl of St. Paul, he ſet out for Paris. Upon this the duke of Lancaſter formed a very bold project, which, had it ſucceeded, might have proved fatal to France; this was to burn the French fleet, then lying at Harfleur.

In order to this he firſt penetrated into the county of Eu, which he waſted with fire and ſword, hoping by that means to conceal his intentions from the French generals, but the latter having formed a flying camp, not only checked the duke's ravages, but alſo obtained intelligence of his real deſigns. Upon making this diſcovery, the earl of St. Paul, at the head of two hundred lances, left the camp and threw himſelf into Harfleur, and by that means effectually prevented its being ſurprized by the enemy. This precaution rendered abortive the ſcheme formed by the duke of Lancaſter, who, after lying a few days before Harfleur, and deſtroy-

ing the adjacent country, repaſſed the Somme, and returned to Calais.

During theſe tranſactions in Picardy, the lord Chandois, who was now ſeneſchal of Aquitain, having collected a body of troops, endeavoured to perſuade the earl of Pembroke, who lay with two hundred lances at Mortagne, to make a joint-irruption into Anjou. But the earl declining the offer, Chandois found himſelf too weak to undertake any thing of importance, and therefore retired to Poictiers; when the earl of Pembroke, who was jealous of the great abilities of Chandois, undertook alone the expedition he had before declined. He marched with great fury into Anjou, and for ſome time, met with ſo little reſiſtance that he fondly imagined the French were terrified at his very name, and with the raſhneſs too incident to youth, neglected the neceſſary precaution of placing proper guards about his camp. This careleſs behaviour gave Robert de Sancerre, and ſome other French officers in thoſe parts, an opportunity of ſurprizing him in the ſtreets of an open village. Moſt of his men were put to the ſword, and the earl obliged to barricade himſelf within an old building, with about two hundred who had eſcaped the ſlaughter, where he muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to his folly, had not Chandois, forgetting his paſt behaviour, marched to his relief. At his approach, the French were ſo terrified, that they withdrew without daring to engage that able general, who returned to Poictiers, and the earl to the caſtle of Mortagne. But Pembroke was not to be intimidated by one misfortune; he ſoon after marched into Angouleſme, where he was joined by Sir Hugh Calverly, juſt returned from demoliſhing the eſtates of the Armagnac family. The firſt attempt was upon the town of Samure, where they were repulſed. They, however, left a garriſon at Pont de Cè, and another at the abbey of St. Maur. Theſe places being both well fortified, proved afterwards of great ſervice to the Engliſh.

On the other hand, the French took, by the treachery of a monk, the ſtrong tower of St. Salvine. This place being within the government of the lord Chandois, he thought his honour obliged him to recover it; but he loſt his life in the attempt. This misfortune was irreparable, as he did not leave an equal in the Engliſh army. It was chiefly under his eye that the prince of Wales learned both the arts of war and humanity. It was he who trained the young hero to all the duties both of the field and the cabinet. The ſtrictneſs of his honour, the openneſs of his temper, and the prudence of his counſels, ſtill balanced all the efforts of the loud, the violent and the forward. In a word, his very enemies who moſt dreaded him in war, bewailed his loſs.

Before we conclude the tranſactions of this year, we muſt mention the death of queen Philippa, who paid the debt of nature at Windſor, on the 15th of Auguſt, after a tedious indiſpoſition. She was fortunate enough not to ſee the great reverſe of Edward's fortune and family, which ſoon after happened. She had lived with him above forty years, in all the happineſs and comfort her exemplary virtues and conjugal affection deſerved.

A. D. 1370. As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit the armies to take the field, Sir Robert Knolles, commander of the Engliſh forces in Picardy, marched from Calais toward Fiennes, and entering the Artois, laid all the country waſte, but was not able to take any place of ſtrength: for the king of France, experiencing daily the ſucceſs attending his maxim of not hazarding any action of conſequence, had ſtrongly fortified all his places of ſtrength, and confined, under the ſevereſt penalties, the natural impetuoſity of his ſubjects within their walls. Knolles could therefore gain no other glory, than that of over-running an open and defenceleſs country. This method of making war could not be very agreeable to a perſon who had raiſed himſelf from obſcurity by commanding ſoldiers of fortune. After a long and tedious march, he paſſed the river Seine, and inſulted the very neighbourhood of Paris itſelf, where Charles lay with a conſiderable army; but the heat and remonſtrances of his officers could not prevail upon him to depart from his cool maxim of ſuffering the Engliſh fury to evaporate, by taking from it the object of oppoſition in the field. He even beheld, from his own pavilions, the ſmoke of the adjacent villages and country ſeats, ſet on fire by the Engliſh; but even this ſcene of diſtreſs and deſolation, could not provoke him to take the field. And Knolles, who was not mad enough to make any attempt upon Paris, retreated to the borders of Anjou, after a daring, but fruitleſs march.

During theſe tranſactions, the prince of Wales found it difficult to ſupport himſelf in Aquitain, againſt the dukes of Berry and Anjou, whoſe forces were greatly ſuperior in number to the Engliſh. Du Gueſclin had been for ſome time returned out of Spain, where the count de Tranſtamere was in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown of Caſtile, and was ordered to ſerve under the dukes of Berry and Anjou. The earls of Armagnac, Perigord, and others of the Gaſcon noblemen, who had been ſubjects to Edward, ſerved alſo in the ſame army. They marched through Agenois, they took Moipac, Agen, Tonnins upon the Garonne, port St. Mary, and Montpefrat. After this ſucceſs, they inveſted Agvillon, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in France, and which, a few years before, had baffled an army of a hundred thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Normandy; but it now ſurrendered after a ſiege of four days to the French, though the whole army did not conſiſt of more than twelve thouſand men. It was therefore evident that the Engliſh had an enemy in the breaſts of the people, more dreadful than all the power brought againſt them in the field. The generous ſpirit of the prince of Wales could not ſupport this reverſe of fortune. His dropſy ſtill continued; and he heard with indignation, that beſides the loſſes already mentioned, the duke of Bourbon and the earl of Alençon, had made an irruption into the Limoſin; where, after committing the moſt terrible ravages, they had undertaken the ſiege of the important city of Limoges. The prince was then at Angouleſme, in daily expectation of a reinforcement from England, under the command of his brother, the duke of Lancaſter. He publickly declared that he would take the field at all events, and offer the enemy battle. Accordingly he ordered all his friends in thoſe parts to meet him in arms at Congac, ſituated on the river Charente, and repaired thither himſelf in a litter. While he was collecting his army he was joined by the duke of Lancaſter with the Engliſh troops, which conſiſted only of four hundred men at arms, and four hundred archers. He was, however, able to form a ſmall army, with which he propoſed to relieve Limoges.

moges. The very name of the prince of Wales, weak and enfeebled as he was, ſtruck the enemy with terror; and the duke of Anjou, after calling a council of war, thought proper to retreat to Cahors, though without raiſing the ſiege of Limoges: for the duke of Berry was now able to reinforce the French, and ſend du Gueſclin to command the ſiege, by whoſe prudent management the place was at laſt given up to the enemy. This conqueſt finiſhed the operations of the campaign in theſe parts.

The prince of Wales being thus diſappointed in his hopes of coming to a general engagement, and diſdaining to leave the field without performing ſome exploit worthy of himſelf, inveſted Limoges. As he was fully acquainted with the ſtrength of the place, having fortified it himſelf, he well knew that he could expect ſucceſs only from mining. This had ſoon the deſired effect; great part of the wall was thrown down; a ſtrong body of the Engliſh infantry and archers ſtormed the breach; forced open the gates; and, entering the city ſword in hand, ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition. Four thouſand were killed before the prince could put a ſtop to the ſlaughter; but no quarter was given to thoſe who were found in arms, excepting French noblemen, whoſe noble defence engaged the prince's attention, and gained his friendſhip. This was the laſt exploit of the gallant Edward, known by the name of the Black Prince, who ſoon after put his army into winter quarters.

Sir Robert Knolles ſtill continued with his troops on the borders of Anjou, and du Gueſclin, who had been lately created conſtable of France, thought he could not ſignalize his entrance on his new dignity more worthily, than by attacking that rival of his fame and fortune. He imparted his deſign to Charles, who gave him very little encouragement, fearing leſt his impetuous temper, ſhould occaſion him to break the forbearing maxims he had laid down as the rules of his conduct. Du Gueſclin, however, prevailed ſo far on his maſter as to be placed at the head of a few troops, whoſe number he augmented by ſelling the rich jewels and equipages he had brought from Spain, and inliſting adventurers in the expedition he had planned. In the mean time Knolles's army was divided into factions; his young officers of quality entered into cabals, and one Sir John Maſterworth, an Engliſh knight, encouraged this wrangling diſpoſition, in order to eſcape from being puniſhed for the many embezzlements of which he had been guilty. Fomented by this artful ſoldier, their diviſions ſoon came to ſuch a height, that the lord Grandiſon, Fitzwater, and others, declared that they would no longer ſerve under an old free booter, and refuſed the advice of Knolles, for going into winter quarters in Britany. At laſt they ſeparated into ſeveral diviſions; the parties under Sir Robert Knolles, and Sir Allan Baxhall, drew off towards Britany; while the reſt remained on the borders of Anjou and Tourraine. Perhaps theſe diviſions gave du Gueſclin the firſt hint for attacking them; but they no ſooner heard of his approach, than they immediately reſolved to join their own army, and give the conſtable battle. Du Gueſclin, however, prevented them from putting their deſign into execution: he attacked the party under lord Grandiſon and Fitzwater, and cut them to pieces. This defeat proved fatal to Edward's affairs; it obliged Knolles to march immediately into Britany, and the reſt of his forces who had not rejoined him to ſhut themſelves up in fortreſſes.

Having thus obliged the enemy to quit the French territories, du Gueſclin retuned to Paris, where he proved in the winter, as ſerviceable in the cabinet, as he had been, during the ſummer, in the field. He was generous enough to ſet the priſoners he had taken at liberty, taking their paroles for the payment of their ranſoms, which were very moderate.

A. D. 1371. In the mean time Edward was alarmed leſt his difference with Charles ſhould induce the watchful Scots to make a diverſion in favour of the French. But David had drank too deep of the cup of adverſity, to venture the eaſe he had for ſome time enjoyed. He readily agreed to a truce for fourteen years, and to pay the remainder of his ranſom. Soon after this he returned to England, where he died on the twenty-ſecond of February. The misfortunes of this prince were chiefly owing to the great aſcendency of genius Edward enjoyed over him. His gratitude to thoſe who had ſerved him during his exile and captivity, was at once both eminent and ſincere; while the perſonal virtues and mildneſs of this prince ſo effectually gained the love of his friends, that they were ready to ſacrifice every thing, except their natural independency, to his ſervice. Towards the latter end of his reign, he was cured, in a great meaſure, of that fondneſs for France which he had imbibed with his education, and which had always been encouraged by the Scots of that party. He paid the debt of nature in the forty-eighth year of his age, and in the fortieth of his reign; and was ſucceeded in the throne by the high-ſteward of Scotland, grandſon to Margery, eldeſt daughter of the great Bruce.

The new king of Scotland had too much experience to deviate from the pacific ſyſtem of his predeceſſor, and he accordingly ratified the truce with Edward. But the Engliſh officers in France ſtill continued in a very declining condition. And to increaſe the misfortunes of the Engliſh monarch, prince Edward the eldeſt ſon to the prince of Wales, now paid the debt of nature; and the prince himſelf finding his own indiſpoſition to increaſe ſo faſt, that, after taking a ſolemn farewel of all his French barons, who ſtill continued attached to his party, he appointed his brother the duke of Lancaſter, to act as governor of Aquitain, and embark ed at Bourdeaux for England. His phyſicians hoped that his native air might be of great ſervice in reſtoring his conſtitution, and preſerve a life of ſuch utility to his country. He landed, after a ſhort paſſage, at Southampton, and retired with his princeſs to the caſtle of Berkhamſtead, where he took up his reſidence.

His departure precipitated the declining fortune of Edward in France. The ſtrong caſtle of Montpion was betrayed to its owner; nor was it retaken by the duke of Lancaſter, without conſiderable loſs and difficulty, Sir Euſtace de Ambricourt, one of Edward's beſt officers in France paid the debt of nature about the ſame time, after being baſely delivered up a priſoner by a treacherous inn-keeper. The French garriſons on the borders of the Engliſh poſſeſſions were ſo ſtrong and well provided with ſtores and proviſions, that they greatly diſtreſſed all the barons of Poictou, who ſtill held out for Edward. Nor was the ſword all the weapons employed by Charles: he ſent the viſcount de Rochart,

Rochart, a man of great addreſs, together with other French agents, into Poictou, in order to inſinuate to Edward's ſubjects, the folly and danger of ſtill adhering to the intereſt of England. This attempt was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that a great number of barons were induced to abandon their duty to Edward, and the whole country became a ſcene of blood and confuſion.

In the mean time the Engliſh ſuffered ſo greatly from the garriſon of Montcontour, that the lord Thomas Piercy, ſeneſchal of Poictou, was ſo exaſperated at their excurſions and barbarities, that he beſieged the caſtle with about five hundred lances, and two thouſand foot. The beſieged made a vigorous defence for fifteen days; but the weight of the Engliſh engines at laſt made ſuch a breach in the walls, that the Engliſh entering ſword in hand, put all the garriſon, a low principal officer only excepted, to the ſword. But notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the French ſtill continued their aſcendency, and took ſeveral places from the Engliſh during the winter ſeaſon.

The duke of Britany having for ſome time continued in a kind of neutral ſtate, Edward thought it neceſſary to gain him over intirely to his intereſt. He therefore ſent the earl of Hereford, with a ſplendid equipage on board a powerful fleet, to treat with that prince. He was met in his paſſage with a ſtrong fleet of Flemiſh ſhips, whoſe admiral had received ſecret orders from the earl of Flanders, not to ſtrike the flag to the Engliſh, even if a battle ſhould be the conſequence. On the meeting of theſe fleets a fight accordingly enſued, when the Flemings were defeated with ſo remarkable a ſlaughter, that a few only of their chief officers eſcaped the ſword, and theſe were taken priſoners. After this engagement the Engliſh ambaſſador purſued his voyage, and landed ſafely at Breſt, where he had an audience with the duke of Britany, with whom he ſettled a firm alliance.

In the mean time Edward thought that his honour demanded ſome ſatisfaction from the Flemings for the inſult they had offered in attacking his fleet. Beſides he well knew, that whenever the people of that country ſuffered, they would force their prince to accept of reaſonable terms from England. He was not deceived; for as ſoon as the Engliſh fleet had blocked up the Flemiſh ports, and diſtreſſed their trade by taking their merchantmen, they obliged their earl to ſend deputies to Edward with propoſals, which, being accepted, the peace between England and Flanders was renewed.

It would not perhaps be imagined, that love could find admittance in a court ſo much alarmed by the hurry of war, as that which the duke of Lancaſter now kept at Bourdeaux. He had loſt his wife; was then in the vigour of his age; in high eſteem with his father; and equally emulous of his brother's reputation and fortune. The two ladies of Caſtile, who had been left as pledges for the performance of the engagements of the father, Peter, king of Caſtile, with the prince of Wales, ſtill remained at Ayre in Gaſcony. The fate of their father, the diſtreſs of virgin innocence, and the pity, which always attends royal ſufferers, joined to their own accompliſhments, had attracted the attention of all the inhabitants of Gaſcony. Conſtantia the elder, who was conſidered as the lawful heir of the Caſtilian crown, was univerſally admired. Fame had been laviſh in praiſe of her beauty; ſo that both the duke of Lancaſter and his brother were very deſirous of having an interview with the royal hoſtages. The diſtreſs of the ladies rendered them not averſe to this requeſt, and the two brothers, on their being introduced, were ſo charmed with their perſons, and manner of addreſs, that the duke of Lancaſter married the elder, and the duke of Cambridge the younger. This double marriage being celebrated with a ſplendor more ſuitable to the birth than the fortune of the ladies, was conſidered by Henry the king of Caſtile, as more dangerous than even a declaration of war, and induced him to unite more cloſely with France than ever. A league offenſive and defenſive was now ſigned between the two crowns, and the conſtable du Gueſclin in France, and Henry himſelf in Caſtile, redoubled their military preparations both by ſea and land. Their naval armament conſiſted of forty large, and thirteen ſmaller veſſels, on board of which were ſeveral pieces of cannon. This fleet which was commanded by four experienced admirals, was deſtined to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Poictou. The intelligence of theſe great preparations, induced the duke of Lancaſter and his brother, to paſs over into England, with their ladies. The care of defending Guienne and other places in Aquitain was left to the Capital de Buche, aſſiſted by a council compoſed of the moſt experienced officers in that country. The two princes with their conſorts were received at Windſor by Edward, with the utmoſt affection and tenderneſs.

A. D. 1372. Edward now determined to carry on the war in France in the moſt vigorous manner; and accordingly exerted the whole ſtrength of his dominions. He took into his pay a great number of German mercenaries, and appointed the duke of Lancaſter to command a powerful army, intended to penetrate into France from Calais; while the earl of Pembroke at the head of another, acted in Aquitain.

One of the chief excellences of Charles's government conſiſted in aquiring the moſt early and certain intelligence of every thing that paſſed in the cabinet of the enemy; and the admirals of Caſtile were immediately informed of the intentions of the Engliſh. They were directed to cruiſe off the port of Rochelle, in order to intercept the earl of Pembroke's fleet. They were alſo informed of the ſtrength of the Engliſh, and that they had a large ſum of money on board for the payment of the foreign mercenaries.

On the twenty-ſecond of June the Engliſh fleet, under the command of the earl of Pembroke appeared, and endeavoured to gain the port of Rochelle: but the Spaniards being to windward ſailed between them and the port, ſo that the earl of Pembroke finding it too late to think of a retreat, prepared for an engagement. It was now late in the evening; but this was not ſufficient to prevent the two fleets from engaging. The darkneſs, however ſoon put an end to the diſpute, though not before two of the Engliſh ſtore-ſhips were ſunk with all their crews. The next morning the fight was renewd with the greateſt fury; but the conteſt was unequal; the height of the Spaniſh ſhips rendering the valour of the Engliſh uſeleſs. By three in the afternoon the earl of Pembroke's fleet was entirely ruined, his own ſhip taken, and the military cheſt fell into the hands of the Caſtilians. The loſs of this battle was an irreparable blow to Edward, the greateſt, with regard

regard to its conſequences, he had ever known. A great number of the braveſt among the Engliſh nobility were; the earl of Pembroke, Sir Guiſcard, d'Angle, with many other Engliſh noblemen and knights, were taken priſoners.

This defeat cauſed as much conſternation in England, as it did rejoicing in France, where Charles ſtill continued ſucceſsful. The French army under the conſtable, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Alençon, the earl of Perche, and other noblemen, took the field, and ſoon made themſelves maſters of Montmorillon, Luſſat, and Chavigni in Poictou. The caſtle of Montcontour held out a few days, and then ſurrendered on capitulation, in conſequence of which they were eſcorted to Poictiers, where there was ſo ſtrong a party formed in favour of the French, that it was formally debated, whether an invitation ſhould not be ſent to du Gueſclin, to take poſſeſſion of the city. Reynolds, the commanding officer for Edward, ſtrongly oppoſed this propoſition; and both parties ſent ſeparate intelligence, the one to du Gueſclin, and the other to the capital de Buche, of what had paſſed in the council. The conſtable on receiving this advice, ſet out immediately for Poictiers at the head of three hundred lances, and by forced marches reached the city, and was admitted by his party without the leaſt reſiſtance, about an hour before the capital de Buche arrived. So manifeſt an indication in favour of the French government, rendered the Engliſh extremely jealous in favour of all the inhabitants of Poictou. This jealouſy was ſoon after increaſed by a refuſal made by the town of Niort to receive a detachment of Engliſh troops. The latter, however, ſoon forced open the gates, plundered the houſes, and put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword.

While things continued in this unfavourable ſituation, the Spaniſh fleet again appeared before Rochelle, but refrained from committing any hoſtilities, on receiving a promiſe from the principal inhabitants that they would declare for the king of France, as ſoon as they could do it with any appearance of ſafety.

In the mean time the caſtle of Soubize in Xaintonge held out againſt a detachment of the conſtable's army. It was defended by its owner, a lady of great prudence and intrepidity. After making a very noble defence, ſhe ſent to the capital de Buche for aſſiſtance. He advanced immediately at the head of three hundred lances, and was at firſt ſucceſsful; for he fell upon the beſiegers during the night and totally defeated them. His good fortune did not, however, long continue; the admiral of the Spaniſh fleet then before Rochelle, hearing of the capital's deſign, ſailed up the Charante with thirteen barks, and four hundred men, landed his men near the ſpot were the Engliſh had juſt before defeated the enemy; and, without giving the capital time to form his troops, who were wholly employed in ſecuring their priſoners and plunder, attacked him ſo critically, that the Engliſh were cut to pieces, and the capital himſelf, with Sir Thomas Piercy were made priſoners. The captivity of this general, who was perhaps the beſt officer that Edward then had in France, was an inexpreſſible detriment to the Engliſh affairs. The caſtle of Soubize was ſurrendered, upon condition that the lady ſhould be permitted to ſwear fealty to the king of France, and the garriſon, with their arms conveyed to Niort. The fate of this place was followed by the ſurrender of St. John d'Angeli, Tallebourg, Angouleſme, and Xaintes, all places of great conſequence to the Engliſh.

Sir John Devreux was then governor of the caſtle of Rochelle, from whence he marched ſome time before at the head of a party, but had left the care of the caſtle to Philip Manſel, a brave, but very ignorant perſon. The mayor of the town was a man of addreſs, and under engagements to betray his truſt. The late ſucceſſes of the French party induced him to think that this was a very proper opportunity for putting his deſigns in execution. He accordingly invited Manſel to dine with him, without appearing to be acquainted with his ignorance, and produced a parchment with a ſeal appended, which he pretended to be an order from Edward, that Manſel and himſelf ſhould make a general review next morning, of all the forces both in the town and caſtle, and that this review ſhould, for the conveniency of ſpace, be made in the town. His conſummate aſſurance impoſed upon the Engliſhman, who, unwilling to betray his ignorance, pretended to peruſe the writing, though he could not read a ſingle word. The Frenchman, however, read it aloud with ſo much fluency, that Manſel agreed to march his troops out of the caſtle the next morning in order to their being reviewed, purſuant to the pretended order of Edward. In the mean time the treacherous mayor, ordered two hundred choſen burgeſſes, completely armed, to conceal themſelves behind certain ruinous buildings by which Manſel was to march, and as ſoon as the commander had paſſed them, they were to ruſh out immediately, and aſſault the caſtle. Matters being thus diſpoſed, Manſel marched out the next morning, at the head of fourſcore choſen men, leaving only twenty in the caſtle. He was no ſooner advanced to a proper diſtance beyond the ambuſh, than the burgers ruſhed out between him and the caſtle. Manſel immediately ſaw he was betrayed, and was attempting to cut his way through the ambuſcade back to the caſtle, when he found his rear ſuddenly attacked by the mayor, at the head of two thouſand citizens. This obliged him to ſtop and face about, in order to defend himſelf againſt the treacherous magiſtrate. But the conteſt was too unequal; Manſel, after doing every thing in the power of a brave man, was taken priſoner. The ſoldiers in the caſtle, however, ſtill continued to defend themſelves with the greateſt intrepidity, till the mayor, leading his priſoners before the gate of the fortreſs declared, that unleſs they agreed immediately to deliver up the place, he would inſtantly hang up all his captives. This menace produced the deſired effect: the feeble garriſon agreed to deliver up the caſtle, on condition that they ſhould, with all their effects, be put on board a ſhip, and conducted to Bourdeaux.

The French having thus reduced the citadel of Rochelle, proceeded to take the other forts in the neighbourhood of that place. Sanbenot, a place of great ſtrength, Marant, and Surgieres fell into their hands, and the garriſon of the firſt, were, for making a noble reſiſtance, put to the ſword. They next formed the ſiege of Fontenai le Compte, which was defended by Sir John Harpedon's lady with great intrepidity, nor did ſhe deliver up the place till the enemy conſented to grant her the honourable terms of allowing the garriſon to march out

with all the honours of war, and conducting them, with all their effects to Thouars, the place where moſt of the Poictovin and Gaſcon barons, who ſtill continued firm in the intereſt of Edward, had ſhut themſelves up. This place was prodigiouſly ſtrong both by nature and art; and here thoſe faithful noblemen determined to make their laſt efforts againſt the enemy, and, if poſſible, defend themſelves till ſuccours arrived from England. On the other hand, the French, knowing the ſtrength of the place, and the power of the garriſon, made very great preparations for the ſiege. Large quantities of artillery, arms and ammunition, were provided at Rochelle and Poictiers, for reducing this important fortreſs, and after ſeveral ineffectual aſſaults, the garriſon agreed to the following conditions: that if, before the enſuing Michaelmas, either the king of England, or ſome of the Engliſh princes did not arrive with an army for their relief, they ſhould not only deliver up Thouars, but alſo ſubmit themſelves, together with their caſtles, to the king of France: that the noblemen ſhould, during the interval, be at liberty to ſend meſſengers to Edward to inform him of the terms of this capitulation: and that there ſhould be an entire ſuſpenſion of arms, not only for Thouars, but likewiſe for the eſtates of all the French noblemen, who had ſhut themſelves up in that place. As ſoon as this capitulation was ſigned, the Poictovin noblemen diſpatched meſſengers to Edward with the neceſſary intelligence. They found the Engliſh monarch wholly employed in military preparations; but much altered from the hero who had laid the glory of France in the duſt. Infirmities had crept upon him with his years; his private happineſs declined with his mighty power; the pride of his life, the brave prince of Wales, laboured under a diſeaſe that daily threatened his life; cabals were formed at his court; diſſenſions reigned in his councils; and diſtruſt had inſinuated itſelf among his people. It mortified him extremely to ſee all the effects of his military glory blaſted by a prince who had never affected a warlike character; and to behold all the ſchemes he had ſo aſſiduouſly formed, and eſtabliſhed by a long ſeries of ſucceſs in the field, all rendered abortive by the mere effects of policy and prudence. He did not however deſpair; and upon the arrival of the Poictovin deputies, he ſuddenly formed a reſolution of once more going over to France in perſon. Accordingly he iſſued orders for fitting out four hundred ſail of large ſhips, beſides other veſſels, for tranſporting his troops. This reſolution retarded the departure of the duke of Lancaſter, who was then ready to embark with his army for Calais. By this change the duke found himſelf only the third in command; as he was to ſerve under the prince of Wales, and the prince under the king. This reſolution was, in general, conſidered as a deſperate effort; the prince of Wales was almoſt incapable of acting; and the retaking of Rochelle, which Edward declared was the chief motive for his heading his army in perſon, was very dubious. The court, however, was ſo intent on this project, that few or none of his military tenants were excuſed; and on the thirtieth of Auguſt, the king embarked with a prodigious army on board his ſhips, having left Richard, eldeſt ſon to the prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom, during his abſence.

The voyage was tedious, toilſome, dangerous, and fruitleſs. He attempted, during a whole month, to gain his paſſage; and ſeveral eſſays were made to land, even with the utmoſt hazard of loſing his whole fleet: ſo that he was obliged, in the beginning of October, to return and diſembark his troops. In the mean time the noblemen in the intereſt of Edward, collected a very fine body of troops, and marched toward Thouars, in expectation of joining the Engliſh army in their rout. But being diſappointed, they ſent a meſſage to the garriſon of Thouars, informing them, that though the Engliſh monarch had been detained by contrary winds from coming to their relief, yet they were ready to attempt what Edward intended, provided the garriſon thought it agreeable to the terms of the capitulation. But the garriſon anſwered, that they conceived they were obliged to ſurrender the place, if neither Edward nor any of his family came to their relief in perſon. Upon receiving this anſwer, their friends returned to Niort; and when the day arrived for fulfilling the capitulation, the conſtable drew out the French army in order of battle; but no enemy appearing, he ordered them at night to return to their camp. The next morning the town was ſummoned to ſurrender, and the garriſon anſwered, that they would come to Poictiers, and ſubmit themſelves to the king of France. This reply was accepted; the French army retired, and the town was ſoon after delivered up purſuant to the articles of capitulation.

Theſe misfortunes did not, however, totally diſcourage Edward; he determined to carry into execution a ſcheme he had formed, and by which he hoped to repair all his former diſaſters. He determined to arm the duke of Britany againſt Charles, and ſupport him with all his forces. But the latter had taken the moſt prudent meaſures to divert this blow, which he had long apprehended. He had ſhewn particular favour to all the noblemen of that dutchy, among whom were the conſtable, and Oliver de Cliſſon, one of the beſt generals and miniſters at Charles's court. He had likewiſe by his liberality and favour, attached to his party the viſcount de Rohun, with the lords of Beaumanoiere and Lavalle. Theſe noblemen were determined to defend their native prince againſt any power that ſhould diſturb the peace of their country. They even declared to their duke, that he could not give Edward any aſſiſtance againſt the king of France, without loſing the affection and ſupport of all his nobility, and endangering his government. But as the duke had from his earlieſt years been bred up in an hereditary hatred of the Valois family, and owed the poſſeſſion of his dukedom entirely to Edward, he conſidered this declaration as a menace, which deſerved his higheſt reſentment. He was encouraged in this reſolution by Knolles, Nevil, and Milbourn, three Engliſhmen then at the court of Britany, who perſuaded him to declare openly againſt France, and promiſed him a powerful ſupport from England. Edward very readily ſent four hundred men at arms, and as many archers into lower Britany, and the earl of Saliſbury, with a ſtrong fleet, was ordered to cruiſe off Breſt. The Breton lords, who were in the intereſt of Charles, were greatly alarmed at this meaſure, and entered into cabals with ſeveral officers of the principal garriſons. They were even ſo ſucceſsful in this at-

tempt

tempt that by the concluſion of the year, there was hardly a town or fortreſs in Britany that continued firm to the duke.

A. D. 1373. As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the ſiege of Siveray was formed by the conſtable du Gueſclin, with ſixteen thouſand choice troops. As Niort continued to be the center of the Engliſh intereſt in Aquitain, the garriſon of Siveray, after making a noble defence, ſent private intelligence to Sir John Evreux and their friends at Niort, declaring that they muſt ſurrender if not relieved in a few days. Deſirous of ſuccouring the place, Sir John marched directly at the head of a body of troops; but the greater part of them were cut to pieces, and the remainder taken priſoners; after which the garriſon of Siveray ſurrendered on honourable conditions. The conſtable purſued his ſucceſs, and ſummoned Niort, which being left without a ſufficient garriſon, ſurrendered immediately, as did alſo the caſtle of Luſignan. Du Gueſclin next ſummoned Caſtelcherault, which was defended by the lady of Sir Guiſard d'Angle; but her prudent behaviour ſaved the place, 'till ſhe could receive inſtructions from her huſband, then a priſoner in Spain. The caſtles of Mortimer and Dienne next ſubmitted to the power of France, and the conſtable had the glory of reducing, in this ſingle campaign all the country as far as the river Gironne.

This ſucceſs of the French army animated the Breton noblemen to declare openly their ſentiments in favour of Charles, and a general defection from their own duke, ſoon after enſued. Du Gueſclin was ordered to ſupport them with his army; and the duke, perceiving that no dependence could be placed upon his own ſubjects, admitted Engliſh garriſons in all the principal towns in his dominions. The conſtable now entered Britany at the head of a powerful army, and the duke perceiving even his own perſon to be in danger, appointed Sir Robert Knolles to act as his deputy, and embarked at Conquet for England, where he ſoon after arrived.

Edward was far from being unconcerned at this cataſtrophe of all his power and intereſt in France, ſo glorioufly acquired, and ſo ignobly loſt. He had appointed the earl of Saliſbury lord high admiral of England, and that nobleman was obliged by contract to ſerve the crown with three hundred men at arms, and the ſame number of archers. The admiral accordingly fitted out a formidable fleet, conſiſting of forty capital ſhips, and ſailed directly to St. Malo, where he burnt ſeven large Spaniſh ſhips then lying in that harbour. This ſpirited behaviour greatly alarmed the whole coaſt of Britany, and prevented ſeveral of the nobility from declaring in favour of Charles.

In the mean time the conſtable of France was making a rapid progreſs in ſubduing Britany; and after taking ſeveral places in that dutchy, formed the ſiege of Hennebon, where the Engliſh garriſon were commanded by Sir Thomas Wych and Sir Thomas Fryar. The garriſon made a noble defence, notwithſtanding all the thunder of the French artillery, of which du Gueſclin had a numerous train. But on the conſtable's declaring to the inhabitants, that if they made any farther reſiſtance, they were to expect no quarter, they abandoned the Engliſh, who being too few to defend ſo large a place, the town was taken by ſtorm, and all the garriſon, except the two commanding officers, were put to the ſword. Conquet ſoon after ſuffered the ſame fate, and Sir John Langley, the commanding officer, was the only Engliſhman that obtained quarter. Such a rapid ſeries of ſucceſs induced the conſtable to undertake the ſiege of Breſt. But the earl of Saliſbury, informed of the conſtable's intention, reinforced the place with ſo ſtrong a body of troops, and laid in ſuch a ſtock of proviſions, that the conſtable, when he ſat down before the place, perceived that the ſiege would prove a matter of great difficulty; and being too great a maſter of the military ſciences to throw away the lives of his men upon an enterprize that appeared impracticable, he wiſely turned the ſiege into a kind of blockade, which he continued with about ſix thouſand men, and ſent a ſtrong detachment of his army, under the lord Cliffon, to inveſt la Roch-ſur yon, while another detachment was ordered to reduce Derval, the chief caſtle of Sir Robert Knolles's own eſtate, and a place of great ſtrength. The conſtable now covered the ſieges of five of the ſtrongeſt places in Britany; thoſe of Becherel, St. Saveur, Breſt, Roch-ſur-yon, and Derval. Knolles, who commanded in Breſt, found himſelf too weak to oppoſe the conſtable in the field, though he had taken care to reinforce all the garriſons within his government. The ſiege of Roch-ſur-yon was ſo furiouſly preſſed, that the place was ſurrendered to lord Cliffon, and the garriſon eſcorted to Bourdeaux. The ſiege of Breſt was raiſed, but the blockade continued with two thouſand men, who, by means of a fort they had erected, effectually ſhut up the place on the land ſide. In the mean time Sir Hugh Bright, the governor of Derval, agreed to deliver up the place if not relieved in two months, and gave three hoſtages for the performance. This capitulation alarmed Sir Robert Knolles, who, in order to prevent his favourite caſtle from falling into the enemy's hands, entered into a treaty with the French general, by which he agreed to deliver up the caſtle of Breſt, if not relieved within forty days, by an army which ſhould offer the conſtable battle. Du Gueſclin was lying before the city of Nantes when the offers were made him by Knolles. They were readily agreed to, and hoſtages being delivered for the performance, Knolles, with ſome choſen friends, threw himſelf into Derval, before the expiration of the time limited for its ſurrender.

By this time the city of Nantes had admitted the conſtable, as lieutennant-general to the king of France; on condition, however, that the duke ſhould be reinſtated, if upon his return, he ſhould make ſubmiſſion to Charles, and abandon his connections with England. This important acquiſition ſeemed to render the whole conqueſt of Britany as certain. But the earl of Saliſbury being now arrived at Breſt with a large reinforcement of troops, landed his men, drew them up ſeveral times in order of battle, and on the expiration of the term limited by the capitulation, very juſtly demanded the Engliſh hoſtages from the conſtable, as the place was relieved by an army, which had offered him battle. But the conſtable evaſively anſwered, that if the earl would march to Nantes, the place where the capitulation was ſigned, he would find the French ready to give him battle. This propoſition was conſidered as ſo unreaſonable, that the earl, after revictualling the

the garriſon of Breſt, put to ſea. Upon which the conſtable committed the hoſtages to priſon.

The ſiege of Derval now became very difficult. The duke of Anjou, who commanded before the place, inſiſted, that as no army had appeared to relieve the caſtle, the terms of the capitulation ought to be fulfilled. Knolles, on the other hand, refuſed to be bound by that capitulaton, which he declared his governor had no power to conclude. Exaſperated at his anſwer, the duke ordered the heads of the three Engliſh hoſtages to be ſtruck off; and in return, Knolles commanded thoſe of three French gentlemen whom he had taken priſoners, to be taken off in ſight of the French army, and thrown into their camp. The duke, however, found it impracticable to take the place, but by a long ſiege, which a new ſcene of operations, would not ſuffer him to undertake. He therefore raiſed the ſiege, and marched into the French territories, where all his forces were now wanted.

The earl of Pembroke, accompanied with the duke of Britany, was juſt landed at Calais, with an army of thirty thouſand men. Charles was not ſo much elated by his late ſucceſs, as to think of oppoſing the fury of the Engliſh, ſo often fatal to France in the open field. Notwithſtanding the high opinion he entertained of his conſtable's abilities, and the zeal of the princes of the blood, he determined to adhere to his former politics. He ordered his chief places of ſtrength to be well provided with arms and ammunition, and his army to be diſperſed in garriſons. He even ſuffered the duke of Lancaſter to march his army in three diviſions, thro' the provinces of Artois, Picardy, Champagne, Foneſte, Auvergne, and Limoſin, till he arrived at Bourdeaux. This march, however, in which the whole power of France ſeemed to be inſulted, was not ſo glorious as it was ruinous. The enemy had deſtroyed the forage and proviſions in every part of the country; ſo that the Engliſh loſt all their horſes, by the fatigues of the journey, and great numbers of their men, by the heat of the ſeaſon, and the badneſs, as well as ſcarcity of proviſions. The conſtable had taken poſt at Troye in Champagne to cover that province while the duke of Burgundy, at the head of a flying body of horſe, followed the Engliſh ſo cloſe, and cut off ſo many of their foraging parties, that the two dukes arrived at Bourdeaux with hardly the appearance of an army, and without having taken any one place of conſequence. This was the laſt attempt made by the Engliſh for recovering their territories in France: a truce was ſoon after concluded and prolonged from time to time, till the death of the great Edward put an end to the conteſt.

A. D. 1376. But now the dreadful moment ſo long dreaded, and expected arrived. Edward, prince of Wales, the glory of the Engliſh name and nation, paid the debt of nature in the forty-ſixth year of his age. His death was indeed no ſurprize either to his father or the public: the diſeaſe under which he had long laboured, ſufficiently demonſtrated that the period of his exiſtence was approaching. The ſuffrage of all ages confirms his character to have been the moſt amiable that heaven allots to mortals. When free from diſeaſe, that bitter portion of humanity, he was all that coud be deſired in man; and the natural infirmities under which he laboured, ſeemed intended only to reduce him to a level with the moſt perfect character of thoſe times. His valour and military talents formed the ſmalleſt part of his merit: his generoſity, humanity, affability, moderation, gained him the affections of the whole world; and he was qualified to throw a luſtre, not only on that rude age in which he lived, and which did not at all infect him with its vices, but even on the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory. Both his conſtitution and complection, notwithſtanding his amazing ſtrength and dexterity, were very delicate; and the epithet of Black was given him by his enemies, merely from the colour of his armour.

A. D. 1377. The lateſt prolongations of the truce with France being now expired, Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, was ſent over thither with freſh forces; and all the militia of England were ordered to be in readineſs to oppoſe an invaſion, then expected from France. But tho' that nation were very buſy in their ports, it was only to amuſe the Engliſh till they could ſtrike a blow nearer home. Accordingly they laid ſiege to a ſtrong fort near Calais poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, and commanded by one William Weſton, who baſely ſurrendered the fortreſs, and was ſent over to England, to be tried for cowardice. But Sir William Calverly retook the place a few days after, and returned with a very conſiderable booty to Calais.

This was the laſt military operation in the reign of Edward: the period of his life was now arrived, and he expired in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign. The toils of his youth had impaired his conſtitution, and the troubles that attended the cloſe of his days had broken his ſpirit. The dawn of his life was mild, cool, and ſerene: its meridian intenſe and dreadfully bright; and its cloſe diſturbed and obſcured by tempeſts and clouds. But never ſhall the name of Edward, and the glory of England be ſeparated. The pride of conqueſt, however, has but a ſecond place in his renown. Liberty reſtored, confirmed, and embelliſhed, has the firſt. Secure in the poſſeſſion of this ineſtimable prize, England appeared greater than in all her victories.

The graceful, compact, majeſtic perſon of Edward ſufficiently indicated what he really was, the king of men. The arms which are ſtill ſhewn, and ſaid to be his, demonſtrate his perſonal ſtrength. In his temper he ſeemed to be above many weakneſſes of human nature. Succeſs rendered him cautious, and victory humble. His religion was void of ſuperſtition, his greatneſs of terror, and his majeſty of pride. In private life he ſhewed himſelf a king; but never forgot he was a man. In converſation he was affable, and polite enough to ſhew a deſire of being informed. The œconomy of his court was extemely magnificent and regular; and perhaps never prince knew ſo well how to chuſe his ſervants, either in the court, the field, or the cabinet. The afflicted he often relieved, and always as a king, by placing them above a return of their misfortunes. He was particularly fond of men of merit; and his buildings, devices, and other ſimilar circumſtances, are ſufficient to convince us that he had a taſte for the liberal arts, very uncommon in that age. He gained the affections of the great, though he curbed their licentiouſneſs: he made them feel his power, without their daring even to murmur at it. In a word, by his vigorous and prudent adminiſtration, England enjoyed a longer interval of peace and tranquillity, than ſhe had ever been bleſſed with in any former period.

If

If there was an error in Edward's government, it conſiſted in the high contempt he entertained for his enemies. He came young to indepedent empire, and untutelaged greatneſs. But young as he was, he found no rival equal to him in the field; and his enemies happened to be of a character which ſerved to encourage the notions of his own ſuperiority. The Scots, on the death of their great Bruce, were rich, factious, and indolent; diſtreſs and confuſion filled the nation during the minority of their king, and both were amazingly increaſed by the attempts of Baliol. In the ſame manner the weakneſs of the French government was expoſed by the revolt of ſome of the greateſt noblemen in that kingdom, and Edward on making the experiment, found his expectations had fallen ſhort of his ſucceſs. The ſtate of affairs on the continent, where ſo many jarring intereſts, ſo many divided claims, ſo many princes jealous becauſe they were weak, or rapacious becauſe they were poor, all concurred in flattering Edward. They indeed deceived him; but his ſucceeding againſt France without their aſſiſtance, nay even though many of them oppoſed him, ſtill ſerved to increaſe the contempt he already conceived of his enemies. Nor does his proceedings with regard to his parliament in the beginning of his reign, give us any reaſon to believe that he held it in any high eſteem, but he lived long enough to be convinced of this error, if indeed he ever really embraced it. The Scots, notwithſtanding all his power, and all his ſucceſs, recovered, maintained, and improved their independency. The French monarch, though reduced to the loweſt ebb of misfortune by Edward's victories, roſe, before his death, with a luſtre greater than what ſhe had known for many years, and Edward had long been convinced, that the culture of a friendſhip with his parliament could alone preſerve his laurels in all their verdure.

Another failing of Edward's government was, perhaps, his miſtaking, at firſt, the true genius of his people: he imagined they were naturally fond of foreign conqueſts. But though they ſhewed the greateſt ardour for a war with Scotland or with France, or even with both, it flowed entirely from a deſire of breathing from thoſe civil diſſenſions, which had ſo long diſtreſſed their country. The wars of the barons, and the deluge of blood that had been ſhed through civil diſcords, in the reign of Edward the ſecond, rendered it neceſſary to give vent to the fury of theſe turbulent ſpirits, by leading them againſt a public enemy. The amazing ſucceſs of Edward, however, inſpired the people with notions to which they would otherwiſe have been ſtrangers; but dear-bought experience ſoon convinced them, that Scotland was too barren a ſoil for them to people, and France too great a fortreſs for them to garriſon. They, however, ſtill cheriſhed their regard for the victorious Edward, when his victories were no more; and in the day of his diſtreſs ſupported the monarch, who had enobled them in the day of his power.

Edward had a numerous poſterity by his queen Phillippa of Hainault. His eldeſt ſon was Edward of Woodſtock, ſo called from the place of his birth. This was the heroic prince of Wales. He was born on the 15th of June, 1330, and married his couſin Joan, called from her great beauty, "the "fair maid of Kent." She was daughter and heireſs to Edmund of Woodſtock, earl of Kent, ſixth ſon to king Edward the firſt. She was firſt married to the earl of Holland, by whom ſhe had two ſons. She had alſo by the prince of Wales two ſons and one daughter; the firſt died in the ſeventh year of his age, but the ſecond ſurvived his father, and on the death of his grandfather ſucceeded to the throne by the name of Richard the ſecond.

William of Hatfield, ſecond ſon of Edward the third, was born in 1336, and died very young.

The third ſon of Edward, was Lionel, duke of Clarence, born at Antwerp, and married Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir to the earl of Ulſter, by whom he had one daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. On the death of Elizabeth, Lionel eſpouſed Violante, the daughter of the duke of Milan, but died in Italy ſoon after the conſummation of his nuptials.

John of Gaunt, ſo called from the place of his birth, was the fourth ſon of Edward. He was firſt created earl of Richmond, and afterwards duke of Lancaſter. He married Blanche, ſecond daughter of Henry duke of Lancaſter, by whom he had a ſon, Henry earl of Derby, duke of Hereford and Lancaſter, and who afterwards aſcended to the throne, with the name of Henry IV.

Edmund of Langley, ſo called from the place of his birth, a manor in Hertfordſhire, was the fifth ſon of Edward. He was, by his father, created earl of Cambridge, and by Richard II. duke of York. He married Iſabella, younger daughter and coheireſs of Peter, king of Caſtile, by whom he had two ſons, Edward and Richard; the former died without iſſue, but the latter had ſeveral children, and from this branch Edward IV. was deſcended.

William of Windſor, the ſecond of that name, was the ſixth ſon of Edward, but died ſo young that there is hardly any memorial left of him except the place of his birth.

The ſeventh, and youngeſt ſon of Edward III. was Thomas of Woodſtock, created by Richard II. duke of Glouceſter. He married Eleanor, the eldeſt daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, but died without iſſue.

Iſabella, the eldeſt daughter of Edward III. married Ingelram lord of Coucy, and earl of Soiſſons in France, who was created earl of Bedford.

Joan, the ſecond daughter of Edward III. enjoyed the title of queen of Spain. She was married by proxy, to Alphonſo, king of Caſtile and Leon, and ſent into that country, but ſhe died of the plague before the nuptials were conſummated.

The third daughter of Edward III. was Blanche de la Tour, ſo called from her being born in the tower of London. She died in her infancy.

Mary, the fourth daughter of Edward III. was married to John Montfort, duke of Britany in France, and whoſe gallant actions have been already mentioned in this hiſtory.

Margaret, the fifth, and youngeſt daughter of Edward III. was married to John Haſtings, earl of Pembroke.

RICHARD II.

A. D. 1377. A Few days after the death of the great Edward, his grandſon and ſucceſſor, Richard II. made a very magnificent entry into the city of London, where he was received with the greateſt and moſt ſincere demonſtrations of joy, affection, and loyalty. The whole people of England had indeed watched the dawn of thoſe promiſing qualities, which appeared in the non-age of Richard II. with all the tenderneſs of the fondeſt parent. They conſidered him as the endeared relick of thoſe princes, who had, by their arms, made their country like a queen among the nations. Every tongue overflowed with gratitude, every heart with affection, and every eye fondly read the revival of England's glory, and of Edward's virtues, in the diſpoſition and genius of the royal infant. Theſe ſentiments were ſo univerſal, that they plucked the ſting from diſcord, and ſnatched the ſwords from the hands of parties ready to bathe them in the blood of their fellow ſubjects.

The impatience of the people was ſo great to ſee their youthful monarch decorated with the enſigns of royalty, that the day of his coronation was fixed for the 15th of July, when the ceremony was performed with the greateſt ſplendor.

The next day a grand council was held at Weſtminſter, in which it was reſolved to chuſe an ordinary council, conſiſting of two biſhops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets, and four batchelors, who were to direct the chancellor and treaſurer, and to borrow money on the king's credit.

Charles, who ſtill filled the throne of France, received no information of Edward's death till ſome weeks after it happened, the Engliſh government having laid an embargo upon all the ſhipping, as ſoon as that event was known. He was not, however, the leſs aſſiduous in his preparations, eſpecially thoſe by ſea; and was ſoon in a condition to ſend out a ſtrong navy, which being joined by that of Caſtile, amounted to one hundred and twenty ſhips, veſſels, and gallies. A ſquadron of this fleet had already landed and burnt the town of Rye. From whence they ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, the whole of which they reduced, except the caſtle of Cariſbrook, which was bravely defended by Sir Hugh Tyrrel, while the inhabitants of the iſland were obliged to pay a large contribution to prevent their houſes from being pillaged and burnt. Having ſucceeded in this expedition, they viſited ſeveral of the Engliſh coaſts, and burnt the towns of Haſtings, Portſmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, but found Southampton too well guarded by the earl of Arundel for them to hope for ſucceſs. They, however, landed a party of their men in Suſſex, where they were oppoſed by the prior of Lewes, at the head of a few raw and unexperienced forces, who were eaſily defeated, and the prior himſelf, together with two knights, being taken priſoners, were ſent into France. From them the French gained the firſt intelligence of Edward's death, and John de Vienne, admiral of France, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to his court, with advice of this important event. Charles ſhewed a generous concern for the great virtues of Edward. In the mean time the abbot of Battel made a brave reſiſtance, and drove the enemy from the coaſt of Suſſex. By this time the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham had collected a body of troops, and appeared on the coaſt to prevent the enemy's landing. This, however, was all they could do; for the navy of England was in no condition to face the combined fleets of France and Caſtile. The whole nation was greatly alarmed, their coaſts inſulted, their commerce interrupted, and the people threw out many melancholly, though bitter reflections, on the fatal reverſe of their affairs, from the time they held in chains the father, and almoſt the whole nobility, of the very prince who thus diſtreſſed them.

Nor was Charles leſs ſucceſsful by land than by ſea. He ſent one army into Picardy, under the command of the duke of Burgundy and the mareſchal Blainville, who beſieged and took the town of Ardreſſe. They next made themſelve maſters of Ardwick and Vavelingen, all of them ſtrongly fortified, and of great uſe to prevent any excurſions from the garriſon of Calais. Another French army was ſent into Gaſcony, under the duke of Anjou, and the mareſchal Sancerre. They firſt inveſted Bergerac, and John de Bueil was ſent with a detachment to bring up the artillery from la Reole. Sir Thomas Felton, a brave Engliſhman, was then governor of Aquitain for Richard, and employed in collecting all the forces in his power. As ſoon as he had formed a ſufficient body of troops, he threw himſelf between this detachment under de Bueil and the main body of the French army before Bergerac; hoping to ſeize the artillery, and cut in pieces the detachment, before it could receive any ſuccours from the main body. But the duke of Anjou took his meaſures ſo well, that de Bueil's brother reached the detachment with a ſtrong reinforcement, before Sir Thomas arrived. They then gave battle to the Engliſh, who were defeated, and Felton, who had been guilty of an unſeaſonable ſeverity, in ſtriking off the head of the lord de Poimeres, and that of his ſecretary, was taken priſoner, with all his ſoldiers who had eſcaped the ſword. The whole French army then preſſed the ſiege of Bergerac with ſo much fury, that the place was was ſoon after taken, tho' one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in that country. This acquiſition ſo intimidated the neighbouring garriſons, that they made little or no oppoſition to the enemy, and it was computed that no leſs than one hundred and thirty-four caſtles were taken by the French during this campaign.

To ballance all theſe misfortunes, the brave Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, had better ſucceſs on the ſide of Picardy; for towards the end of the year, he burned above twenty-ſix French ſhips in the port of Boulogne, laid the town in aſhes, and carried off a large booty, particularly in cattle, a very ſeaſonable relief for his garriſon. In his return

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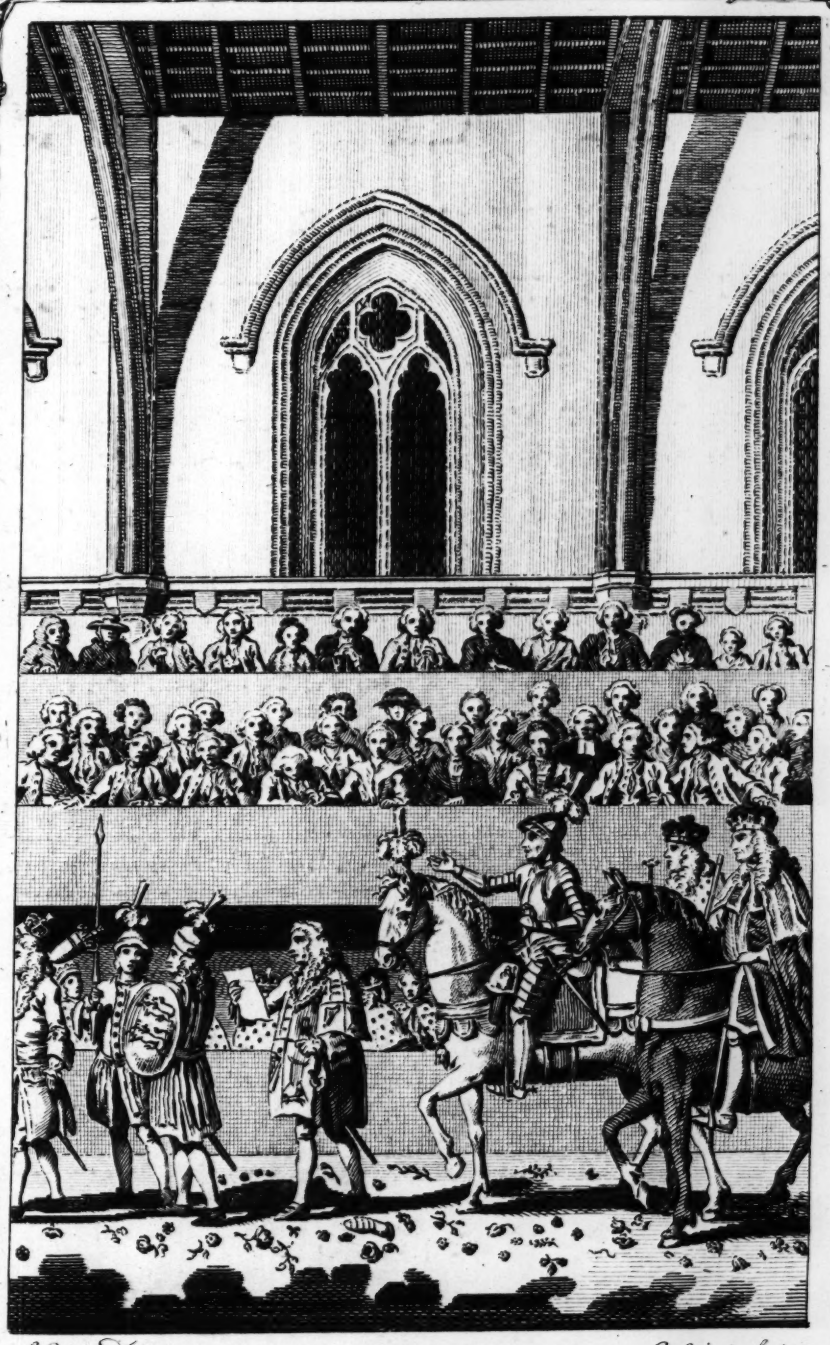

Sir John Dimmock Performing the
CEREMONY *of the* CHAMPION'S CHALLENGE
at the Coronation of Richard 2 in Westminster Hall

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to Calais, he learned that the garriſon had betrayed to the French, in the abſence of Sir Robert Solle their governor, the caſtle of Merck; a fortreſs of great importance, not far from Calais; but Sir Hugh attacked the place ſo vigorouſly that he retook it, and hanged up all the garriſon as traitors. But about this time ſome Engliſh noblemen received a ſevere check by ſea. The government having at length fitted out a fleet, received intelligence that a large number of Spaniſh veſſels were lying in the harbour of Sluiſe, and the earl of Buckingham, the duke of Britany, with the lords Latimer, Fitzwater, and Sir Robert Knolles, aſſiſted by ſeveral of the noblemen went on board a ſquadron of ſhips, with a deſign of either taking or burning them; but they had hardly left the harbour, before a violent ſtorm ſhattered, diſperſed, and drove them back. The ſhips, however, being refitted, they again put to ſea, in queſt of the Spaniards: but ſo corrupted were the manners of the ſailors, that they mutinied, and the lord Fitzwater, admiral of the ſquadron, muſt have loſt his life, had he not fortunately eſcaped on board the earl of Buckingham's ſhip. Thus all the fond hopes entertained for the ſucceſs of this expedition vaniſhed, and the whole fleet, except a ſmall ſquadron under the lord Thomas Piercy, returned into port. That nobleman had ſoon the good forune to fall in with a fleet of merchantmen, conſiſting of fifty ſail, part of which belonged to the Flemings and part to the Spaniards, laden with French merchandize. Piercy ſent a meſſage to the Flemings, deſiring them to ſeparate from the Spaniards; but this requeſt not being complied with, a ſharp diſpute enſued, in which the Engliſh commander took twenty-two ſail, and returned with great honour to England.

The Scots, during the latter end of Edward's reign had continued quiet; but on the deceaſe of that prince, the king of France had reminded them of their former engagements, the obligations they lay under to his family, and the opportunity that now offered to repay them all, and ſerve themſelves by an irruption into England. This remonſtrance was approved of; the Scots broke into the Engliſh territories, where they took and burnt the town of Roxborough; but Piercy, lately created earl of Northumberland and warden of the Scotch marches, collected together ten thouſand men, entered Scotland, and for ſome days ravaged the country, particularly the eſtates of the Scotch earl of March, who had headed the enterprize againſt Roxborough. The earl, however, having ſatisfied his revenge, brought back his forces to England, and every thing remained quiet on the borders during the winter.

Such was the ſituation of affairs with regard to France and Scotland, when Richard held his firſt parliament. The duke of Lancaſter ſeemed, for ſome time ſenſible of his own unpopularity; and even to decline having any ſhare in the public buſineſs, leſt he might be of prejudice to the intereſt of his royal nephew. He even went ſo far, that after giving his advice to Richard, he took leave of the court, and retired to his caſtle at Kennelworth, where he lived with a pomp nothing inferior to the quality he aſſumed, that of king of Caſtile. Walſingham tells us, that before he retired, he gave Richard aſſurances, that if he ſhould, on any exigency, ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance, he would return to court with a more numerous attendance than any other nobleman in England could bring into the field. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that he was piqued at the king's having taken from him the caſtle of Hereford, which, to the great oppreſſion of his neighbours, he had made great preparations for fortifying. Probably the duke imagined that the council would not have ſufficient authority without his aſſiſtance: and being compoſed of perſons whoſe principles and intereſts were different they would ſoon quarrel among themſelves, and lay the king under a neceſſity of recalling him; but in this he was miſtaken: he had leave to retire to his eſtate, without receiving any other invitation to return, than a common ſummons to attend as a peer in the Engliſh parliament.

The earl of Northumberland, on the retreat of the duke of Lancaſter reſigned his poſt as high-mareſchal of England; and his ſtaff was beſtowed on John lord Arundel, as a reward for the gallant defence he had made when the French appeared before Southampton.

The ſeſſion of parliament was opened by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who in a ſpeech which was ſeconded by Sir Thomas Scroop, informed the houſe of the ſtate of affairs abroad; adding, that as the war had broke out anew, they were called together to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom, and to conſider of the moſt eaſy and equitable method of raiſing the ſupplies neceſſary for its defence. The parliament very readily granted what was requeſted from them; and every thing provided that was thought neceſſary to prevent any attempt that might be made by the enemy.

A. D. 1378. The duke of Lancaſter, ſoon after the riſing of the parliament, hired nine large Bayonne ſhips, with which he attacked a fleet of French merchantmen, and took fourteen of them laden with wine. But alderman Philpot was more ſucceſsful on the northern coaſt. He fitted out a fleet at his own expence, and ſailed to the coaſt of Scotland, where he took fifteen Spaniſh ſhips richly laden, part of a large fleet commanded by one Mercer a Scot, who, with his brother had for ſome time greatly annoyed the Engliſh coaſt.

In all probability this adventure was one principal reaſon why the Scots refuſed to conclude the treaty of peace, which had for ſome time been negotiating between the two kingdoms. Another attempt was, however, made ſoon after, and a truce actually concluded; but the Scots payed ſo very little regard to it, that they ſurprized the town of Berwic, ſoon after it was ſigned. This breach of public faith ſo exaſperated the earl of Northumberland, that he raiſed an army of ten thouſand men, and marched to retake Berwic. During his march he learned, that the caſtle had been taken by a company of freebooters, who had no commiſſion from the government of Scotland. Upon the arrival of the Engliſh the caſtle was ſummoned to ſurrender to the earl of Northumberland, as lord warden of the marches for the king of England; but Ramſay who commanded in the fortreſs, anſwered, that though a truce was concluded between England and Scotland, none ſubſiſted between England and the king of France, for whom it had been taken, and for whom he would defend it. Upon this the aſſault was immediately given, the place was taken and all the Scots, one only excepted, from whom the Engliſh hoped to gain intelligence, put to the ſword. A few days after the taking of Berwic, the earl of Northumberland was joined by the earl of Nottingham,

and

and the lords Lacy, Nevil, and Stafford; when it was determined to penetrate into Scotland, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the inhabitants. But the earl of Douglas, Northumberland's conſtant antagoniſt, had taken his meaſures ſo well, that the Engliſh durſt not venture to march before the country was reconnoitred, and they were ſure no ambuſh was laid to intercept them. Sir Thomas Muſgrave was diſpatched on this ſervice, at the head of ſix hundred men; but he had hardly reached Melroſs, before he fell into an ambuſcade of the Scots, who routed his men and took him priſoner. This loſs, with the difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence, the uncertainty of the Scottiſh force, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, determined the earl of Northumberland to march back to England.

The king of Navarre, ever ſince his late agreement with France, had left his two ſons as hoſtages at that court; But this year Charles, king of France, diſcovered, or pretended to diſcover, a pretented plot formed by that prince to poiſon him. The perſon ſaid to be employed in this affair was apprehended, and proved to be one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber of the king of Navarre, then in the ſervice of his eldeſt ſon a hoſtage in France. But whatever deſigns his father might have formed, it is allowed on all hands, that the prince was innocent. He was however obliged to attend the duke of Burgundy and the conſtable of France, who were ſent with an army into Normandy, to reduce every place in that dutchy, which ſtill held out for his father, and even to employ all his credit with the governors to give them up without oppoſition. The progreſs of the French in Normandy was very great; ſome places opened their gates, and others, ſuch as the ſtrong forts of pont Audemer, and Mortagne, were taken by capitulation. A prince and princeſs of Navarre were taken in Breteville; and, of all the king of Navarre's ſtrong places in Normandy, none held out for him except Cherburgh. Thus diſtreſſed, the king of Navarre was once more obliged to throw himſelf into the arms of England, and to ſollicit an Engliſh garriſon to be ſent to Cherburgh.

The whole preceding winter had been ſpent in putting the Engliſh navy into the beſt condition poſſible; and early in the ſpring, the earls of Saliſbury and Arundel, with a body of land forces, were ordered to embark on board a ſtrong ſquadron, commanded by Sir Philip Courtenay, and to ſail over to Normandy, in order to throw a garriſon into Cherburgh. In their voyage thither, the diviſion in which the admiral ſailed, fell in with a ſtrong fleet of Spaniſh ſhips, and a ſharp fight enſued. The admiral, notwithſtanding the great inequality of numbers, aſſiſted by his brother, engaged the Spaniſh ſhips with ſo much intrepidity, that the tranſports, together with ſome of the ſhips of war, entered the harbour of Cherburgh ſoon enough to ſave the town from being taken by the prince. But that part of the Engliſh fleet which continued engaged with the Spaniards, were ſo roughly handled that one of the brothers, after receiving ſeveral wounds was obliged to quit the line of battle, and the other was taken priſoner.

In the mean time the duke of Lancaſter was very cloſely employed in fitting out a powerful ſquadron, in order to retrieve the honour of the nation, and aſſert the empire of the ſea. It was Midſummer before he was ready to put to ſea; when the French fleets being in no condition to meet him, retired into their harbours. The duke inſulted the coaſts of France, took many prizes, and burnt ſeveral ſmall places belonging to the enemy. At laſt he ſailed towards St. Malo in Britany, then in poſſeſſion of the French. In the harbour he found a fleet of merchant veſſels laden with wine and other commodities, all which he either took or deſtroyed, and, landing his troops, formed the ſiege of the place both by ſea and land. The place was defended by Morfonace, a brave French officer, having under him ſeveral of the French nobility. The conſtable of France, who was then in Britany, advanced immediately on hearing the duke had inveſted St. Malo, at the head of ſixteen thouſand choice troops, to raiſe the ſiege. He encamped within ſight of the place, and had in his front a creek which ran up from the ſea, and was filled with water every tide, but at low water, had only a ſmall ſtream of inconſiderable depth. This creek divided the two armies. The conſtable, however, took his precautions ſo well, that he was always, as ſoon as the tide was out, ready to attack the Engliſh, while they found it impoſſible to attack him, without expoſing themſelves to the greateſt danger. The duke of Lancaſter would willingly have put the whole to the iſſue of a battle, but that the conſtable took the greateſt care to avoid. He contented himſelf with making diſpoſitions for falling on the Engliſh camp, whenever they attempted to ſcale the walls, and knew that the fortifications being built upon a rock it would be difficult to take the place by ſap. The earls of Cambridge and Arundel commanded the Engliſh army under the duke of Lancaſter; and a council of war being held, it was reſolved to proceed by ſap, as it would be impracticable to reduce the place by any other method, in the preſence of ſo large an army as that commanded by the conſtable of France. The work was accordingly undertaken, notwithſtanding all the diſcouragements of a rocky ſoil, and the mine was almoſt completed, when the French garriſon made ſo ſucceſsful a ſally, that the miners were all put to the ſword, their works deſtroyed, and many of the Engliſh cut to pieces. This misfortune obliged the duke to raiſe the ſiege, and reembark his troops, as the ſeaſon was now far advanced.

Before the duke of Lancaſter left England, all Europe was alarmed at this expedition, and ſeveral courts were apprehenſive that the ſtorm would fall upon their dominions. The reigning king of Caſtile in particular, dreaded a viſit from his rival, and not only raiſed a vaſt army by land, but alſo augmented his forces by ſea, with which he now blocked up the city and harbour of Bayonne, in revenge for the aſſiſtance that place had furniſhed to the Engliſh. This fleet conſiſted of two hundred ſail, which landed twenty thouſand troops to inveſt the city on the land ſide. Had that important place been taken, it would have damped the ſpirit of the Engliſh, and muſt have ruined all the ſchemes of the duke of Lancaſter. But the king of Portugal threatening to invade Caſtile with a powerful army, and an epidemical diſeaſe having at the ſame time attacked the troops of the beſiegers, the king of Caſtile abandoned his undertaking, embarked his troops, and returned to his own country.

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In the mean time the war was carried on with the greateſt vigour in France, where the king of Navarre was ſtripped of all the dominions he held from that crown. The king of Caſtile fell with the utmoſt fury into Navarre, where he gained ſeveral advantages, and the duke of Anjou being obliged, by the duke of Lancaſter's navy putting to ſea, to abandon the project he had formed for beſieging Bourdeaux, took the city of Montpelier. On the other hand, the duke of Berry was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Cherburgh, with great loſs, and Oliver de Gueſclin, brother to the conſtable of France, was taken priſoner.

A. D. 1379. Sir Hugh Calverly being recalled from his government of Calais, was, with Sir Thomas Piercy, appointed admiral of England. Their firſt exploit was their taking a fleet of ſeven French merchant ſhips richly laden, together with their convoy, a large ſhip of war: nor was the earl of Saliſbury, who ſucceeded Sir Hugh Calverly in the government of Calais, leſs aſſiduous in harraſſing the enemy by land. But a ſcene began now to open in France, which might have been attended with great advantages to England, had it been properly improved.

As ſoon as the duke of Lancaſter had raiſed the ſiege of St. Malo, the French made themſelves maſters of the important fortreſs of Auray, ſo that nothing remained of the duke of Britany's dominions, except Breſt, which was in the hands of the Engliſh, and commanded by Sir Robert Knolles. But the king of France could not think himſelf ſafe while the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of that important place, which afforded them a ready acceſs to the very heart of his dominions. He therefore gave orders for inveſting the town by land, while the Caſtilian fleet blocked it up by ſea. But the king of Caſtile dying about this time, the French were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and Charles, exaſperated at this diſappointment, ſummoned the duke of Britany to appear before his court at Paris. The peers being aſſembled, and the king ſeated on his throne, the duke was formally ſummoned; and not appearing, the advocate general accuſed him of bearing arms againſt the ſtate, of his being a declared enemy to his ſovereign, and of his having taken refuge in England. After exhibiting this charge, he propoſed that the duke of Britany ſhould be declared a rebel, attainted and convicted of felony, and that his dutchy ſhould be confiſcated and re-united to the crown. This propoſition was very ſtrongly oppoſed, but was at laſt carried by a majority.

Charles, though doubtleſs one of the wiſeſt princes that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of France, had formed a very injurious, as well as unjuſt opinion of mankind, by conſidering them as much more depraved than they really were. He had uſed every method of attaching the Breton nobility to his intereſt, by giving them the higheſt poſts, both in the field and cabinet, and ſeems to have imagined that theſe marks of favour would have prevailed over every other motive, and have detached them entirely from all connections with their duke. Perhaps this conduct might have produced the deſired effect, had not the nobility of Britany conſidered theſe diſtinctions as the badges of their own importance, which muſt vaniſh the moment their country was annexed as a demeſne to the crown of France. But this was not the ſole motive that influenced their conduct. The preſent duke of Britany had obtained poſſeſſion of that country by force of arms, after a long ſtruggle with a competitor, whoſe claim was conſidered as preferable to that of the reigning family; and by a treaty concluded under the guarantee of France between the families of Montfort and Penthievre, the ſon of Charles de Blois, called John of Britany, was to ſucceed to that dutchy, in caſe the earl of Montfort ſhould die without iſſue: the re-annexion of that dutchy to the crown was therefore a glaring injury done to the Penthievre family. To prevent this ſentence, ſo evidently founded on injuſtice, from taking effect, the Bretons reſolved to invite home their duke, who was then in England. An honourable deputation was accordingly ſent to him for that purpoſe, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given him of an univerſal riſing in all his dominions, and that not only the nobility, but alſo the chief towns in the dutchy would declare in his favour.

As the king of France had immediately on the ſentence being paſſed, ſent the duke of Bourbon, with the mareſchal de Sancerre at the head of a powerful army, to ſeize all the places of importance, and receive the homage of the inhabitants, not a moment could be loſt; and the duke, having obtained aſſurances of being ſupported by England, was once more prevailed upon to throw himſelf into the arms of his ſubjects. This happened juſt as the admirals, Sir Hugh Calverly and Sir Thomas Piercy, were returning from a ſucceſsful cruiſe againſt the French and Spaniards. As they had occaſion to land in Britany, they were witneſſes of the diſcontent expreſſed by the Bretons againſt the French, and the ardour of their wiſhes for the reſtoration of their duke. On their return they confirmed the accounts the government had before received of the favourable diſpoſition of the Bretons; upon which the duke embarked immediately on board the Engliſh fleet for his own dominions, where he was received with the greateſt and moſt ſincere demonſtrations of joy. Three great towns, Dinant, Rennes, and Vannes, immediately declared for him, the nobility flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters, and his army every hour increaſed by numbers of Breton deſerters from the French ſervice.

So ſucceſsful a beginning encouraged the court of England to ſupport the duke with a more conſiderable army. A very ſtrong fleet was fitted out under the command of Sir Hugh Calverly and Sir Thomas Piercy, on board of which a great number of the beſt land forces in England, commanded by Sir John Arundel, were embarked. But the fleet had hardly put to ſea before they were overtaken by ſo furious a ſtorm, that thirty five of the tranſports, together with Sir John Arundel's ſhip, were loſt, and above a thouſand men, together with their general, periſhed. This misfortune might have proved fatal to the duke of Britany, had he not been effectually ſupported by the ſpirit of his own ſubjects. The duke of Bourbon found it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent; he was obliged to retreat, and the king of France, ſenſible that he had been too haſty in his meaſures, ſent du Gueſclin to ſucceed the duke of Bourbon in the command of the French army. But even that great officer could perform no effectual ſervice, except ſcouring the country, and reinforcing the garriſon of St. Malo. While the conſtable continued at the latter, Sir Hugh Calverly with part of his fleet

entered the mouth of the harbour, which being narrow the rear was attacked by a ſquadron of Spaniſh and French ſhips. Upon this Sir Hugh inſtantly ordered his pilot to carry him again out of the harbour, and coming up with the enemy juſt at the time when the Engliſh were reduced to the laſt extremity, he defeated the enemy's ſquadron, and brought all his ſhips ſafe into the harbour of St. Malo. This exploit of the admiral gave the conſtable a very high opinion of the Engliſh courage, and, being himſelf a native of Britany, the French court imagined that he did not, on this occaſion, act with his uſual vigour and vivacity againſt the duke.

In the mean time the peſtilence made dreadful havock in the north of England, and the Scots taking advantage of this calamity, made a furious irruption into that country, where they met with little reſiſtance, both the country and principal towns being almoſt depopulated. This gave the invaders every opportunity of ſatisfying their revenge, and of committing the moſt ſhocking barbarities on the helpleſs inhabitants.

A. D. 1380. As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the troops of the duke of Britany took the field, and, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, ſurprized Ventadour, one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles in Auvergne, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral other places in the Limoſin and Rovergne. To check this ſeries of ſucceſs, the conſtable du Gueſclin was ſent with an army into that country, where he beſieged Chatteneauf de Reordan; but the place making a much braver defence than the conſtable expected, he was ſo highly exaſperated that he ſolemnly vowed never to leave his ſtation before the place, till it was reduced either by force or capitulation. At the ſame time he redoubled his attention and aſſiduity, which threw him into a fever, and terminated his life. By the death of du Gueſclin, France loſt the greateſt general, and one of the honeſteſt men ſhe could ever boaſt of. The place had offered to capitulate before his death, and the ſurrender was to have been made on the very day he died. The citizens accordingly came out of the fort, but refuſed to ſurrender it to any except the brave conſtable himſelf. On being informed of his death, they repaired to his tent with their governor at their head, and laid the keys of the caſtle at the feet of the corpſe, with the ſame marks of ſubmiſſion and regard they would have expreſſed had he been ſtill alive. Such reſpect virtue generally meets with even from an enemy.

In the mean time the court of England prepared to ſtrike the deciſive blow with which France had been ſo long threatened. The earl of Buckingham, uncle to the king, was appointed general of the expedition; the earl of Stafford, Sir Thomas Piercy, and many of the principal nobility in England ſerved under him; and the earl, at the head of a powerful army, landed at Calais, on the nineteenth of July. Soon after the troops were landed, the earl purſued his march towards Britany, in order to join the duke's forces; and the king of France, adhering ſtill to his prudent maxim, ordered his generals to avoid a battle with the Engliſh army; but the lord of Coucy was ſent at the head of a flying party to watch the motions of the enemy, and cut off their ſtragglers. This conduct produced the deſired effect. The Engliſh indeed met with no reſiſtance in their march towards Britany; but on their entering that dutchy, they found their numbers greatly reduced by fatigue, diſeaſes, and deſertion. The only place of any conſequence which now held out for the French in Britany was the city of Nantes; and it was therefore determined to beſiege it immediately; but the great fatigues the army had ſuffered during their long march, rendered it neceſſary for the earl to ſtop ſome days at Rennes, in order to refreſh his men. The court of France, knowing the deſign of the Engliſh, employed that interval in reinforcing the garriſon, and furniſhing them with every neceſſary for holding out a long ſiege. But the principal dependence of the French monarch was placed on the diſpoſitions of the noblemen of Britany. He was convinced that there were no hopes of their conſenting to his re-annexing their country to the crown of France, and therefore determined to encourage them in the averſion they ſhewed againſt ſerving in the field with the Engliſh. Accordingly he aſſured them that he would contribute all in his power to render them free and independent, provided the Engliſh had no aſcendant either in their councils or armies. The Bretons liſtened to theſe aſſurances, and very juſtly remonſtrated with their duke, on the folly of becoming dependent on the Engliſh, after they had, with ſo much difficulty, freed themſelves from the power of the French. The duke would have been extremely glad to have changed thoſe ſentiments in his nobility, but ſoon found it was impoſſible, they were determined to be free, and therefore refuſed to join the Engliſh army. This was a great diſappointment to the earl of Buckingham, who after lying two months and four days before Nantes, expecting every moment to be joined by the Bretons, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter quarters. The duke of Britany endeavoured to make an apology for his conduct, but the earl of Buckingham was ſufficiently convinced, that no aſſiſtance was to be expected from the Bretons. This laid him under the greateſt difficulties: he found himſelf ſurrounded by powerful armies, in a country little better than that of an enemy, and that his forces had ſuffered ſo greatly in their march from Calais, that his retreat was impracticable. He therefore ſent an expreſs to the Engliſh court, deſcribing his dangerous ſituation; and a reſolution was immediately taken of ſending in the ſpring a powerful army to join the earl, and penetrate into the very heart of France.

But before the ſeaſon would permit to carry this reſolution into practice, the king of France paid the debt of nature; and as the greater part of the averſion of the duke of Britany was perſonal, and confined to the French monarch, the moſt formidable difficulty to an accommodation was now removed, and the Engliſh ſoon perceived that they muſt not expect any aſſiſtance from Britany: for though the duke did every thing to acquit himſelf like a man of honour towards the Engliſh, yet the earl of Buckingham was given to underſtand, by a deputation of the Breton nobility, that a reſolution had been taken in the duke's council, to oblige the Engliſh, as ſoon as a favourable opportunity offered for their departure, to abandon that country. The earl, however, behaved with a great deal of addreſs on this occaſion; he appeared entirely ſatisfied, and the deputies departed highly pleaſed with their ſucceſs. But he was not a little ſurprized, when, on his coming to Rennes, the inhabitants refuſed

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to admit him into their city. The earl, however, thought proper to wait for the duke of Britany, who had promiſed to meet him there, and open the conferences for ſettling every thing on an amicable foundation. The duke accordingly came to Rennes, and the conferences were immediately opened, and ſeemed at firſt to promiſe the earl of Buckingham every thing he could wiſh, for the duke, who was a real Engliſhman in his heart, liſtened with great attention to the terms propoſed by the earl; but Robert Beaumanoir, a perſon of the greateſt addreſs and credit among the Breton nobility, ſpoke with ſo much force, and uſed ſuch convincing arguments, drawn from the preſent ſituation of affairs at the French court, that entirely changed the ſentiments of his prince. Four of the Breton nobility were ſecretly diſpatched to the French court, where it was agreed that the dutchy of Britany, together with the earldom of Montfort, ſhould be delivered to the duke, on his performing the uſual homage.

The only difficulty that now remained was how to ſatisfy the Engliſh, and keep them ſtill friends to the duke of Britany. The earl of Buckingham had, by this time, received aſſurance of a ſpeedy reinforcement of troops from England, and who were to be landed at Cherburgh; but his army had a very long and fatiguing march before they could reach that town, and join their countrymen. Nor was even this the greateſt difficulty remaining: the French were now maſters of the ſea, and conſequently his whole army, when reimbarked, would be in the utmoſt danger of being deſtroyed before he reached England. The earl with all his addreſs could not command his paſſion on this occaſion; but he was obliged to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times. Nor could the duke of Britany gain any other favour from the court of France, than that, the Engliſh ſhould be provided with tranſports and a convoy to carry them ſafely into England.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, the Scots continued their depredations in the north, and the Engliſh miniſtry were ſo totally engaged with the expedition to France, that they ſought rather to appeaſe than reſtrain them. The earl of Northumberland, as warden of the marches, was indeed very aſſiduous in collecting an army; and the inhabitants of Hull and Newcaſtle were ſo active, that they took a very rich Scotch ſhip, and brought her ſafe into an Engliſh harbour. But the earl of Northumberland claiming part of this prize, and the captors refuſing to admit his demand, a miſunderſtanding between them was the conſequence; ſo that it was a conſiderable time before he found himſelf in a conditition to face the enemy. In the mean time an army of Scots, amounting to twenty thouſand men, with Douglas at their head, broke into Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, ravaged the country, plundred the fair at Penrith, and took a great number of priſoners. This flagrant breach of the truce ſo highly provoked the Engliſh, that forgetting their private animoſities, they united under the earl of Northumberland; but before that nobleman could give the enemy battle, an expreſs from the Engliſh court arrived with orders to ſuſpend all hoſtilities; it being intended to terminate the diſputes between the two nations in an amicable manner. The earl of Northumberland, though ſufficiently mortified at this order, was obliged to ſubmit, and the Scots returned with their plunder, by way of Carliſle.

A parliament was now ſummoned to meet at Northampton, in order to raiſe by ſome practicable method, the ſum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, which, according to an eſtimate delivered to the houſe, would be wanted to defray the ſervices of the current year. Several methods were propoſed for raiſing this ſum; but at laſt it was agreed; to ſubject every perſon in England, whether male or female, above fifteen years of age, to the payment of one ſhilling.

This reſolution being taken, the court immediately proceeded to conſider the moſt proper methods of levying the tax; but the neceſſities of the miniſtry not ſuffering them to wait till the money could be regularly collected, they borrowed large ſums from a ſet of men, who were empowered to levy the tax, in order to reimburſe themſelves; but they abuſed their power, and threw the whole nation into the utmoſt confuſion.

One John Ball, a pragmatical prieſt had for ſome time laboured aſſiduouſly to perſuade the people that a ſtate of either villanage or ſervitude was incompatible with the laws of nature; for according to her rules, every perſon ſhould enjoy an equality of condition with his neighbours.

A. D. 1381. In the mean time the farmers of the taxes, taking advantage of the power they had received, made a kind of progreſs through Kent, Eſſex, Norfolk, and ſome of the adjacent countries, where they were guilty of the moſt ſhameful indecences; they even inſpected girls for the ſigns of puberty, in order to ſatisfy themſelves whether they were or were not liable to pay the tax. One of theſe inſolent tax-gatherers, having taken indecent freedoms with the daughter of a tyler, ſince ſo famous under the name of Wat Tyler, he beat his brains out with a hammer; and knowing that his life muſt pay the forfeit of his raſh action, he endeavoured to defend himſelf by animating his neighbours to make the ſame reſiſtance to the ſhameful practice of thoſe deteſted publicans. The whole country roſe at his call, and the moſt terrible confuſion immediately enſued. Houſes were demoliſhed, churches plunderd, goals broke open, and every diſorder that might be expected from a lawleſs and exaſperated multitude, was committed. At laſt they ventured to take the field, their number being increaſed to near an hundred thouſand men. Ball the incendiary prieſt was doubly aſſiduous in ſtirring up his hearers to madneſs and fury. His being deſtitute of both learning and eloquence was of advantage to his cauſe, his abilities were the better adapted to the underſtandings of his audience.

As ſoon as the ſeveral parties from the different counties were aſſembled, Wat Tyler was choſen their general, and they all marched in a body to Black-heath. The duke of Lancaſter was then on the borders of Scotland, and had juſt diſbanded his army, the difference between the two kingdoms having been determined by a treaty of peace. The government was greatly alarmed; they were deſtitute of regular troops, and had therefore every thing to fear from ſo lawleſs a multitude. A council was immediately called; and after a warm debate, it was agreed that a meſſage ſhould be ſent from the king to demand the reaſon for their aſſembling

bling in ſo tumultuous a manner. The meſſengers were received by the chiefs of the inſurgents, who anſwered, that they were met to ſettle the affairs of the nation; and that, if his majeſty was deſirous of being more particularly informed, he muſt give them a meeting in perſon.

By this time the plan of their rebellion was completed, and conſiſted in reducing all mankind to an equality. In conſequence of this they determined to deſtroy all the lawyers, and aboliſh the laws themſelves; as being both unſurmountable obſtacles to their favourite ſcheme. Accordingly they ſtruck off the head of every lawyer that fell into their hands: even the eccleſiaſtics, who belonged to ſpiritual courts, ſhared the ſame fate; it being a maxim with them, that there could be no liberty where any law exiſted.

This was ſo engaging a declaration to the diſſolute, the outlawed, and the needy, that their numbers daily encreaſed while they continued at Blackheath. They, however, amidſt all their fury, affected to preſerve an appearance of loyalty and affection for Richard's perſon. They even took an oath for that purpoſe; but it contained an expreſs clauſe for excluding from the throne every perſon whoſe name was John; becauſe the duke of Lancaſter, whom they hated, was of that name. In the mean time, the queen returning from a pilgrimage ſhe had made to Canterbury, fell into the hands of the rebels; but they ſuffered her to proceed on her journey, and ſhe arrived the ſame night at the Tower of London, whither the court had before retired for ſafety.

The rebels, nothwithſtanding all their diſorders, took care not to injure their plauſible pretences for riſing: they paid ready money for every thing they received; and by that means rendered themſelves ſo very agreeable to the common people in and near London, that the magiſtracy found it would be impoſſible to prevent their making themſelves maſters of the city. In their march from Blackheath to London, the rebels ſent out parties to different parts of the country to open the doors of all the goals, and ſet every priſoner at liberty.

On their approach to the capital, the magiſtrates thought it prudent to open the gates of the bridge and give them free admiſſion into the city, in order to prevent the ravages and murders they had begun in Southwark, where they had been joined by all the priſoners confined in the king's-bench and marſhalſea.

The rebels being thus maſters of the city, marched immediately to the magnificent palace of the duke of Lancaſter, called the Savoy, and immediately burned it to the ground, with all the rich plate and ſuperb furniture. One of the rebels being detected in endeavouring to conceal a piece of plate for his own uſe, was ſeized by his comrades, and thrown immediately into the flames, boaſting that they were not come as thieves to enrich themſelves by plunder, but to redreſs the grievances of the people, and reſtore the equality that originally ſubſiſted between all mankind. This appearance of diſintereſtedneſs, together with their ſpecious pretences which they ſtill affected to publiſh, increaſed their credit with the common people: but the liquor which they drank very plentifully in the houſes they plundered, carried their violence and fury to a ſufficient height for executing their deteſtable ſcheme. Accordingly they marched to the Temple, then the reſidence of lawyers, and laid the whole ſtructure in aſhes. The magnificent convent of St. John of Jeruſalem, together with all its rich furniture, records, books, and papers, ſhared the ſame fate. Nor were they contented with deſtroying the ſtructures, they murdered every perſon, belonging to the law, that had the misfortune of falling into their hands.

Towards the cloſe of the day, they divided themſelves into three bodies; one under a leader named Jack Straw, the ſecond in authority under Wat Tyler, marched to Highberry-manor, about two miles north of London, and laid it in aſhes. It belonged to the prior of St. John, who had rendered himſelf obnoxious to the rebels by counſelling his majeſty to treat them as a company of banditti. Another diviſion repaired to Mile-end-green, where they paſſed the night; while the third diviſion, with Wat Tyler at their head, cantoned themſelves in St. Katharine's and all round the Tower, in order to prevent the miniſters and noblemen whom they had devoted to deſtruction, from making their eſcape.

The Eſſex-men, who compoſed the diviſion at Mile-end, appeared to be the moſt reaſonable, and the king was therefore adviſed to treat with them in perſon. Accordingly he found means to repair thither, notwithſtanding all the vigilance of Tyler. On his arrival, he demanded of them what requeſt they had to make; adding, that he was their king, and was come to redreſs all their grievances. They told him, that they deſired to be freed from all bondage of villanage; and that they, their heirs, and their lands ſhould for ever remain free. The king promiſed them their requeſt ſhould be granted, provided they would return peaceably to their reſpective habitations, except a few out of every pariſh, who were to remain at London, in order to receive, and carry down with them the charters of manumiſſion from every ſpecies of bondage, and of pardon for their paſt conduct. This condeſcenſion in the king had ſo good an effect on the Eſſex-men, that they immediately diſbanded, and returned home. But Tyler at the head of the Kentiſh-men ſtill kept his poſt on Tower-hill, and on the fourteenth of June, the third day after their entering the city, they demanded admiſſion into the Tower of London, in order to bring to juſtice their own and the nation's enemies. They even ſeized the proviſions that were carrying into that fortreſs for the king's own table. There were then within the tower twelve hundred of the beſt troops in England; but the fear of famine, added to the terror of the princeſs, and the ladies of the court, prevailed on the king, and the gates of the Tower were thrown open for the admittance of the rebels. Their behaviour was now truly inhuman. They dragged the archbiſhop of Canterbury out of the fortreſs, and ſtruck off his head on Tower-hill, with all the circumſtances of brutal barbarity. The lord treaſurer Hales, with Legg the Flemiſh financier, were next murdered. And they even ſeemed to claim ſome merit in ſuffering the ladies to remain without being violated, and the king without being confined: for having now embrued their hands in blood, they thirſted for more. A franciſcan friar was put to death, merely becauſe he had been intimate with the duke of Lancaſter: numbers of Engliſhmen were beheaded in the city; Lyons, the famous merchant, was murdered at the ſame time;

and

and thirty Flemings, who had been dragged from the churches in and about London, had their heads ſtruck off in the open ſtreets. In ſhort, the deeper the rebels plunged into guilt, the more their views of murder and confuſion were enlarged.

At laſt Tyler, whoſe head was undoubtedly by this time diſordered by the heat, the hurry, the confuſion, and the multiplicity of objects acting at once upon a weak brain, thought of nothing leſs than killing the king with all the nobility, and of laying the city of London in aſhes. He even ſeems only to have waited for freſh reinforcements from Hertfordſhire, and the adjacent counties, in order to execute this inhuman reſolution, and therefore rejected all propoſals that were offered to bring about an accommodation. For, on the fifteenth of June, when the king ſent to acquaint the rebels under Tyler, with the terms he had granted to the Eſſex-men, who had returned peaceably to their reſpective dwellings; adding, that by their agreeing to the ſame terms, they might enjoy the ſame advantages; Tyler only anſwered, that he would embrace peace, if he liked the conditions. Three different forms of charters were immediately ſent him by the king, but he rejected them all, though each was as full and ample as he could wiſh. It therefore became evident, that nothing leſs than univerſal deſtruction of all law and order could content the rebels. Indeed, Tyler himſelf made no ſcruple of declaring openly, that he would make no peace without being permitted to put all the lawyers to death, and aboliſh all law eccleſiaſtical and civil. Nay, he was even inſolent enough to declare, that, in a few days there ſhould be no law beſides what iſſued from his lips. This mad behaviour ſufficiently undeceived many who had beheld the firſt proceedings of the rebels with too much indifference. The city of London now aſſumed a proper ſpirit. The two brave magiſtrates, Walworth and Philpot, promiſed to ſupport the king againſt the rebels, provided means could be found to amuſe them for ſome time with propoſals for an accommodation. This was eaſily done, as the reinforcements expected by the rebels, were not yet arrived. Richard therefore ſent Sir John Newton, one of his domeſtics, to Tyler, requiring him to meet the king in order to conſider the objections he had made to the charters, that they might be removed. Having delivered his meſſage, the knight deſired Tyler to make haſte, as the king was then waiting for him in Smithfield. Tyler replied, that he would come when he thought proper, and began to move forward very ſlowly. By this time the magiſtrates of London had joined the king, with a large body of well-armed, and well-affectioned citizens, and Sir Robert Knolles had entered the city at the head of a thouſand veterans, to act as occaſion ſhould require. When Tyler approached the king, he never offered to alight from his horſe, and Sir John Newton was again ſent to remind him of what duty, and even decency required. But the traitor took this freedom ſo ill, that he ordered Sir John himſelf to alight; and upon his refuſing to obey, he aimed a ſtroke at him with his dagger. Exaſperated at the inſolence of the rebellious peaſant, Newton drew his dagger, and would probably have put an end to his inſolence, had not the king himſelf interpoſed, and ordered the knight to deliver his weapon to Tyler. But this condeſcenſion ſerved only to increaſe the preſumption of the traitor: inſtead of making any acknowledgment, he roſe in his demands, and the king not granting them immediately, Tyler appeared with a gloomy ominous countenance, and in all the diſorder that actuates a weak mind, when on the point of plunging deep into wickedneſs. The dagger ſhook as he graſped it; he ſhifted it from one hand to the other, he ſurveyed the royal perſon with all the ſymptoms of confuſed, yet eager and irreſolute guilt, as if marking the place where the blow muſt be mortal; and, at laſt, ſeized the reins of Richard's horſe. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the brave Walworth and Philpot curbed their indignation: but on the concerted ſignal, Walworth, then lord mayor of London, arreſted the traitor, and in doing it, ſtruck him ſo violently with his mace, that he was ſtunned with the blow, while Philpot's ſword laid him dead under his horſe's belly. Upon this the rebels gave a dreadful ſhout, "Our captain is dead! revenge! revenge!" This alarmed the royal party; but the king with a prudence and ſpirit beyond his years, galloped up, and called out to the rebels to follow him. "Regard "not this traitor, ſaid he, I will be your captain "and leader, I will do for you all you can deſire." This declaration of the king increaſed the rebels confuſion, and they doubted in what manner they ought to act. They began to ſuſpect one another, and in the midſt of this general conſternation, Sir Robert Knolles appeared at the head of his body of veterans, which completed their diſorder. But the king, in order to prevent their uniting through deſpair, very wiſely reſtrained his troops from attacking the inſurgents, and rode himſelf at the head of the rebels and Londoners into the fields near Iſlington. In the mean time Walworth, who, immediately on the death of Tyler had retired into the city with a ſingle ſervant, encouraged the inhabitants with the news of the traitor's fall. His attempt was ſucceſsful; great numbers of the Londoners took up arms, and haſtened to the relief of their ſovereign, ſo that when the king came into the fields, the loyaliſts were increaſed to a conſiderable army. Richard's intention of leading them out of the city was to prevent their ſetting fire to the houſes, which it was eaſy for them to have done, and the rebels were now ſo much diſconcerted and diſcouraged, that, on the king's repeating his offer of granting them the ſame charter he had before given to the people of Eſſex, they threw down their arms, and implored the royal mercy. It was, however, matter of aſtoniſhment to Sir Robert Knolles, and others at the head of the royal party, to hear the king grant them all a free pardon, and give orders for making out their charter of freedom. But at the ſame time he cauſed it to be proclaimed, that no citizen ſhould hold any correſpondence with the rebels, nor ſuffer any of them to enter the liberties of the city.

This ſucceſs, however, did not extinguiſh the flames of rebellion. It had ſpread too far, and had Tyler poſſeſſed common ſenſe, or even ſurvived the hour in which he fell, the laws and liberties of England would, in all probability, have periſhed together. The rebels of Hertfordſhire had been guilty of the ſame violences with thoſe of Kent, and were in full march to join Tyler when they heard of his death. This news, though it ſurprized, yet it did not diſperſe the inſurgents. They perceived that deſtruction muſt be the conſequence

if they did not keep in a body, but thought it prudent to abſtain from committing any more barbarous acts of violence. The king was therefore obliged to publiſh a proclamation commanding all mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs and others to exert themſelves in ſuppreſſing the traitors. This had, however, no remarkable effect, for the rebels of Hertfordſhire, obliged the monaſtery of St. Albans to grant them their freedom from villanage. Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the king iſſued a writ throughout all the counties in England, revoking the charters of manumiſſion and pardon that had been granted to the inſurgents. This threw every thing again into confuſion. The rebels ſtill continued in a body, not only in Hertfordſhire, but alſo in Suffolk and Norfolk, and even thoſe of Eſſex, had again recourſe to arms for maintaining the charters that had been granted them. The inſurgents in Suffolk ſtruck off the head of Sir John Cavendiſh, lord chief juſtice of England, and being ſecretly encouraged by the townſmen of St. Edmondſbury, they killed two monks, and riffled the abbey of all the charters and evidences of the power, property, and juriſdiction of that religious foundation. The rebels in Norfolk were alſo very numerous and inſolent under the conduct of one John the dyer. This leader affected great pomp, and forced the lord Scales, Sir William Morley, Sir John Brewes, Sir Stephen Hales, and Sir Robert Sale, to countenance his proceedings. Sale, however, could not bear his inſolence; he boldly cenſured his conduct, and bravely ſuffered death in oppoſing the lawleſs proceedings of an ignorant mechanic. At laſt they prevailed upon Sir William Morley and Sir John Brewes to ſet out for the court, and introduce three of their principal companions to ſollicit from the king a more ample charter than any that had yet been granted. The deputies were alſo entruſted with a large ſum of money, which had been extorted from the inhabitants of Norwich, to prevent their city from being laid in aſhes. This money was intended as a preſent to the king, in order to facilitate their negotiation for the intended charter. In their journey they were met by Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich, a perſon of great reſolution and courage. Being no ſtranger to the intention of their deputation, he immediately ordered the heads of the three rebels to be ſtruck off. This reſolute behaviour animated the gentlemen in the neighbourhood to join him, and they advanced immediately againſt the rebels, who had ſtrongly entrenched themſelves at North Walſham. The biſhop attacked them with great fury, and was the firſt man that mounted the entrenchments. The rebels defended themſelves for ſome time with remarkable bravery; but notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority of numbers, they were routed by the martial prelate. Numbers of them were ſlain in the purſuit; the dyer and other ring leaders were taken, and immediately hanged and quartered; their limbs were ſent to the principal places of the county, and the tranquillity of thoſe parts was again reſtored.

But the active prelate was not contented with this. He marched into the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, where the terror of his arms reduced all the peaſants to their duty. And even the rebels of Suffolk, who had murdered ſeveral lawyers, were entirely defeated and diſperſed. The rebels of Eſſex, however, who thought themſelves particularly ill treated, ſtill kept together in a body, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of the biſhop, and ſeemed determined to conquer or periſh. But they firſt ſent a meſſage to the king, who was then at Waltham, demanding a confirmation of the charter he had already granted them; and that they ſhould not be compelled to appear at any courts, except thoſe of frank-pledge, twice in one year. This meſſage met with a reſolute denial; but the lives of the deputies were ſpared, and ordered to inform their brethren, that if they did not inſtantly lay down their arms, they muſt hope for no mercy. This not being complied with, the earl of Buckingham, and the lord Thomas Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, received orders to march at the head of a powerful body of the king's troops and attack the rebels. They readily obeyed the order, fell with ſuch fury upon the rebels, that they put them to flight, with the loſs of five hundred of their men. They, however, aſſembled again at Colcheſter, and flattered themſelves with being again able to make head againſt the royaliſts; but the lord Fitzwalter and Sir John Harleſton, hearing of their deſign, attacked their camp, and drove them to Sudbury, where they were entirely diſperſed, and many of their leaders taken priſoners.

This mad and ill-concerted rebellion being thus terminated, commiſſions were iſſued for trying the ring-leaders. The king came to the tower of Havering, where he appointed Sir Robert Triſilian, the chief juſtice, to try the rebels, many of whom ſuffered in that county; and commiſſions of oyer and terminer were ſent to all the places where the rebels reſided. Great numbers of them ſuffered; but the chief among them were John Ball the incendiary prieſt, and Jack Straw. As Ball was thought to know more of their deſigns than any other, his execution was for ſome time reſpited, in order to learn as much from him as poſſible. His confeſſion, beſides what we have already mentioned, was, that they did not intend to kill the king immediately, but to have carried him about with them for their own ſecurity, and to authorize their proceedings; that the begging friars were the only eccleſiaſtics they intended to ſuffer in the country; that they were at laſt to have killed the king; and, after forming a digeſt of laws of their own, to have elected, from among themſelves, ſeveral perſons as kings of the different counties; Wat Tyler having been appointed king of Kent.

It is ſufficiently evident, that this rebellion had been long concerting in the minds of the people; for we find that the chiefs of the rebels had for ſome time carried on a correſpondence with perſons in moſt parts of the kingdom.

Richard now proceeded to diſtinguiſh the magiſtracy of the city of London, who had ſo well deſerved his favour. Walworth, lord-mayor, Philpot, and four other aldermen, were knighted, and the mayor had an hundred pounds a year ſettled upon himſelf and his heirs.

A. D. 1382. During theſe tranſactions in England, ſeveral events happened on the continent, which muſt not be wholly omitted. We have already obſerved that the popes had for ſome years reſided at Avignon. This had greatly diſguſted the people of Rome, ſo that they together with the papal territories adjacent, had erected themſelves into an independent government. This proceeding greatly alarmed the pontiffs, and they never thought

thought themſelves ſafe in the territories of Italy; but the profeſſions of duty the Italians made to Gregory the tenth, induced that pontiff to return to Rome, where he died. Upon his deceaſe, the clergy of Rome entered into an aſſociation with the Italian prelates, not to admit any to the papal chair, who ſhould not previouſly promiſe to reſide in Italy; and engaged to employ force, if they found it impoſſible to ſucceed by intrigue and negotiation. The college of cardinals then conſiſted of twenty three members, eighteen of whom were French, four Italians, and one Spaniard. Before the day of election came, the Romans intimated to the college of cardinals, their deſign of ſuffering none to be choſen pope, but ſuch as were agreeable to themſelves. This produced a proteſt from the French cardinals againſt the validity of the approaching election, provided the leaſt violence was offered to the conclave. But when the day of election arrived, the fury of the Romans was ſo great, that they threatened to ſet fire to the conclave itſelf, unleſs they placed an Italian in St. Peter's chair. The fear of death baniſhed all other conſiderations; the archbiſhop of Bari, though no cardinal, was choſen, and took the name of Urban the ſixth. The circumſtances of violence, under which this election was made, together with the diſagreeable manners of the new pope, determined the cardinals and court of France to ſet the whole aſide, and proceed to a new choice; which, after all the neceſſary examinations with regard to the invalidity of the late election, fell upon the cardinal of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. He was only thirty-ſix years of age at the time of his election; but diſtinguiſhed by his politeneſs, wit, eloquence, and magnificence. This election greatly affected Urban, and induced him to lay aſide that ſeverity and haughtineſs with which he had treated all the princes of Europe, particularly the courts of France and England. He preſented Philip of Alençon, a prince of the blood of France, with a cardinal's hat, and diſtinguiſhed him with particular marks of his favour; he confirmed the election of Wenceſlaus to the imperial dignity, and hoped by doing every thing in his power, to bring the German princes over to his intereſt. He was not deceived, the imperial court declared for Urban, and the connection that then ſubſiſted between the emperor and the king of England, determined the latter to join the ſame party. The northern crowns, as well as moſt of the German princes, influenced by the court of England, followed the ſame example. In ſhort, Clement had hardly any other ſupport than that of the crown of France. But after a long and formal enquiry into Clement's right, the kings of Cyprus and Scotland, the earls of Savoy and Geneva, the duke of Auſtria, and ſome of the German ſtates, declared in his favour. All Italy was immediately at war, and the celeſtial vicars appealed to the terreſtrial arm. The court of England was deeply intereſted in the conſequences of this quarrel. The court of France prevailed on pope Clement to preach up a cruſade againſt Richard and his ſubjects; while pope Urban not only fulminated out an excommunication againſt all the adherents of Clement, but alſo ſent over a commiſſion to the warlike biſhop of Norwich, for heading a cruſade againſt all the ſupporters and adherents of Clement. This prelate had gained ſo much reputation in ſuppreſſing the late rebellion, that his holineſs could not have placed his dependence on a more proper perſon. The prelate alſo received at the ſame time a plenary power, as legate of the pope, to grant full diſpenſations, particularly to the clergy, who ſerved in perſon in this war, and were on that account to be excuſed from attending on their cures; and all perſons who ſerved in it, were to enjoy the ſame benefits and privileges as thoſe who had engaged in a war for the recovery of the Holy Land. It is almoſt incredible with what ardour people of every rank and condition ran to the banners of our warlike prelate. Where money was wanting, plate, jewels, and furniture were depoſited in the common ſtock, from whence the exigencies of the expedition were to be ſupplied. Even the women of all ranks were animated with the ſame zeal, and very readily parted with their moſt favourite ornaments.

A. D. 1383. Every thing being ready for the expedition, the biſhop embarked at Sandwich, and landed ſafely at Calais, it having been determined in the Engliſh council to attack the French on the ſide of Flanders, and ſupport the Flemings, who had made themſelves maſters of many towns, and were now employed in beſieging Oudenard. The Engliſh troops were numerous, well provided, and in high ſpirits, but they were brought together upon a very different principle than that of making a long and fatiguing campaign. They had enliſted themſelves to procure abſolution for their ſins, and thought they had done enough for his holineſs, if they appeared in the field completely armed. Their enthuſiaſm was even ſo ſtrong, that they imagined that the thunder of the pope would be alone ſufficient to conquer the moſt powerful army that could oppoſe them, and that hardly any thing more was neceſſary on their part, than to take poſſeſſion. Their firſt ſetting out encouraged them in theſe notions. Their bold leader, the prelate, led them, before their viſionary honours had ſubſided, to the walls of Gravelines, which they took by ſtorm. Dunkirk opened its gates to the Engliſh, and ſeveral other towns followed the example.

This ſucceſs determined the earl of Flanders to give the Engliſh battle. Though this earl had always pretended to favour the intereſt of pope Urban, in whoſe cauſe the Engliſh were profeſſedly fighting, yet the biſhop of Norwich paid no regard to his pretenſions, and the Engliſh in general knew that he was entirely governed by the French, directed by their councils, and conſequently the profeſſed enemy of England. The biſhop therefore, having fortified Dunkirk, marched bravely out at the head of his troops, and found the earl ready to receive him with a large body of his own ſubjects, aſſiſted by a ſtrong reinforcement of French and Bretons. The famous Sir Hugh Calverly commanded that day under the biſhop, and the Engliſh were ſo much elated by their late ſucceſſes, that even the eccleſiaſtics, attending the forces, appeared in armour, and marched boldly againſt the enemy.

The Engliſh attacked the earl with great impetuoſity, and their courage bore down all reſiſtance: the earl's army, which conſiſted of above thirty thouſand men, was entirely routed, and Caſſel, Dixmuyde, Bourburg, Newport, and Propering, ſurrendered to the victors. Thus far every thing ſurpaſſed even the moſt ſanguine expectations of the cruſaders. They had taken a great number of places,

places, but none of them were remarkable for their ſtrength, and generally opened their gates to the victors. They had not yet experienced the difficulties of the war: for the king of France, alarmed at their progreſs, aſſembled his nobility and the whole force of the kingdom, ſo that he was ſoon at the head of an hundred thouſand men. But even this powerful army, was conſidered by the warlike prelate, as deſtined to add a ſtill greater honour to his triumph, as he was in daily expectation of receiving a freſh reinforcement of military cruſaders, having been informed by Philpot, who acted on this occaſion as commiſſary of the marine, that the ſpirit for cruſading was now ſo ſtrong in England, that great numbers daily took the croſs. Encouraged by this intelligence, the biſhop embraced the fatal reſolution of beſieging the ſtrong city of Ypres. This reſolution was, however, not his own, neceſſity forced it upon him. All the ſuccours the prelate had received ſince his leaving England, conſiſted of ſoldiers of fortune, and the very dregs of the people, who were induced to inliſt merely for the ſake of plunder; and were therefore of more prejudice than ſervice to the cauſe. Among the ſoldiers of fortune were Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir William Ellingham, and Sir William Farringdon, who ſoon raiſed a mutiny in the army, and publickly declared that they would not march into France before they took Ypres, as they expected to enrich themſelves with the plunder of that city. The biſhop was obliged to conſent, and the ſiege was undertaken, though nothing could have happened more unfortunately for the expedition. The garriſon, which was compoſed of the beſt troops in France, made a noble defence. The biſhop's aſſaults were furious, but unſucceſsful; his army grew every day more and more mutinous; moſt of them either deſerted, or were intent on plundering the adjacent country; while the king of France had all the leiſure he could wiſh, for forming his army, and marching in excellent order to raiſe the ſiege. The biſhop's diſtreſs was heightened by the great number of Engliſh who every day flocked to his ſtandard, but in ſo poor and wretched a condition, that the prelate was obliged to ſend orders to Philpot not to grant a paſſage for the future, to any but thoſe who were well armed, or well provided. By this time the Engliſh general was indeed joined by the citizens of Ghent, to the number of thirty thouſand men, ſo that his army amounted to near ninety thouſand. But the number of his troops contributed principally to his own misfortunes; for upon the approach of the French army, finding themſelves ſtreightened for want of room, and almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, their deſertions and mutinies increaſed to ſuch a height, that the biſhop, with the few that continued faithful to him, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and march immediately to Dunkirk, leaving all their artillery and ammunition in the hands of the enemy. But before this happened, the chief of the mutineers, under Trivet and Ellingham, ſeized and fortified Bourburg, though the biſhop had propoſed to march with his whole army into Picardy. The French immediately inveſted the place, and Charles declared that if they did not ſurrender, neither the garriſon nor the inhabitants muſt expect any quarter. The duke of Britany, who was then at the head of twelve thouſand of his own ſubjects in the French army, endeavoured to make the king ſenſible of the danger that might attend his attempting to carry his threats into execution; he repreſented, that the garriſon was brave and numerous, and the place well fortified and well provided; and, ſir, continued he, it is defended by Engliſhmen. Charles was weak enough to reſent this generous remembrance of Engliſh valour, paid by a prince who owed to it every thing he poſſeſſed. He even threw out ſome words which ſeemed to intimate that he thought the duke a traitor; which ſo greatly piqued the other, that he demanded to be placed with his men in the front of the attack. He had his wiſh. The attack was deſperate and bloody; but the Engliſh, who were all of them ſoldiers of fortune, behaved ſo gallantly, that the duke, tho' ſupported by the whole French army, was driven from the walls. The aſſault was, however, renewed the next day by the flower of Charles's troops, and the beſiegers again furiouſly preſſed; but the repulſe was ſtill more bloody than before, and the aſſailants were obliged to retreat with the loſs of their colours, and many of their beſt officers. The duke of Britany now applied to the French king, and ſhewed him the neceſſity of either raiſing the ſiege, or granting the Engliſh an honourable capitulation. He informed him, that the biſhop of Norwich, and Sir Hugh Calverly, were now with the reſt of their army at Gravelines; that it was highly probable they would ſoon receive ſuch reinforcements from Ghent and England as might enable them to act offenſively in the field; and that therefore the wiſeſt meaſures which could be taken, were to make the beſt terms they could with the garriſon, and attack the prelate in Gravelines before he was in a condition of meeting them in the open field. This advice was, with great reluctance, complied with; and the garriſon agreed to capitulate on the following conditions: they were to march out of the place with all their horſes, arms and baggage, and be convoyed ſafely to Calais, but with an expreſs proviſion, that they embarked as ſoon as poſſible after their arrival, for England. The French officers in general, conſidered this as a very diſhonourable capitulation with regard to their ſovereign: but the duke's advice was followed, and the French were no ſooner maſters of Bourburg, than they marched and inveſted Gravelines.

Their late experience, however, of the Engliſh courage before Bourburg, made them cautious of aſſaulting Gravelines. They contented themſelves with ſummoning the biſhop to ſurrender, and making an oſtentatious diſplay of their numbers, power, and courage; but the biſhop treating the ſummons with the contempt it deſerved, they offered him and his army a free conduct to any place he ſhould name, and fifteen thouſand marks in ready money, provided he would give up the town without diſmantling the fortifications. The heads of the cruſaders under the biſhop, were by this time greatly cooled by reflection and experience, and the biſhop did not find them diſpoſed to reſiſt a vigorous attack. He therefore required a ceſſation of arms for a month, when he was to return a final anſwer. This being granted, he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to England, with a letter to Richard, preſſing him in the moſt earneſt manner for ſupplies.

Richard had ſpent the laſt ſummer with all the madneſs

madneſs of giddy youth, whoſe paſſions knew no reſtraint, nor his power any bounds. He had no virtuous principle within to check the vicious follies of head-ſtrong paſſion; no faithful counſellor without to adviſe, remonſtrate, and make him ſenſible of the errors of his conduct. His board was ſurrounded with ſycophants; riot and debauch made up the morning and evening of his days. The judgment he formed of mankind was regulated by the meaſure of their adulations; he conſidered the prerogatives of royalty valuable only in their furniſhing out the gratifications of luxury and magnificence. He was fluſtered with wine, and ſurrounded with flatterers, when the biſhop's letter arrived. Starting from the table he called for his horſe, and rode furiouſly towards London, breathing nothing but deſtruction to France, and threatening to take in perſon, the ſevereſt vengeance. In his cooler hours, however, he ſent for the duke of Lancaſter, and appointed him to take the command of an army deſtined to relieve Gravelines. But neither the duke nor his forces being ready to embark, the biſhop was forced to accept the terms offered him by Charles, and embark for England, with the wretched remains of his army.

From this ſtrange behaviour of Richard ſome idea may be formed of the diſorder that now reigned in the court of England. The few prudent men who ſaw and bewailed it, were borne down by the tide of faſhion, and the humour of the times, and calamity alone was the phyſician that could cure the madneſs of its authors. The common people were as degenerated in their morals as their ſuperiors. Extortion and rapacity, heats and diviſions, reigned in the city of London, and all received encouragement from the venality of the court. The duke of Lancaſter was far from approving of the expedition of the biſhop of Norwich, but unfortunately his own private affairs kept him from acting the part dictated by his better judgment. He ſaw his nephew beſet by the loweſt and moſt abandoned of mankind, who conſidered him as their property; nor durſt he diſoblige even them, for fear of hurting his own intereſt. He therefore choſe to reſide at a diſtance from the court, and affected to apply himſelf ſolely in taking care of the nation's concerns with Scotland.

The truce which had been concluded with that ferocious people was now expired, and the duke had an interview with the earl of Carrick at Morehouſelane, in order to ſettle the affairs of the Marches. And it appearing that the Scots had often broke the truce, made ſeveral inroads into England, and damaged many places, particularly the caſtle of Werk; the duke of Lancaſter demanded ſatisfaction, and it was agreed, that all the places ſhould be repaired at the expence of the Scots. But notwithſtanding this agreement made by the earl of Carrick, a war with England had been before reſolved on in the Scottiſh council, and a treaty with France had been lately concluded for that purpoſe, by which Charles undertook to ſend to Scotland, and entertain there, at his own expence, one thouſand men at arms, knights and eſquires, and alſo to furniſh a thouſand ſtands of arms, for the uſe of the Scottiſh gentlemen, and forty thouſand franks of gold, to be diſtributed at the pleaſure of ſix knights, three of whom were to be French, and three Scots.

A. D. 1384. In the mean time the irregularities of Richard, and the meaſures purſued by the court, diſcouraged every prudent perſon from accepting of any poſt of power, either about his perſon, or in his government. Among others that thought proper to leave the court, was the biſhop of London, who reſigned the great ſeal, which was given to the famous Sir Michael de la Pole. He was the ſon of a merchant at Kingſton upon Hull, and by ſupplying the king with money to ſupport his extravagances, became one of Richard's principal favourites. He was at once both cunning and deceitful, and proved a bold and arbitrary miniſter. He did every thing in his power to gratify the king's paſſions, well knowing that to be the ſureſt, and, indeed, the only method to advance his own intereſt.

A. D. 1385. The king of France had, for ſome time, formed a deſign of invading England; and it was now determined to carry the ſcheme into execution. A ſtrong fleet was collected at Sluiſe, and the whole was to be executed in concert with the Scots. Accordingly de Vienne, the French admiral, was ordered to ſail with a conſiderable fleet for Scotland, after embarking five hundred men at arms. He alſo carried with him fifty thouſand pounds in gold to be diſtributed among the members of the Scottiſh court. The admiral executed his commiſſion with great ſucceſs, and waited with impatience for the news of a deſcent being made in England.

It had been agreed that the conſtable of France the mareſchal de Sancerre, and the lord Couci, ſhould command a powerful army deſtined for the invaſion of England; while the Scots were to make an irruption into the northern counties. Accordingly a powerful body of troops marched to Sluiſe, and every thing was ready for the embarkation, when the ſudden turn of affairs in Flanders, rendered the whole deſign of the French abortive. For the duke of Burgundy, who had lately ſucceeded his father-in-law as earl of Flanders, finding the ſpirit of revolt very ſtrong among the Flemings, thought it his intereſt that the great preparations made in France ſhould rather be employed againſt the rebellious Flemings, than againſt England: and an incident which happened about this time operated very ſtrongly in his favour. The inhabitants of Sluiſe, where the French fleet lay, taking part with their countrymen in their revolt, formed a deſign of burning the ſhips, and the conſpiracy was on the point of being executed, when one of the conſpirators diſcovered the whole to the French, and therefore rendered it abortive. Upon this diſcovery, the duke of Burgundy did not fail of repreſenting to the French monarch, the neceſſity of chaſtiſing theſe rebellious Flemings before the fleet ſailed for England. Theſe remonſtrances had the deſired effect: a reſolution was taken of beſieging Dam, a place of great ſtrength, and which had lately revolted. The town was ſoon inveſted, and bravely defended by the inhabitants. But after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, it was taken by ſtorm, and all the garriſon put to the ſword. Having taken Dam, the French king marched further into the country of the revolted Flemings, and before his return the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that the project of invading England was laid aſide.

This remiſſneſs of the French gave Richard an opportunity of exerting the whole force of his arms againſt the Scots, who were preparing to invade England under the command of Robert their king. The admiral of France did every thing in his power to prevail upon Robert to take the field early, but he excuſed himſelf till he heard the French were landed on the coaſt of England. Robert, however, furniſhed the admiral with three thouſand men, and he immediately broke into Northumberland with great fury. Several places of ſome conſequence were taken; but hearing that Richard was making great preparations for invading Scotland, he returned thither with a conſiderable booty.

Soon after their return, Richard entered that kingdom at the head of a powerful army, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand men. The Scots did not offer to reſiſt ſo great a force; they abandoned their country to be pillaged and deſtroyed by the enemy. This conduct aſtoniſhed the French admiral, but the Scots ſoon convinced him that they had taken the only method of diſtreſſing the enemy, and that they well knew how to compenſate their loſſes by invading the northern parts of England. Accordingly when Richard entered Scotland by the road of Berwic, and the eaſtern coaſt, the Scots and French, to the number of thirty thouſand, paſſed the borders of England, on the weſt, extended their ravages through Cumberland, Weſtmoreland and Lancaſter, collected a very rich booty, and returned ſafely into Scotland.

In the mean time Richard advanced towards Edinburgh, deſtroying all the towns and villages in his route, and at laſt reduced that city alſo to aſhes. Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low countries, ſhared the ſame fate: but when he was adviſed to march towards the weſtern coaſt, and wait there for the return of the enemy, in order to take ample vengeance on them for the devaſtations they had committed in England; his impatience to return, in order to purſue his darling pleaſures and amuſements, had greater weight with him than the deſire of chaſtiſing the Scots; and he accordingly carried back his army without effecting any thing of conſequence by theſe mighty preparations. Soon after the return of the Engliſh, the Scots, who conſidered the heavy cavalry of the French as of little uſe to them in their incurſions, treated their allies ſo ill, that the French returned to their own country highly diſguſted at the ferocious manners of the Scots. By this ſeparation the Engliſh ſaw themſelves no longer expoſed to the dangerous invaſions of their northern neighbours.

A. D. 1386. But notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the court of France was very deſirous of wreſting from the Engliſh the ſea-port towns they ſtill poſſeſſed in their country. Accordingly Cliſſon, the conſtable of France, was ſent into Britany, where, in conjunction with that duke, he formed the ſiege of Breſt, ſtill poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. Another army under the high admiral of France, was ſent to block up Cherburg in Normandy, while a third body was ordered to have a watchful eye over the garriſon of Calais, and other places poſſeſſed by the Engliſh in Picardy. The duke of Burgundy, who ſtill continued to act as prime miniſter of France, repreſented to his maſter the pleaſing opportunity that now offered for his conquering England itſelf, by a ſeaſonable invaſion. Accordingly the embarkation at Sluiſe was reſumed, and ſo prodigious a number of tranſports collected, that a co-temporary author declares, they were ſufficient to have formed a bridge between Dover and Calais. The whole army was reviewed at Arras, and conſiſted of eight thouſand men at arms, with their followers all well mounted, and a prodigious number of foot. The duke of Lancaſter was now in Spain with the flower of the Engliſh army, ſo that an invaſion could never have happened at a more critical juncture. The citizens of London were ſo ſenſible of their danger, that they were conſulting the beſt method of ſecuring their moſt valuable effects, and had actually demoliſhed part of their ſuburbs. But England owed, to the envy and ambition of an enemy, that ſafety which ſhe could not have commanded either by her arms or by her councils. The duke of Berry, a man repaciouſly covetous, and violently ambitious, was ſecretly diſguſted, becauſe this invaſion had been formed without his being conſulted. He did not, however, venture to diſcover any ſigns of reſentment, but proceeded ſo very ſlowly in raiſing his ſhare of troops, that the ſeaſon for embarking was loſt, and the whole project rendered abortive.

It is impoſſible to conceive any thing in a more diſtracted condition than the councils of England at this period. The army collected for repelling the enemy grew mutinous; and Richard, inſtead of endeavouring to ſilence the clamours of the people by removing their grievances, increaſed their diſguſt, by continuing to gratify his mad paſſion for his favourites. Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of very diſſolute manners, had acquired an entire aſcendency over the weak king, who ſet ſo little bounds to his affection, that he created him marquis of Dublin, and ſoon after duke of Ireland. He married him to his couſin german, the daughter of Ingelron de Couci, earl of Bedford; but ſoon after permitted him to repudiate that lady, tho' her character was unexceptionable, and marry a Bohemian woman, with whom he had fallen deeply in love. Theſe publick, and even ſhameful declarations of attachment, directed every minion to pay his court to the favourite, as it was impoſſible to obtain acceſs to Richard, but through his mediation.

The natural conſequence of this partiality was, a declared animoſity between the chief nobility on one ſide, and the favourite and his creatures on the other: the uſual complaints againſt the inſolence of favourites were loudly echoed, and greedily received in every part of the kingdom. Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, the mareſchal, Fitz-Alen earl of Arundel, Piercy earl of Northumberland, Montacute earl of Saliſbury, and Beauchamp earl of Warwick, were all connected with each other, and with the princes of the blood, by friendſhip or alliances, and ſtill more by their antipathy to thoſe who had eclipſed them in the king's favour and confidence. No longer intimidated by the perſonal character of the prince, they ſcorned to ſubmit to his miniſters, and the methods they took to redreſs the grievance complained of, well ſuited the violence of that age, and the deſperate extremities to which every oppoſition was ſure to be inſtantly carried. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man of virtue and abilities, had retired from all publick buſineſs; the dukes of Glouceſter and York were rarely conſulted, and the people called

called aloud for an impeachment againſt the chancellor.

Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, had, however, the courage on the meeting of the parliament, to lay before the houſe an account of the debts contracted by the crown, and the neceſſities to which the king was reduced, concluding with a demand, in his maſter's name, of a ſpeedy ſupply. This demand was not thought ſo unreaſonable as the perſon who made it was obnoxious. They plainly diſcovered their intentions of impeaching the chancellor. The king ſaw the tide of popular diſcontent ran ſtrongly againſt his miniſter, but rather than give him up to public juſtice, he choſe to continue poor and dependent, withdrew from parliament, and retired with his court to Eltham. The parliament ſent a deputation, inviting him to return, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to diſſolve themſelves, and leave the kingdom, though then in the moſt iminent danger from a French invaſion, without voting any ſupply for its defence. At the ſame time one of the members called for the parliamentary record containing the depoſition of Edward II. a ſufficient intimation of the fate Richard had reaſon to expect from his parliament, in caſe he continued refractory. Unable to reſiſt any longer, the king was contented with ſtipulating that no miniſter except the earl of Suffolk ſhould be impeached; and this being granted he returned to parliament.

The king was no ſooner returned than the commons ſent up to the houſe of lords an impeachment againſt the chancellor, conſiſting of ſeven articles. It was alledged, that being chancellor, and obliged by his oath to conſult the king's intereſt, he had himſelf purchaſed lands of the crown much below their real value: that he had exchanged with the king a perpetual annuity of four hundred marks a year, which he enjoyed from his father, and which was aſſigned upon the cuſtoms of the port of Hull, for lands of an equal income: that having obtained for his ſon the priory of St. Anthony, which was formerly poſſeſſed by a Frenchman, an enemy and a ſchiſmatic, and a new prior being named by the pope, he had refuſed to admit this perſon, till he agreed to make a compoſition for his ſon, and pay him an hundred pounds a year out of the profits of the benefice: that he had purchaſed, from one Tydeman of Limbroch, an old and forfeited annuity of fifty pounds a year upon the crown, and had engaged the king to admit that obſolete debt upon his revenues: that when created earl of Suffolk, he had obtained a grant of five hundred pounds a year to ſupport the dignity of the title: that he had ſealed a charter of certain franchiſes granted to the caſte of Dover, to the detriment of the crown, and the ſubverſion of the pleas and courts of the king and his laws: and that by not ſending the ſupplies granted by the laſt parliament for the relief of Ghent, that city was loſt.

Theſe articles, weak and frivolous as they were, could not be ſatisfactorily proved: it appeared that Suffolk had made no purchaſes from the crown while he was chancellor, and that all his bargains of that kind were made before he was advanced to that dignity. But notwithſtanding this defect in the proof, and the noble defence he made on his trial, he was condemned, deprived of his office, and committed to the cuſtody of the conſtable, who ſent him to Windſor caſtle.

Having made this ſacrifice, Richard hoped to recover the countenance of his parliament, but he was miſtaken: they were determined to embrace the preſent opportunity of making a thorough reformation in the management of the revenues. They ſaw the miniſters grow rich amidſt national penury, and that there was a neceſſity for eſtabliſhing a committee of enquiry and reformation. Accordingly eleven noblemen were nominated for this purpoſe; they were furniſhed with full powers for inſpecting the ſtate of the public revenue ever ſince the king's acceſſion to the throne: they were ſworn to adminiſter juſtice to every perſon in the courſe of this enquiry; and the king himſelf took an oath to abide by their determinations. Nor was this all; it was ordained, by act of parliament, that whoever ſhould adviſe the king to make any revocation of the powers granted to the committee even though the king did not revoke them, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit his eſtate; and, if he renewed it, ſuffer death as a traitor. Theſe powers were confirmed under the great ſeal; the committee, conſiſting of eleven perſons, was eſtabliſhed, and the ſovereign power transferred to them for a twelvemonth. By this act, the king, who had now reached the twenty-firſt year of his age, was, in reality, dethroned: the ariſtocracy was rendered ſupreme; and though the term of the commiſſion was limited to a twelvemonth, it was ſufficiently evident, that the intention of the party was to render it perpetual, and that it would be very difficult to wreſt the power from the hands of thoſe to whom it was thus committed.

Richard, however, ſoon gave intimations that he intended to annul the whole proceeding; and accordingly, on the laſt day of the ſeſſion, he openly proteſted, in full parliament, that every thing which had any tendency to prejudice the prerogatives and liberties of his crown, ſhould be void. He ſoon carried his declaration into execution, for before the end of the year, he releaſed de la Pole from his impriſonment, and took him again into favour.

A. D. 1387. Early in the ſpring the earl of Arundel put to ſea, with a powerful fleet, while the French thinking it impoſſible for the Engliſh to fit out a fleet in ſo ſhort a time, had laid up their ſhips. During his cruiſe, the earl happened to fall in with a very rich fleet of Flemiſh, French, and Spaniſh veſſels, with ſome Flemiſh and Spaniſh men of war for their convoy. The Engliſh attacked them very bravely, and were as bravely received; but victory at laſt declared for the Engliſh, who took the Flemiſh admiral with many of the enemy's beſt officers, and fifty-ſix of their ſhips. Nor were they contented with this capture, however large; they purſued the flying enemy for two days with ſuch ſucceſs, that the number of ſhips taken amounted to a hundred and twenty-ſix. The earl of Nottingham, a very promiſing young nobleman, commanded under the admiral, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly on this occaſion.

At their return they were received with great applauſe by the whole nation, except the king and his favourites, who treated them with coldneſs and neglect. They were even diſcharged from their employments, and the famous Piercy made lord-high

high admiral. This glaring mark of partiality fired theſe brave commanders with reſentment againſt the tools of power; they attached themſelves cloſer than ever to the duke of Glouceſter's party. Indeed Richard's conduct rendered both common danger and common reſentment, the bonds of a ſtrong confederacy againſt him. The late diſgrace of the earl of Suffolk, and the diſmiſſion of the duke of Ireland, had only ſerved to endear them the more to Richard, and place them ſtill higher in his confidence and favour. Nevil, archbiſhop of York, a buſy, bold, and pragmatical prelate, was the third of the triumvirate, who now entirely engroſſed the confidence of the king, and laboured to deſtroy the conſtitution of their country. Theſe repeated attempts induced the duke of Glouceſter, with the earls of Arundel, Nottingham, and Derby to retire to their reſpective counties in order to raiſe an army.

Apprized of their deſigns, the king and his favourites, arreſted ſeveral of the citizens of London and Coventry for high treaſon. But their greateſt difficulty conſiſted in purſuing a proper method of proceeding againſt the diſcontented lords themſelves; and it was at laſt agreed, that under pretence of making a progreſs through ſeveral parts of the kingdom, the king ſhould remove to the weſtern counties, where he might enjoy a fairer opportunity of conſulting how to act, and of practiſing on the country people to take up arms in his favour. Accordingly the king, attended by the archbiſhop of York, the earl of Suffolk, the duke of Ireland, and many others of his worthleſs favourites, proceeded to the borders of Wales, and after ſtaying there a few days, returned to Nottingham, where the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties, the chief citizens of London, and the judges of England were ſummoned to repair.

Richard and his favourites had felt the power of the houſe of commons, and were therefore deſirous of procuring an election of ſuch members as would ſupport the intereſt of the miniſtry. The ſheriffs were accordingly required to ſend only ſuch members to the next parliament as ſhould be recommended to them by the king and his favourites. But moſt of them having been appointed by his uncles, either during his minority, or during the courſe of the preſent commiſſion, he found them in general averſe to his enterprize. They told him, that the freedom of elections muſt be continued to the people, who could never be induced to give up that privilege, the moſt valuable of all they poſſeſſed.

The citizens of London were then requeſted to furniſh the king with money for the ſupport of his army, but they excuſed themſelves, on account of the great attachment between the more wealthy citizens, and the diſcontented noblemen, and their own inability to raiſe the ſums neceſſary for that purpoſe.

The judges, however, were more favourable to the king's inclinations. An indictment had been prepared againſt the lords; but it was founded upon certain principles which it was neceſſary the judges ſhould previouſly pronounce to be law. To procure this deciſion, Sir Robert Treſilian, chief juſtice of the king's bench, Sir Robert Belknappe, chief juſtice of the common pleas, Sir John Cary, chief baron of the exchequer, Holt, Fulthorpe, and Bourg, inferior juſtices, and Lockton the king's ſerjeant at law, were ſummoned to attend this meeting at Nottingham. The principles on which the indictment was founded, were reduced to certain queries, which the lawyers made no ſcruple of anſwering in the manner the king deſired. They declared that the late commiſſion was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king; that thoſe who procured it, or adviſed the king to conſent to it, were puniſhable with death; that thoſe who laid him under a neceſſity of ſigning it, were guilty of treaſon; that thoſe who ſhould perſevere in maintaining it were equally criminal; that the king has an undoubted right of diſſolving parliaments whenever he pleaſes; that the parliament, while it ſits, muſt proceed firſt upon the king's buſineſs, and that the houſe of commons cannot, without the king's conſent, impeach any of his miniſters and judges. This anſwer to the king's queries, was ſigned by the judges in the preſence of the archbiſhops of York and Dublin, the biſhops Durham, Chicheſter, and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and two other counſellors of inferior rank.

Theſe proceedings greatly alarmed the duke of Glouceſter and his party. They were convinced that the king was not only determined to recover his authority, but alſo to puniſh them for depriving him of it. It was therefore neceſſary for them to take a definitive reſolution to prevent the execution of the king's deſigns. Accordingly they aſſembled their forces, and marched directly to Harringay-park, near Highgate, in the neighbourhood of London. On their arrival ſo near the capital, they diſpatched the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the lords Lovel, Cobham, and Devreaux, to demand that the perſons who had ſeduced the king by their pernicious counſel, and were traitors both to him and to the kingdom, ſhould be delivered into their hands.

Such reſolute proceedings intimidated the court, as they were in no condition of reſiſting the army of the diſcontented nobles. An interview was therefore propoſed, and the lords accordingly came to Weſtminſter hall, where the king received them on his throne of ſtate. Their behaviour was particularly, perhaps affectedly, ſubmiſſive; and it was ſome time before Richard ordered the duke of Glouceſter himſelf to riſe from his knees. The biſhop of Ely ſeverely reprimanded them for having had recourſe to arms, and conſequently provoking the great power of the king, which, he ſaid, was ſufficient to have cruſhed them into nothing. The lords made no anſwer to the prelate's invective; but on being demanded to preſent their grievances, they delivered a ſchedule, containing the ſame demand they had before ſent to the king. But they now accuſed by name the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Treſilian, and Sir Nicholas Bambre, as public and dangerous enemies to the ſtate. This ſchedule being read, they threw down their gauntlets before the king, offering to maintain the truth of their charge by ſingle combat.

Richard having attentively heard the charge, left his throne, and converſed very affably with the lords. He told them, he ſhould refer all their grievances to the parliament already ſummoned, where they ſhould be fully conſidered. He exhorted both parties to abſtain from heats and animoſities till the parliament ſhould aſſemble; and, in the

the mean time, took them all under his protection. This method of proceeding left the lords no room for diſcovering any farther diſcontent, and Richard diſmiſſed them with the fulleſt declarations of love and eſteem for their perſons.

But they were not ſo far deceived by theſe appearances of a perfect reconciliation, as to lay aſide the power of defending themſelves. They obſerved, that in their interview with Richard, not one of the perſons accuſed had ventured to appear. They knew that this could not have happened without Richard's connivance, and conſidered this circumſtance as an evidence of the king's reſolution to protect them.

In the mean time the duke of Ireland fled to Cheſhire, where he raiſed a very conſiderable army. It was eaſy to foreſee, that if this body of men were ſuffered to increaſe, and join the royal party in London, the lords themſelves muſt be defeated, and, in their turn, declared traitors. The earl of Derby, one of the moſt active noblemen in the whole confederacy, was therefore ordered to put himſelf at the head of a detachment, and diſpute the march of the duke of Ireland. This command he executed with the utmoſt expedition. He ſeized the moſt advantageous paſſes, and the detachment no ſooner came in ſight of the duke's army, than that nobleman propoſed a retreat. Sir Thomas Molineaux, a man of courage and conſequence, who had joined the duke, remonſtrated againſt this meaſure, but could not prevail upon the duke to head his troops. In the mean time they were attacked by the earl of Derby, near Radcot-bridge, in Oxfordſhire. The duke was ſo intimidated, that on the firſt charge, he fled towards the river, where finding the bridge broken down, he left his horſe, and, ſtripping himſelf of his armour, ſwam to the oppoſite bank, and ſaved his life by an infamous flight. Molineaux himſelf was killed on the ſpot, upon which all the common men threw down their arms. This victory, at once ſo cheap and important, gave, for that time, the finiſhing blow to the hopes of Richard and his adherents. The king had wrote a preſſing letter to the duke, conjuring him to haſten to his relief, and, at the ſame time, ſent him commiſſions for raiſing forces. All thoſe papers were found among the baggage of the duke of Ireland, who was ſuppoſed by the royal party to have been either killed or drowned. They were, however, miſtaken; he eſcaped into the Low Countries, where he died in exile a few years after. This misfortune ſtruck the cabal with the utmoſt confuſion. The earl of Suffolk attempted to make his eſcape to France in diſguiſe, but was ſeized by his own brother at Calais, and ſent priſoner to London.

A. D. 1388. The diſcoveries made by the letters taken at Radcot-bridge, threw the whole nation into confuſion. The lords marched immediately at the head of forty thouſand men from St. Albans to London, and were readily admitted into the city. Richard's beſt friends could no longer defend his conduct: he ſhut himſelf up in the tower, but was ſoon after obliged to admit the diſcontented lords to his preſence, where they remonſtrated ſo ſharply on his conduct, that he could not refrain from tears. This was conſidered as an evidence that his heart was ſtill ſenſible of honour; but the cauſe was no ſooner removed than the effect ceaſed. The ſycophants about his perſon filled his mind with falſe notions of royal honour, in conſequence of which Richard refuſed to treat any further with the diſcontented lords. Exaſperated at this proceeding, they told him, that if he continued to trifle with them any longer, they would deliberate upon placing another prince upon the throne. This intimidated the king; he conſented to call a parliament, and give up his minions to juſtice.

It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed, that the proceedings of the diſcontented lords were directed by ſtrict juſtice; they indeed obſerved a few legal forms, but the proſecution itſelf was carried on with all the virulence and fury of an enraged party. An appeal was immediately entered before the parliament againſt the five counſellors who had been already accuſed before the king. The parliament, who ought to have been impartial judges, impoſed immediately an oath on all their members, by which they bound themſelves to live and die with the diſcontented lords, and to defend them with their lives and fortunes againſt all their enemies.

After taking this oath, little juſtice could be expected by the oppoſite party; and accordingly their proceedings were very conformable to the iniquity and violence of the times. A charge conſiſting of thirty-nine articles, was delivered in by the appellants, and as none of the accuſed counſellors, except Sir Richard Bembre, were in cuſtody, the reſt were cited to anſwer, and on their non-appearance they were, after a ſhort interval, without hearing a witneſs, examining a fact, or deliberating on one point of law, the houſe of peers declared them all guilty of high treaſon. Sir Nicholas Bembre, who appeared in court, had, indeed, the appearance of a trial; but the peers who were not properly his judges, pronounced, in a very ſummary manner, the ſentence of death upon him, and he, together with Sir Robert Treſilian, who had been diſcovered and taken during the interval, was executed. Several others ſuffered the ſame fate; but none were more regretted than Sir Simon Burley: this gentleman was greatly beloved for his perſonal merit, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many honourable actions, enjoyed the honour of being a knight of the garter, and had been appointed governor to Richard by the late king and the black prince: he had attended his maſter from his earlieſt infancy; and had always been extremely attached to his perſon. But all theſe conſiderations were incapable of ſaving him, he fell a victim to Glouceſter's vengeance. This execution made a deeper impreſſion on the mind of Richard than all the others: the queen alſo intereſted herſelf extremely in behalf of Burley: ſhe remained three hours on her knees before the earl of Glouceſter, pleading for that gentleman's life; but though her amiable qualities had rendered her extremely popular, her petition was ſternly rejected by that ambitious nobleman.

This ſcene of violence was concluded by a declaration of the parliament, that none of the articles declared on theſe trials to be treaſon, ſhould ever after be drawn into precedent by the judges, who were ſtill to conſider the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward as the only rule of their conduct. It was alſo enacted that every one ſhould ſwear to the perpetual maintenance and ſupport of the forfeitures and attainders, and all the other acts paſſed during this parliament.

At the ſame time the earl of Arundel was appointed governor of Breſt, and had his commiſſion

as lord high admiral continued. At the beginning of the ſummer he put to ſea with a ſquadron, and had the good fortune to fall in with a fleet of French ſhips conſiſting of fourſcore ſail, ſome of which he took, and deſtroyed the reſt. He likewiſe took and plundered the iſlands of Rhee and Aleron, together with ſome other iſlands of leſs conſequence on the French coaſt. About the latter end of autumn he again put to ſea with a very noble fleet, having five or ſix thouſand land forces on board; but they had not been above two or three days at ſea, before they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which diſperſed the fleet, and obliged the admiral, with only twenty-ſeven of his ſhips, to put into Patis, a ſmall port about a league from Rochelle. The mareſchal de Sancerre was then in the neighbourhood of that port, carrying on the ſiege of the caſtle of Bouteville; but hearing the Engliſh admiral was at Patis, he raiſed the ſiege, and ordered the inhabitants of Rochelle to ſend out a fleet of gallies, in order to block up the harbour where the Engliſh lay, while he himſelf marched at the head of his army to attack them from the ſhore, before they could refit their ſhips. But the earl of Arundel had been ſo expeditious, that his ſhips were ready to ſail before the Rochelle fleet arrived; and being informed of the mareſchal's deſign, he put to ſea, and met the French gallies, which he entirely deſtroyed; after which he returned to Patis, landed his men, and drove the mareſchal to the very gates of Rochelle.

In the mean time the Scots continued their inroads into the Engliſh territories, and it was reſolved in the Scottiſh parliament held at Aberdeen, to enter England with two armies, one by the weſt, and the other by the eaſt marches. This project was executed with great ſucceſs. The army which entered by the weſt marches near Carliſle, after plundering the country, and taking about three hundred priſoners, returned into Scotland with their booty. But the army that entered by the eaſt marches made a more alarming progreſs. It was commanded by the Douglaſes, with the earls of Fife, Dunbar, and the chief of the young nobility, particularly Lindſay, earl of Crawford, Hay, lord high conſtable, and the earls of Fife and Murray. They had paſſed the Tyne near Newcaſtle, and were laying waſte the biſhopric of Durham with the utmoſt fury, before the lords marchers were in any condition to oppoſe them. But the Scots were too few to continue long in England, their army conſiſting only of three hundred horſe and two thouſand foot. They were, however, the flower of the Scottiſh forces, and had often ſerved with great reputation. After ravaging the adjacent country, they inveſted the town of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, which was defended by a numerous garriſon commanded by the famous Hotſpur Piercy, his brother Sir Ralph Piercy, and other perſons of the greateſt note in the nothern counties. The Scots were too few to inveſt the place, they could only block it up on one ſide. Several encounters and ſkirmiſhes happened during this ſiege, and particularly, a trial at arms between Piercy and Douglas, ſo much to the advantage of the latter, that he brought off Hotſpur's lance, which he declared he would carry with him into Scotland. Satisfied with this honour, the Scots raiſed the ſiege of Newcaſtle, and left Piercy at liberty to put himſelf at the head of his troops, which were marching from all quarters to his aſſiſtance. His fiery ſpirit would not ſuffer him to wait for the biſhop of Durham, who was in full march to join him at the head of the militia of that county. He ſet out in purſuit of the Scots at the head of eight thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. The latter, in their march had burnt ſeveral towns and caſtles, and, at laſt, beſieged the ſtrong caſtle of Otterburn. They were laying before that place, when Piercy, by forced marches, came up with them; but though it was almoſt night, the Scots were far from being ſurprized. Douglas immediately drew out his men, and after making a ſhort, but animating ſpeech, the battle began with equal fury on both ſides; but night coming on they were ſeparated for a few hours, when the moon ſhining very bright, the battle was renewed with freſh fury, and the Scots thrown into ſome diſorder. This was ſoon perceived by Douglas, who immediately ruſhed between the combatants with his battle-axe in his hand, and did dreadful execution in the enemy's ranks, and being ſeconded by the earl of Dunbar, the Engliſh, in their turn, retreated; but not before the intrepid Douglas was mortally wounded. His fall, had it been known, muſt have inevitably ſecured the victory to the Engliſh; but the doubtful light in which they fought, concealing this misfortune from both parties, the Scots reſtored the battle with ſo much vigour, that Piercy, his brother, and an hundred of the chief officers, were taken priſoners, and the Engliſh army totally routed. The conſternation of the Engliſh was ſo great, that the biſhop of Durham, who was advancing with ten thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of Piercy, inſtead of attacking the Scots, now weakened and fatigued by the late battle, immediately diſmiſſed his men, and retreated with his principal officers to Newcaſtle, leaving the Scots at liberty to retire at leiſure, with their priſoners and their booty.

We have already obſerved, that the duke of Lancaſter had been for ſome time carrying on the war in Portugal and Caſtile. His ſucceſs was, for ſome time, very conſiderable, but at laſt his army was ſo greatly diminiſhed by ſickneſs and fatigue, and ſupplies ſo difficult to be procured from England, that he thought it prudent to enter into a treaty of accommodation with the reigning king of Caſtile. By this treaty the duke was to reſign all his pretenſions to that crown: prince Henry, ſon to the reigning king of Caſtile, was to marry Catherine, the duke's eldeſt daughter: the duke was to receive a very large ſum of money to defray the expences of the war, beſides an annuity of ſixteen thouſand marks; and his wife, in caſe ſhe ſurvived him, was to enjoy a thouſand.

A. D. 1389. Notwithſtanding the king had, by the combination of the princes of the blood and the chief nobility, been reduced to ſo complete a ſtate of ſlavery, as to be unable to defend his own ſervants from the unjuſt and inhuman effects of their reſentment, yet he now determined to recover the regal power, and riſe ſuperior to all thoſe who were deſirous of keeping him in perpetual bondage. Accordingly Richard, who was now in his twenty-third year, declared in council, that as he had now attained the full age which intitled him to govern his kingdom and houſehold by his own authority, he reſolved to exerciſe his right of ſovereignty. No perſon venturing to contradict ſo reaſonable a reſolution, he demanded the ſeals from Fitz Alon, archbiſhop

biſhop of Canterbury, and gave them to the famous William of Wickham, biſhop of Wincheſter: the biſhop of Hereford was diſplaced from the office of treaſurer; the earl of Arundel from that of lord high admiral, and even the duke of Glouceſter and the earl of Warwick were, for a time, removed from the council board.

This event appears truly ſurprizing; nor have the hiſtorians of theſe times given us any reaſon for ſo unexpected a change. Perhaps ſome ſecret animoſities, natural to be expected in that ſituation, had crept in between the great men, and enabled the king to recover his authority. Perhaps the violence of their former proceedings had loſt them the affections of the people, who ſoon repent of any cruel extremities to which they are carried by their leaders. But however this be, Richard exerciſed the authority he had reſumed, with great moderation. He ſeemed to be entirely reconciled to his uncles and the other great men, of whom he had ſo much reaſon to complain; he never attempted to recall the duke of Ireland from his exile: he confirmed, by proclamation, the general pardon paſſed by the late parliament for all offences; and by voluntarily remitting ſome ſubſidies that had been granted him, ſeemed to court the affections of his people.

A. D. 1394. While Richard was purſuing theſe popular meaſures ſome inſurrections of the Iriſh obliged the king to make an expedition into that iſland. His army amounted to thirty-four thouſand men, all of them well armed, and well appointed. The Iriſh, on the landing of the Engliſh, were ſtruck with ſuch a pannic, that part of them retired to their faſtneſſes, and part ſubmitted in the moſt humble manner to Richard, whoſe behaviour in Ireland was ſuch as became a king and a man. He not only treated the ſubmitting Iriſh with great clemency, but laboured aſſiduouſly to bring them over to a juſter way of thinking, by inſtructing them in the arts of humanity.

A. D. 1395. During Richard's ſtay in Ireland, great confuſions happened in London and other parts of the kingdom, on account of religion. The Wickliffites, or Lollards, were now grown ſo numerous, that they openly charged the lives of the clergy with impiety, and their doctrines with abſurdity. They had even intereſt ſufficient to bring this charge, which had been affixed to the doors of St. Paul's church, before the parliament. The clergy, inſtead of either diſavowing the facts, or defending their doctrine, had recourſe to the civil power. The archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of London, were ſent into Ireland, to practiſe upon the jealous and ſuſpicious mind of Richard. They repreſented the Lollards as equally diſaffected to the civil and religious eſtabliſhments, and Richard was weak enough to abandon all the flattering proſpects of totally reducing the Iriſh to obedience, in order to put an end to theſe religious diſputes. On his arrival he threatened the chiefs of the Lollards with death, if they continued to propagate their errors; this had for ſome time the deſired effect, and the Lollards thought it moſt prudent to ſuſpend their attacks upon the clergy.

A. D. 1396. The Engliſh and French courts began now to think ſeriouſly of concluding a laſting peace, but found it ſo difficult to adjuſt their oppoſite pretenſions, that they were contented with eſtabliſhing a truce for twenty-five years. Breſt and Cherburgh were reſtored; the former to the duke of Britany, the latter to the king of Navarre. Both parties were left in poſſeſſion of all the other places which they held at preſent. And to render the friendſhip between the two crowns ſtill more durable, Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to Iſabella, the daughter of Charles. This princeſs was only ſeven years of age; but the king agreed to ſo unequal a match, in order to fortify himſelf againſt the enterprizes of his uncles, and the incurable turbulent diſpoſitions of his barons.

No unpopular act had, during this interval, ſullied Richard's adminiſtration; but even while his government appeared unexceptionable, his perſonal character rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects. Indolent, expenſive, addicted to low pleaſures; he ſpent his whole time in feaſting and diſſipation; and ſquandered in idle ſhew, or in bounties to worthleſs favourites, that revenue which the people expected to ſee him employ in enterprizes calculated to promote the honour and advantage of the public. He forgot his rank by admitting all perſons to his familiarity, without conſidering that the qualities of his mind were not ſufficient to impreſs them with the reſpect which he neglected to preſerve from his birth and ſtation. The earls of Kent and Huntingdon, his half brothers, were his chief confidents and favourites; and though he never devoted himſelf ſo entirely to them as he had before done to the duke of Ireland, yet every favour paſſed through their hands, and the king had rendered himſelf, and became in reality, a mere cypher in the government. This behaviour again ſet the nation in a flame; the mouths of the people were full of murmurs and complaints againſt the king and his adminiſtration, and the former troubles and diſtractions ſeemed again inevitable.

A. D. 1397. In the mean time the parliament, by a meanneſs ſeldom known to Engliſhmen, ſeemed to vie with one another in expreſſions, which tended to eſtabliſh in the king an unlimited and arbitrary power. Alarmed at this uncommon behaviour, the duke of Glouceſter continued his intrigues, though he had not been able to make any conſiderable oppoſition in the parliament. This exaſperated the courtiers, who did not fail to repreſent his actions in the blackeſt colours, both to the king and the nation. He was too conſiderable a ſubject to be taken off by any ſhew of juſtice; and his brothers were too well affected to his perſon to be unconcerned ſpectators of his danger. But Richard was determined to take ample vengeance on his uncle, and even condeſcended to be himſelf an accomplice in his murder. The duke of Glouceſter was then at Plaſhy, one of his ſeats in Eſſex, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of any attempt againſt his life. Richard had always pretended to treat his uncle with great affection, which effectually baniſhed every thought that the king could poſſibly entertain even a wiſh to his prejudice.

Lulled in this calm of ſecurity, Richard on a ſummer's evening paid the duke a viſit, and was received by him and his dutcheſs with all the endearing marks of hoſpitality. Richard was even mean enough to partake of an entertainment from the very perſon he came to betray; but while they ſat at the table, deſired his uncle to order his horſes to be got ready, as he was deſirous of his aſſiſting at a council, which had been ſummoned to meet early the next morning at London. The duke, not

ſuſpecting

ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, very readily obeyed, and ſet out with the king, attended only by five or ſix perſons.

During the king's abſence an ambuſh was placed on the road, under the command of the earl of Nottingham, who, in all probability, was a ſtranger to the barbarous intentions of Richard; but thought his office of high mareſchal of England, obliged him to obey. When the company came near the ambuſcade, the king ſuddenly put ſpurs to his horſe, and before the duke of Glouceſter could overtake him, he was ſurrounded by armed men, who arreſted him in the king's name; and notwithſtanding all his reſiſtance, and the appeals he made againſt the treachery of the proceeding, he was hurried on board a veſſel, and landed at Calais.

This treacherous tranſaction was carried on with ſuch ſecrecy, that his friends, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, came to court the next morning, purſuant to the king's invitation, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of danger. But ſoon after their arrival, they were arreſted, together with lord Cobham and Cheney, and committed to the tower. This event blew up again the flames of diſcontent among the common people, who conſidered the impriſoned lords as their protectors and deliverers; and a general rebellion would doubtleſs have been the conſequence, had not Richard, with remarkable prudence, iſſued a proclamation, declaring, that the lords were arreſted in purſuance of freſh information againſt them, and that they ſhould be tried before their peers, during the approaching ſeſſion of parliament, ſummoned to meet at Nottingham on the firſt of Auguſt. This, in ſome meaſure, allayed the fury of the populace. The meeting at Nottingham was very numerous, and an indictment for high-treaſon was brought in againſt the duke of Glouceſter, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerſet, and Saliſbury, the lord Spenſer, and William Scroop, the chamberlain of the houſehold. After reading and conſidering the bill, the appealed lords were allowed till the fourteenth of September for giving in their anſwer to the impeachment.

The ſuſpence, the hopes, the fears, and diſtreſs of the nation were increaſed, when it was underſtood, how great, how good, how fair in eſtimation the impeached perſons were conſidered. They were almoſt all of them connected either by blood or alliance with every member of the houſe; ſo that Richard was afraid to truſt them with his bloody purpoſe, the death of the duke of Glouceſter. He therefore firſt endeavoured to extort a confeſſion from him by the aſſiſtance of William Rickhill, one of the juſtices of the common pleas. This perſon was commiſſioned by Richard to examine the duke, and he accordingly repaired to Calais. Glouceſter ſeems to have been very ingenuous on his examination; but the confeſſion appeared too vague to anſwer the intention of finding him guilty. Richard therefore ſent orders to the earl of Nottingham, governor of Calais, that the duke ſhould be privately murdered. On receiving this order, the earl was ſo ſhocked at the intended treachery, that he abſolutely refuſed to obey. But being threatened by Richard with the loſs of life if he perſiſted in refuſing to comply, he ſecretly connived at the baſe aſſaſſination. How, or by whom this bloody deed was concerted is unknown; we are only informed that the duke was taken out of the caſtle of Calais, and carried to an adjacent inn by four aſſaſſins, Hall, Lovetoft, Serle, and Francis, who were all ſworn to ſecrecy. Lovetoft carried the duke to an inner apartment, where he informed him of the king's command. The duke, who expected nothing leſs than death, anſwered, without the leaſt emotion, that he would very readily ſubmit, and leave his death to be revenged by his country. They then threw him on a pallet, where they ſmothered him between two feather-beds. This horrid tranſaction being over, they ſtripped the body, placed it in the bed, and pretended that the duke died of an apoplexy.

Thus fell the great Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, a perſon whoſe fate may ſerve to teach us that the ſmalleſt failings are ſufficient to deſtroy the happy effects of an aſſemblage of the greateſt virtues. That he had many excellent qualities cannot be denied: he was brave, open, and warm both in his friendſhips and enmities: meant well to his country, and perhaps alſo to his king. But his thirſt for popular fame was unbounded; and, conſcious of the purity of his own intentions, he had too little regard for that external appearance which ought to ſupport the dignity of majeſty, and guard government from contempt. Ambition had doubtleſs a great ſhare in his oppoſition; and perhaps his patriotiſm, however ſtrong, was weaker than his ruling paſſion for power. But this ſeems to have been a ſecret even to himſelf, and therefore juſtice demands us to acquit him of inſincerity: he ſometimes miſtook his reſentment for virtue, and often had recourſe to meaſures for correcting the errors of government, that threatened the overthrow of the conſtitution itſelf.

It is not eaſy to conceive the horror of all ranks of people, when this unnatural murder was firſt known. But Richard, with admirable foreſight, had taken every precaution for ſupporting his plan of arbitrary power. Had the ſame vigour, application, and ſagacity been employed to a virtuous, as it was to this infamous purpoſe, Richard might have reigned with the character of the beſt of princes. But inſtead of exerting himſelf in the cauſe of his country, he ſpent his time in indolence, and ſuffered his kingdom to be governed by perſons who ſought no intereſt but their own. He had collected immenſe ſums, and ſquandered it in maintaining an army of twenty thouſand veteran ſoldiers, all ſons of fortune and plunder: in corrupting the returning officers, in order to procure a parliament ſubſervient to his purpoſe, and in the luxury and intemperance of his court, which diſſolved the virtue of thoſe who were moſt likely to oppoſe the arbitrary ſchemes of the miniſtry. The dukes of Lancaſter and York, ſaw the ſpreading degeneracy too late. The former wanted virtue, and the latter reſolution, to ſtem the torrent. The earl of Rutland, ſon to the duke of York, was extremely active in endeavouring to ſooth the violences of both parties, in order to prevent, if poſſible, the horrors of a civil war.

The parliament now met at Weſtminſter, where the earls of Arundel and Warwick were declared guilty of high-treaſon: the former was afterwards executed, and the latter baniſhed for life to the Iſle of Man. No new acts of treaſon were imputed to either of theſe noblemen. They were condemned for

for their former attempts againſt the crown, though theſe ſeemed to have been totally obliterated by the repeated pardons that had been granted. Both the king and the miniſtry were indeed very indifferent about procuring even the colour of juſtice and equity to their proceedings. They were ſollicitous to obtain ſucceſs, and very indifferent about the means they employed for that purpoſe.

Nor were theſe the only perſons condemned in this obſequious parliament. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was alſo impeached. But though the condemnation of this prelate was perhaps abſolutely neceſſary to promote the arbitrary ſchemes of the miniſtry, yet it required the moſt delicate art to inſure ſucceſs. He was at the head of the clergy a powerful body of men, remarkably tenacious of their privileges, and who, it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, would intereſt themſelves in his quarrel as a prieſt, however indifferent they might be with regard to his political character. Add to this the great abilities of the archbiſhop himſelf, who, had he been permitted to make his defence, might have rendered the whole abortive. But Richard had ſufficient addreſs to ſurmount all difficulties, and execute his purpoſe even without oppoſition. He privately ſent for the archbiſhop; affected the moſt tender regard for his perſon and character; conjured him, that as he was deſtitute of all ſupport from his former friends, he would conſider him in that light, and leave his defence entirely to his care: promiſing that if the archbiſhop would agree to this propoſal, nothing ſhould be done to the prejudice of either his perſon or dignity. The archbiſhop followed the king's advice, and ſentence was pronounced upon him in his abſence. The prelate's character as a clergyman, exempted him from a capital, or indeed any corporal puniſhment, but he was condemned to baniſhment, and all his eſtate and temporalities were confiſcated.

The earl of Arundel met death with the greateſt intrepidity. The king himſelf was preſent at this awful ſpectacle, attended by the earls of Nottingham and Kent, who all ſeemed to take an unnatural pleaſure in a ſight, that ought to have filled them with more ſerious thoughts. The unhappy earl himſelf took notice of this behaviour, and, with a kind of prophetic ſpirit, told the two noblemen, that his caſe would ſoon be theirs. Richard, in his cooler and more ſolitary moments, could not help reflecting on the fate of this gallant earl, who had performed ſo many ſignal ſervices to his country, and had been always a ſucceſsful commander. His image inceſſantly haunted the mind of the guilty monarch, and the uneaſineſs of his ſpirit was heightened by the apprehenſion of his danger. For the people conſidered him as a martyr to the liberties of his country, and even pretended that miracles were wrought at his tomb. Nor is it any wonder that he was a favourite with his countrymen: his days had been ſpent in performing a ſeries of brave actions, from his firſt entering on the ſtage of life, to his magnanimous exit. He had aſſerted the liberties of his country, in oppoſition to vice, weakneſs, and venality, and with ſo even a tenor of conduct, that he was never known to deſert his principles in one ſingle inſtance.

A. D. 1398. But though Richard had obtained all he requeſted from his parliament, he was very uneaſy. His conduct had diſobliged the whole body of the people. The principal nobility ſaw themſelves debaſed by the cheapneſs of public honours, and the admiſſion of the vile and the venal into public councils. Diviſions ſoon happened among the members of the new miniſtry; and Richard was ſo far from diſcountenancing, that he encouraged theſe diſſenſions, thinking, as moſt miſguided princes have always done, that his own power was by that means rendered of more deciſive weight. In the mean time he took every precaution in his power for fixing on a more ſolid baſis, the power he had lately acquired. He new modelled his guards, and endeavoured to render them capable of committing every ſpecies of cruelty in order to ſupport the arbitrary power of the crown.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the miſeries of England at this period. The ſhameful conqueſt ſhe had obtained of her ſelf, at once embittered her ſufferings, and increaſed her difficulties. But calamity at laſt rouſed her to a true ſenſe of her condition; and liberty, though now to all appearance, in her laſt convulſive pangs, wrought out her own deliverance.

Henry duke of Hereford, equally diſtinguiſhed by the gifts of nature and fortune, was now in the flower of his age: he had neither declined nor courted popularity, and therefore had acquired it; he had neither frequented nor ſhunned the court, and therefore adorned it; he had always kept fair with the king, and was particularly careful not to leave the ſmalleſt ſtain, on which the piercing eye of ſuſpicion could faſten an imputation of diſloyalty. His eſtimation of mankind was founded upon his own experience or knowledge of their diſpoſitions and intereſt, without truſting to profeſſions which vaniſh on the proſpect of advantage, or to ties of friendſhip which diſſolve by the breath of power. He had gone too far in the late meaſures, owing perhaps to that exceſſive caution which he inherited from his anceſtors. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed that a prince of his character would be fond of forming any connections but with ſuch as he knew he could truſt. The duke of Norfolk was alſo a nobleman of high rank, and diſtinguiſhed courage; but his manners were rough and unamiable, and without a ſteady virtue to recommend them. He had never been greatly courted by any party, and therefore thinking himſelf ſlighted by all, he had attached himſelf to the king, from whom he received an increaſe of dignity, but no degree of confidence. Both he, and the duke of Hereford had formerly been deeply engaged in that oppoſition, which Richard always conſidered as an unpardonable crime; and both, perhaps, dreaded the effects of his reſentment. Being both in the ſame ſituation, the duke of Norfolk was perſuaded that they could be ſafe only by uniting their intereſts. He was imprudent enough to propoſe this coalition to the duke of Hereford, who received it with great diſtruſt. He knew the character and perſonal diſpoſitions of the duke of Norfolk too well to embark with him in ſo dangerous an attempt. He even ſuſpected that Norfolk's propoſal had been ſecretly dictated by his enemies at court, with a deſign to ruin him. He drew up a memoir of all that had paſſed, and in preſence of the king charged the duke of Norfolk, with a deſign of rendering him obnoxious to his majeſty. The duke of Norfolk denied the charge with the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations. The king laid the whole affair before the parliament, who condemned both the

dukes to baniſhment, the duke of Hereford for ten years, and the duke of Norfolk for life. At the ſame time the eſtate of the latter was confiſcated.

This ſentence was at once impolitic and unjuſt; one of them only could be guilty; and even ſuppoſing the charge to be true, the penalty was too ſevere. The duke of Norfolk confeſſed ſome part of the charge while he was confined at Windſor; but afterwards retracted his confeſſion. As to the duke of Hereford, he retained his uſual moderation. When he waited on the king to take his leave, his behaviour was ſo reſpectful, that the king mitigated his ſentence to ſix years; and even gave him leave to continue a month at Calais, with a retinue of twelve perſons. Both theſe noblemen alſo obtained paſſes, directed to all ſovereign powers for a kind reception ſuitable to their rank, and in all writs wherein they were mentioned, the word exile was induſtriouſly avoided, and that of travelling or peregrination, ſubſtituted in its room.

During theſe alarming tranſactions, the Scots, thoſe hereditary enemies of England, were every day offering freſh inſults to the inhabitants of the northern counties, which were either connived at by the court, or terminated by a truce haſtily concluded, and as readily broken. At laſt a treaty was ſigned under proper guarantees, conſiſting of ſubjects inhabiting the marches that ſeparated the kingdoms; but nothing was done towards effecting a ſolid peace.

A. D. 1399. The power of Richard at this period may be compared to a mighty pyramid reverſed; it was indeed extenſive, but it reſted on ſo narrow a foundation, that it tottered with its own weight. Richard's ſucceſs had wrought him up to a kind of frenzy of pride, and inſolence. The magnificence of his court was, in a great meaſure, ſupported by repeated acts of injury and oppreſſion. The earl of Wiltſhire, Buſſy, Green, and Bagot, formed his cabinet-council, where every thing was digeſted, and came ready prepared to the other counſellors, whoſe whole buſineſs conſiſted in approving of whatever was laid before them. The ſame minions alſo formed the royal revenues; and made uſe of every method to diſtreſs the people. During this horrid ſcene of public affairs, John of Ghent, or Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, paid the debt of nature in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

That prince poſſeſſed a mediocrity of virtues rarely found in the royal blood of England. He ſeems to have conſidered the power of the king, as the power of the nation; and that the breach of liberty was leſs dangerous to the public, than the means neceſſary to be employed in repairing it. His addreſs in buſineſs was remarkable; but his lending his name and authority to Richard, in the moſt unjuſtifiable acts of his government, does no honour to his virtue. His ambition, however, proved extremely fortunate to England. His alliance with the courts of Spain and Porugal opened an immenſe channel of trade, which greatly, though by almoſt inſenſible degrees, enriched the nation. Add to this, that with a foreign education, and foreign employments, he always retained an Engliſh heart, and imported into England the rudiments of that learning for which ſhe is now ſo deſervedly celebrated. His court was magnificent without affectation, and himſelf learned without pedantry. So that had he lived under a prince of more virtue, prudence, and fortitude, he might have proved, at once, an uſeful member to ſociety, and a graceful ornament to his country.

The death of this prince awakened all the terrors of Richard: he had ſo highly injured his ſon, the duke of Hereford, that he deſpaired of ever procuring his friendſhip: and the prodigious eſtate of his father, added to his own, together with the whole Lancaſtrian intereſt, rendered him formidable to the crown and kingdom. When that nobleman left England, the king granted him letters patent, by which he was empowered, in caſe any inheritance ſhould fall to him during his exile, to enter immediately into poſſeſſion, and to poſtpone the doing homage till his return. But upon the death of his father, when the duke, in conſequence of his patent, deſired to be put into poſſeſſion both of his eſtate and juriſdiction, Richard revoked his letters patent, and retained himſelf the eſtate of the duke of Lancaſter. Exaſperated at this treatment, the duke of Hereford determined to do himſelf juſtice the firſt opportunity, and in the mean time continued at Paris, where he planned the amazing revolution that happened ſoon after.

Richard vainly flattered himſelf that by depriving the duke of Hereford of his father's eſtate and juriſdiction, he had put it out of his power to diſturb the quiet of his government. In the mean time the earl of March, lord lieutenant of Ireland, loſt his life in an unfortunate expedition againſt the wild Iriſh. He had been ſucceeded by the earl of Surry, as lord lieutenant; but the king, deſirous of rendering himſelf as terrible in arms, as he had been already formidable to the laws, reſolved to paſs over into that kingdom, and chaſtiſe the inhabitants for the oppoſition they had made to his government. Accordingly he raiſed a powerful army, and ordered the rendezvous to be at Milford-haven; but before he embarked, he commiſſioned the biſhop of St. Aſaph, the earls of Albermarle and Saliſbury, Sir John Buſſy, Sir Henry Geeen, and Laurence Drew, to repair to Scotland, in order to conclude a definitive treaty with that court, and to propoſe an alliance between the two kingdoms againſt all the rebellious ſubjects of either; Richard having for ſome time entertained violent ſuſpicions of the Piercies, the moſt powerful family in the north.

Theſe ſuſpicions were not indeed deſtitute of foundation, his own conduct having ſufficiently diſguſted all the nobility. Among the reſt the Piercy family had long, with ſecret, and ſullen diſcontent, beheld the meaſures of the miniſtry, and at laſt retired from court. Richard, who conſidered every appearance of independency, as an indication of treaſon, ſummoned the earl of Northumberland to attend him at Briſtol with all his followers, in order to embark for Ireland. The earl had many plauſible excuſes for not complying with his ſummons. Richard had an army more than ſufficient for reducing the Iriſh, and the faith of the Scots was ſo very uncertain, that there was hardly any room to doubt of their invading the northern counties, as ſoon as they perceived the Engliſh forces were drawn from their borders. The earl urged theſe reaſons in a letter to the king, but Richard put ſuch a ſtrange conſtruction on his refuſal, that he

he ordered the earl and all his adherents to be proclaimed traitors, and their eſtates to be ſeized for the uſe of the crown.

Theſe violent proceedings exaſperated the people more than ever againſt Richard and his miniſtry. They plainly perceived that without ſome ſudden revolution, the deſtruction of their country was inevitable. In this diſtreſs, they caſt their eyes upon Henry duke of Hereford, and now duke of Lancaſter. That nobleman had ſerved with great applauſe againſt the infidels of Luthiania, and had joined to his other accompliſhments thoſe of piety and valour; virtues which have at all times great influence over mankind; and were, during thoſe ages, the qualities chiefly held in eſtimation. At the ſame time he was connected with moſt of the principal nobility by blood, alliances, or friendſhip. It is therefore no wonder that the Engliſh hoped to obtain by his aſſiſtance, a releaſe from that tyranny under which they groaned, The citizens of London, notwithſtanding all their ſufferings, and all the ſeverity of the adminiſtration, publickly implored the duke as their deliverer. Richard was no ſtranger to theſe diſpoſitions; but his parliament had rendered him independent of the laws, and his army had raiſed him above the reach of reſentment. He therefore madly gave himſelf up to his head-ſtrong paſſions; put all who dared to diſpute his will, under military execution; and rapine and robbery filled every corner of the kingdom.

The duke of Lancaſter was well informed of all theſe circumſtances; and application was daily made to him, by his injured countrymen; but he received them all with the utmoſt caution, diffidence, and ſecrecy. The exiled archbiſhop of Canterbury was the only perſon who was intruſted with his real intentions. This prelate, who had ſeverely felt the weight of Richard's tyranny, was the agent between the duke and the exaſperated Engliſh. The latter juſtly imagined, that his own ſufferings, and thoſe of his family, had rendered him an enemy to the preſent government beyond the poſſibility of reconciliation, and conſequently, that there was not the leaſt danger of their application to him being diſcovered.

In the mean time Richard, having appointed the duke of York guardian of the kingdom, embarked with his army, and landed, after a ſhort paſſage, at Waterford. He was attended by many of the chief nobility, and particularly by the eldeſt ſon of the late duke of Glouceſter, and the eldeſt ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, afterwards the famous Henry V. The king's pretence for carrying theſe young noblemen with him, was to inſtruct them in the rudiments of war; but the true reaſon was his deſire of keeping them as pledges for the behaviour of their relations during his abſence from England.

On his arrival in Ireland, the rebels were ſtruck with the greateſt conſternation. The moſt conſiderable among them ſubmitted; but a body of them headed by one Macmore, greatly annoyed the Engliſh in their paſſage through the woods. Richard, however, behaved with much greater courage and reſolution, than might have been naturally expected from him, who had ſpent his whole life in indolence and luxury. But young Henry of Lancaſter behaved with that noble intrepidity, that he knighted him in the field. It was principally owing to his activity that the rebels were driven from all their faſtneſſes, and obliged to throw themſelves on the clemency of Richard; who would ſoon have entirely reduced the whole country, had not affairs of much greater conſequence required his preſence in England.

Henry, duke of Lancaſter, no ſooner heard of Richard's departure for Ireland, than he embarked at Nantz, with only a retinue of ſixty perſons, among whom were the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the young earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate. After a ſhort paſſage he landed at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, where he was immediately joined by the lords Willoughby, Darcy, Roſs, and Beaumont; and ſoon after by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, two of the moſt powerful barons in England. In the mean time, Henry carefully concealed his real deſigns, ſolemnly declaring that his ſole intention of landing in England, was to prevail upon the king to put him in poſſeſſion of his lawful inheritance. The injuries he had received were ſo notorious, his intereſt ſo popular, and his pretenſions ſo juſt, that the Engliſh roſe like one man in his favour, and joined his army; ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand men.

The guardian was in no condition to oppoſe this numerous body of men, had he been a real friend to the government, He had long, with ſecret diſguſt, beheld the injuries done to his country in general, and to his nephew the duke of Lancaſter in particular; but his own indolence, and the jealous and arbitrary diſpoſitions of the king, had hitherto prevented his complaining. He had, however, too much honour to betray his truſt on this occaſion, though not diſpleaſed at his inability. He appointed a general rendezvous of his forces at St. Albans, and ſoon aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men; but found they were much more attached to the party of the rebels, than to that of the crown. At the ſame time the nobility who appeared in favour of the royal cauſe, were very few: the principal part of thoſe who were attached to the crown had attended the king into Ireland; ſo that the efforts of Richard's friends were weak and frivolous.

In the mean time the march of the duke of Lancaſter towards London was rather triumphal than hoſtile. Every tongue was buſied in his praiſe, every purſe was open to his wants, and every hand employed in his defence. His own affability, his graceful modeſty, his winning addreſs, his moderate pretenſions, and, above all, his former ſufferings, ſpoke irreſiſtibly in his favour. The duke of York, finding it in vain to oppoſe the torrent of popularity, joined the ſame party; and declared openly that he would ſecond his nephew in his juſt requeſt of recovering his legal patrimony. The two armies embraced each other; and the duke was received by the citizens of London, as their guardian and deliverer. He did not, however, continue any time in the capital: he ſet out for Briſtol, into which ſome of the king's miniſters had thrown themſelves. The place made very little reſiſtance, and the duke, yielding to the unanimous requeſt of the populace, ordered the earl of Wiltſhire, Sir John Buſſy, and Sir Henry Green, whom he there took priſoners, to be led out to immediate execution.

The unfortunate king receiving intelligence of this invaſion and inſurrection, haſtened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford-haven, with a body of

of twenty thouſand men: but even this army, ſo much inferior to the enemy, were either over-awed by the general combination of the kingdom, or ſeized with the ſame ſpirit of rebellion, gradually deſerted him, till he found that he had not above ſix thouſand men that followed his ſtandard. Struck with this deſertion of his forces, the death of his counſellors, the ſurrender of his forts, the revolt of his cities, and the defection of his people, the king ſubmitted to his fate. Richard was not poſſeſſed of any principle of virtue ſufficient to encounter this terrible ſhock: when he took a retroſpective view of his former conduct, he was terrified with the reflection of what he had done to exaſperate his people; when he turned his eyes around him, he ſaw himſelf beſet with thoſe who had ſo largely contributed to plunge him into miſery, and who he had no reaſon to believe would be more faithful to him than thoſe who had already deſerted him. In vain did his friends adviſe him to march into the heart of the country, and try what effect the preſence of majeſty might have upon his people. Had Richard been wiſe enough to have followed this advice, he might, even then, have been reſtored to all the conſtitutional power of an Engliſh king. The duke of Lancaſter had, as yet, made no farther demands than thoſe of being admitted to his paternal honours and eſtates, and the people, as ſoon as their heat of paſſion was over, would have been contented with a regulated power, even in Richard's perſon. Some adviſed him to return to Ireland, and others to embark for France; but the fears of Richard had baniſhed every deſire of ambition or royalty, and ſeemed concerned only in preventing the loſs of life or liberty. He accordingly retired ſecretly from his forces, and, with the dukes of Exeter and Surry, the biſhop of Carliſle, and a few other attendants, travelled acroſs the country, and ſhut himſelf up in Conway caſtle. There he was deſerted by Sir Thomas Piercy, lord ſteward of his houſehold, who publickly broke his white ſtaff, and declared his reſolution of joining the oppoſite party.

In the mean time the duke of Lancaſter was very uneaſy, notwithſtanding all his ſucceſs. He was apprehenſive of Richard's eſcaping into Ireland or France, and of the direction which popular affections might take in favour of diſtreſſed majeſty. He imparted his fears to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Northumberland; and it was at laſt concluded, that the earl ſhould be ſent to the king, in order to perſuade him to put his perſon into the duke's power. Accordingly the earl marched towards Conway caſtle, at the head of a ſelect number of troops. On his arrival near the caſtle, he left his forces, and repaired to the king without one attendant, and preſented the king with a paper containing two very eaſy articles: the firſt required him to call a free parliament, in which all the proceedings againſt the duke of Lancaſter ſhould be reverſed, and that nobleman be reſtored to all his eſtates and honours. The ſecond article required the king to give up to public juſtice, the dukes of Surry and Exeter, the earl of Saliſbury, and the biſhop of Carliſle, together with all thoſe who had any concern in adviſing, promoting, or compaſſing the duke of Glouceſter's death.

Before the arrival of the earl of Northumberland, the dukes of Surry and Exeter had abandoned the unfortunate Richard under pretence of affecting an accommodation between him and the duke of Lancaſter, but in reality to obtain terms for themſelves: ſo that the earl of Saliſbury and the biſhop of Carliſle were now almoſt the only perſons of diſtinction who remained about Richard's perſon; all the moths of his greatneſs having vaniſhed in the winter of his fortunes. Theſe barons, on the earl of Northumberland's taking an oath upon the euchariſt, that Richard ſhould, on his complying with the above terms, be reſtored to all his former power, adviſed him to comply, and to accompany the earl to the head quarters of the duke of Lancaſter. Richard, who owned himſelf both unworthy and weary of royalty, agreed to this propoſal, though not without diſtruſt. But the earl to free him from all ſuſpicion of treachery left the caſtle, that the king might follow him at his leiſure.

Soon after the departure of the earl, Richard, with a retinue of about twenty perſons, the poor remains of his former greatneſs, left the caſtle, but had not proceeded far before they were ſurrounded by an ambuſcade, planted for that purpoſe by the earl of Northumberland, and by whom he was conducted firſt to Flint, and afterwards to Rothland caſtle, both in the power of the duke of Lancaſter. After continuing there ſome time in confinement he was conducted to London, and committed to the tower. Writs were immediately iſſued in the king's name for the meeting of a parliament at Weſtminſter.

In the mean time the duke, ſenſible of his power, extended his views to the crown itſelf, and deliberated with the heads of his party on the moſt proper means of effecting this violent purpoſe. A reſignation was firſt extorted from Richard; but as he well knew the deed muſt appear entirely the reſult of force and fear, he at the ſame time propoſed, notwithſtanding the danger of the precedent to himſelf and his poſterity, to have him ſolemnly depoſed in parliament for his tyranny and miſconduct. Accordingly a charge, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, was drawn up againſt him, and preſented to that aſſembly.

Theſe articles will not bear the teſt of examination: and though conſidered accumulatively, they are of ſome weight, ſuppoſing them all to have been true; yet there is not a ſingle fact urged in the whole that might not have been prevented by a due execution of the laws then in being; and the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe laws in their full vigour would have been a work more glorious and more ſalutary to the Engliſh nation, than the deprivation and death of a miſguided prince, and ſetting aſide the legal ſucceſſion by which the kingdom was ſoon after deluged with the blood of its principal inhabitants.

The only perſon who had the courage to ſpeak in defence of this unfortunate prince, was the biſhop of Carliſle, who with great ſtrength of argument, ſhewed the injuſtice of the charge; adding, that however the nation might be juſtified in depoſing the miſguided Richard, no reaſon could be offered for taking the crown from his lawful ſucceſſor, who was confeſſedly innocent. But this ſpeech was ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that the biſhop himſelf was immediately arreſted, by order of the duke of Lancaſter, and ſent priſoner to the abbey of St. Albans. No farther defence was attempted: the thirty-three articles were voted unanimouſly

mouſly againſt Richard, by the very ſame peers and prelates, who, a little before had voluntarily, and unanimouſly authorized thoſe very acts of violence of which they now complained. The prince being thus depoſed by the ſuffrage of both houſes, and the throne declared vacant, Henry duke of Lancaſter, after croſſing himſelf on his forehead, demanded the crown as his juſt right. This demand, though founded on falſehood, was immediately complied with, and that prince declared king of England, by the unanimous voice of both houſes of parliament.

Thus ended the reign of Richard II. Every one reflects with a pleaſing kind of aſtoniſhment on the fall of Richard, without ſufficiently reflecting on the cauſes which effected it; though theſe are, perhaps, the moſt inſtructive part of his hiſtory. That a thoughtleſs, raſh, paſſionate young man ſhould be toſſed out of the ſeat of government by a people ever impatient, even under the appearance of oppreſſion, is little ſurprizing: but that this youth ſhould mount above every barrier of law, throw down every fence which the wiſdom of preceding ages had placed round the conſtitution; that he ſhould defeat the counſels, and put to death, the greateſt, the beſt, the braveſt, and the wiſeſt of his ſubjects; that having every object of his lawleſs affection, and every tool of his reſtleſs ambition torn from him to-day, and yet to-morrow he ſhould bring all his enemies to the block or the gibbet: this muſt ſurely fill us with aſtoniſhment, and render us very deſirous of knowing the ſecret ſprings of ſuch amazing events.

It has been often obſerved by political writers, that in any ſtate where a middle order preſſes too hard upon the inferior, the latter naturally ſeeks relief from the higher. At this period, the barons or great nobility of England, were extremely uneaſy at the many advantages lately acquired by the commons, both from the countenance of the king and clergy, and from their extenſive trade; and therefore determined to depreſs them. In order to this they not only endeavoured to conceal from them the knowledge of their own importance, but alſo to bring them back to that ſtate of villanage under which they had groaned, during the ſevereſt reigns of the Norman race. On the other hand, the crown grew every day more and more ſenſible, that by ſuffering the commons to increaſe their property, and granting them the liberty of enjoying it in ſecurity, was the only way of deſtroying their dependence on the baronage, which had, by means of that dependence, become formidable to the power of the crown. It was not long before the commons perceived the mutual intereſt that ſubſiſted between themſelves and the ſovereign power; and became ſo ſenſible of it towards the latter end of Richard's reign, that it was owing to his own madneſs and folly, that he did not eſtabliſh in his own perſon and family, an abſolute power as permanently hereditable as that of any crown in Europe. But Richard, not contented with enabling the commons to balance the power of the barons, graſped at every thing, and loſt the whole. The commons, who would have ſacrificed their lives and fortunes to have rendered the crown abſolute, had the ſovereign behaved to them with that lenity they had a right to expect, ſoon found their condition much worſe under Richard's favourites, than it had been under their former maſters. They therefore wiſely withdrew their intereſt from the crown. They thought it ſufficient for their purpoſe, in having convinced the barons, that they were determined never more to ſubmit to the yoke of their forefathers. They knew that the barons, convinced by experience, that the power of the crown, augmented by their aſſiſtance was irreſiſtible, would readily, on any future occaſion, form with them an amicable and permanent coalition, and having already, in ſome meaſure, attained what they ſought, they hoped, with reaſon, that their wiſhes would ſoon be completed. Richard had been ſo ſtrangely flattered by his parliament, who had placed him above the laws, that he imagined nothing could ever bring the conſtitution back to its original principles. He conſidered the votes of parliament as ſo many fortifications around his throne. But he was ſoon convinced he was deceived; he found too late, that they ſerved only as a temporary ſcaffolding, which being demoliſhed by thoſe who reared it, he was expoſed without defence to the attacks of his ambitious nobles and provoked people.

While Richard, blinded by paſſion, puſhed on by reſentment, and by the flattering ſpeeches of his minions, and ſupported by a powerful army, he glided down the ſtream of life in the bark of pleaſure; but deſtitute of virtue and piety, the ſupports of true courage, when the tide of ſucceſs withdrew, he found himſelf caſt on the ſhore of tribulation, without an eye to pity, or a hand to relieve him. Richard is a memorable inſtance of the power of habit over the human mind. In his tender years he had been bred up under a mother, from whom he received nothing but indulgence, and with two brothers, who taught him nothing but vices; yet his own powers were ſo great, that by his perſonal addreſs, and a ready turn of thought, he diſſipated, in the very face of danger, and under the uplifted hand of flaming rebellion, a hundred thouſand of his ſubjects, whoſe declared reſolution was that of exterminating both the laws and the conſtitution of England. His noble and ſpirited behaviour on this occaſion, proved a favourite theme for the tongue of flattery; till at laſt Richard believed every falſehood uttered by the mouth of adulation. While under the tuition of parliament he thought himſelf in priſon, and as ſoon as releaſed, at liberty to proſecute, with the greateſt rigour, all who had dared to oppoſe his will. In this manner the balance trembled for ſome time, between the two preponderating ſcales of privilege and prerogative. At laſt Richard found means to gain the commons to his intereſt, and contract a formidable alliance with France; prerogative weighed down the conſtitution. But by extending his power beyond the limits of royalty, the commons again deſerted him, and he became the victim of his own folly.

BOOK VIII.

From the acceſſion of Henry IV. *the firſt prince of the* Lancaſter *line, to the death of* Henry VI.

HENRY IV.

A. D. 1399. HENRY of Lancaſter being now in poſſeſſion of the throne, he was crowned at Weſtminſter on the thirteenth of October, with great magnificence, the regalia, together with all the crown jewels, having fallen into his hands upon Richard's return from Ireland. But Henry ſoon perceived the dangers to which his high ſtation expoſed him; and the difficulties he muſt expect to meet with in governing an unruly ariſtocracy, always divided by faction, and ſtill more inflamed by reſentments, always the conſequence of ſuch recent convulſions. The peers on their aſſembling broke out into violent animoſities; no leſs than forty gauntlets, the gages of furious battles were thrown on the floor of the houſe of lords, by noblemen who gave mutual challenges to each other, while the words liar and traitor reſounded from all quarters. The king had, however, authority ſufficient to prevent theſe champions from engaging, but could not allay their heats and animoſities.

The city of London, and the adjacent counties, were, in general, well affected to the preſent government; but Wales and its marches, where the Mortimer intereſt lay, and which had always been diſtinguiſhed by Richard, wanted only an opportunity of breaking out into rebellion. Several conſultations were held for reſtoring Richard, who was now removed from the tower of London, to the caſtle of Leeds in Kent, and afterwards to Pontefract caſtle in Yorkſhire. The nothern counties had not appeared very ſanguine in the late revolution, and all they had done to favour it was entirely owing to the great intereſt of the Piercy family, ſo that the continuance of the people's loyalty, depended almoſt wholly upon that of the earl of Northumberland. But Henry's greateſt apprehenſions aroſe from the clergy, with whom he was no favourite. Both he and his father had been ſtrongly ſuſpected of favouring Wickliff's doctrine, and the king himſelf, when duke of Lancaſter, had been heard to ſay, that in England the revenues of the barons were too ſmall, and that of the church too great. The abbot of Weſtminſter, a bold intriguing prieſt, one who had always been foremoſt in the unjuſtifiable proceedings of both parties, embraced this opportunity of forming a ſecret party againſt the government. The earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and lord Spencer, who were now degraded from the titles of Albermarle, Surry, Exeter, and Glouceſter, conferred on them by Richard, together with the biſhop of Carliſle, the lord Lumley, Sir Thomas Blount, and ſeveral other perſons of character and fortune, joined in the conſpiracy, and met frequently in the abbey of Weſtminſter, where, in a ſecret room, they concerted their dangerous deſigns, which ſoon after broke out into action.

While this conſpiracy was forming, a peſtilence raged in the northern parts of England; and the Scots, according to their uſual cuſtom, embraced this opportunity of national calamity to invade the nothern counties of England. They beſieged and took the caſtle of Werk, commanded by Sir Thomas Grey, who was then attending his duty in parliament. But even this inſult, groſs as it was, did not provoke Henry to abandon his cautious conduct. Inſtead of reſenting the affront, he ſent his brother, the earl of Weſtmoreland, to treat with the Scots.

A. D. 1400. The earl accordingly repaired to Scotland, but his offers were fruitleſs; the Scots continued their depredations, and, the king, alarmed at their progreſs, ſummoned his privy-council, and demanded an aid for repelling the incurſions of the northern invaders, and providing for the ſecurity of the nation againſt any attempts that might be made by France. The lords thought it would be dangerous to call a parliament, and therefore agreed to raiſe a ſubſidy among themſelves. The ſpiritual lords conſented to grant a tenth, upon condition of its being diſcounted to them, if a tenth ſhould be granted by any convocation of the clergy. The temporal lords engaged to maintain a number of ſoldiers for a quarter of a year at their own expence.

Soon after the meeting of this extraordinary council, the effects of the abbot's conſpiracy began to appear. One Maudlin, a chaplain to Richard, and who greatly reſembled that prince in his perſon, was to paſs for Richard. In order to this the conſpirators agreed to dreſs him in royal robes, and carry him to different parts of the kingdom, till the real Richard could be delivered out of priſon. It was next agreed, that the king, who had received the late earls of Albermarle and Exeter into favour, ſhould be invited to a tournament which they were to celebrate at Oxford. They flattered themſelves that this appearance of diverſion would render Henry more ſecure, and at the ſame time afford them an opportunity of procuring arms and raiſing men, without cauſing any ſuſpicion, becauſe it was ſuppoſed to be done merely in honour to the king's perſon, while he ſat as arbiter of the tournaments. But they were ſtill deſirous of increaſing the ſtrength of their party, and, in order to this, they entered into a correſpondence with the French court, in order to procure the aſſiſtance of that nation againſt the power of the Lancaſter family. This was eaſily effected. Charles

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was very well inclined to break the peace with England; Henry having put his daughter who had been betrothed to Richard under arreſt, at her houſe at Sunnings near Reading. This lady's marriage with Richard had never been conſummated, on account of her youth; and having, on Richard's depoſition, been demanded by her father, Henry kept her as a pledge of the reconciliation with the French court, he was ſo deſirous of effecting. This detenſion of the queen ſo highly exaſperated Charles, that he reſolved not only to favour the Engliſh conſpirators, but alſo to raiſe a rebellion in Henry's French dominions. The earl of St. Paul, and ſome other French princes even went ſo far as to ſend letters to Henry, full of the moſt bitter invectives, and charging him with being at once a traitor and an uſurper. The conſpiracy being thus digeſted, the members entered into a ſolemn aſſociation, and ſix ſeveral copies of an indenture for that purpoſe, were taken, and delivered to the ſix principal noblemen concerned in this dangerous undertaking.

Henry, not ſuſpecting the treacherous deſigns of his nobility, accepted the invitation of being preſent at the Oxford tournament; but was prevented by a providential concurrence of accidents. The earl of Rutland, late duke of Albermarle, had no ſooner received his copy of the indenture, than he left Weſtminſter to pay a viſit to his father, in his way to Oxford. While he ſat at the table, the duke, his father, obſerving a parchment with ſeveral ſeals appended to it, hanging out of his ſon's boſom, was very deſirous to know the contents, which the ſon abſolutely refuſed. This alarmed his father, who ſnatched the writing from his ſon, and, upon peruſing it, diſcovered the whole conſpiracy.

The duke of York, who had pledged his own life to the king for the loyalty of his ſon, ſharply upbraided him for the unnatural and ungrateful part he had acted, by expoſing, at once, the life of his father, and abuſing the goodneſs of his prince. It was in vain for the ſon to offer any defence againſt the charge; and finding his father had ordered his horſes to be ſaddled, in order to inform the king of his danger, reſolved to prevent him, by being the firſt meſſenger and informer of his own treaſon. Accordingly he mounted his horſe, arrived at Windſor before his father, and, gaining admittance to the king, ingenuouſly diſcovered the whole of the conſpiracy, and obtained the promiſe of a pardon.

Henry immediately ſet out for London, where he was ſure of being ſupported by the citizens, and therefore in a condition of giving the rebels battle, in caſe they ventured to approach the capital. In the mean time the conſpirators, ſuſpecting their deſign was diſcovered, marched immediately to Windſor, and ſurprized the caſtle, but were confounded when they found that Henry had made his eſcape. Henry appeared next day at Kingſton upon Thames, at the head of twenty thouſand men, moſtly drawn from the city; and the rebels, unable to reſiſt his power, diſperſed themſelves with a view of raiſing their followers in the ſeveral counties, where their intereſt more immediately lay. But they were ſo cloſely purſued by the royal party, that the earls of Kent and Saliſbury were ſeized at Cirenceſter by the inhabitants, and beheaded the next day, without farther ceremony, according to the cuſtom of thoſe turbulent times. Spencer and Lumley were treated in the ſame manner by the citizens of Briſtol. The earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Blount, and Sir Benedict Sely, together with Maudlin the counterfeit Richard, and ſeveral others of the conſpirators, were taken priſoners, and ſuffered death by the king's expreſs command.

This conſpiracy greatly alarmed Henry, who could not think himſelf ſafe while Richard was alive. That unhappy prince ſtill remained at Pontefract caſtle, where he was ſhewn ſome ſmall remains of royal reſpect. Sir Pierce de Exton, one of thoſe wretches who think nothing too barbarous for gratifying either their own ambition or that of their maſter, determined to deſtroy Richard, and free Henry from the uneaſineſs he could not conceal. Accordingly he imparted his deſign to eight ruffians, who all agreed to diſpatch the unhappy prince, not doubting but they ſhould receive a noble reward, as the action was at once too deteſtable for the king to command, and too dangerous for any but abandoned ruffians like themſelves to undertake.

This horrid deſign being formed, the ruffians ſet out for Pontefract caſtle, in order to execute their barbarous purpoſe. Richard being ſoon convinced that his laſt hour was at hand, ſummoned all his ſtrength and courage that he might die like a king and a man. Accordingly when Exton and his ruffians ruſhed into the room, the king wreſted a pole-axe out of one of the villain's hands, and laid four of them dead at his feet; but Exton, mounting a chair behind him, ſtruck him a blow, that Richard fell on the floor, and expired immediately.

Thus fell Richard in the thirty-third year of his age, condemned to perpetual impriſonment by his parliament, removed from his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The injuries he did in his lifetime ſeem to have periſhed with him; but his high birth, his elegant perſon, and the miſery of his fate, awakened in the breaſts of the Engliſh, all the compaſſion ſo naturally due to majeſty in diſtreſs. He was then conſidered as a prince miſled by habit, rather than cruel by diſpoſition; as one who might have been fortunate had he not been a king, and who might have held the reins of government till old age, had he not been called to it in early youth. The flattery of his parliament was the moſt deadly drug infuſed in the poiſon that intoxicated his brain with regard to his own power as a king. He had, by repeated acts of the legiſlature, raiſed above the law; but he had not learned that maxim ſo neceſſary to all princes, that principles give way to feeling, and profeſſions to ſafety. Had he acted with moderation, he might have held the ſubſtance of arbitrary power; but the violence with which he graſped it, diſſolved it in his hand. The allegiance of his ſubjects melted before the heat of his government, and Richard became a melancholy inſtance, that thoſe men who abandon the intereſt of their country, will alſo forſake their ſovereign in the hour of danger occaſioned by their own wicked profeſſions.

A. D. 1401. The Welſh, whoſe dependence on the crown of England was rather feuderal than compulſatory, determined to attempt a revolt from the houſe of Lancaſter. Had the Engliſh earl of March, the true heir of Richard, put himſelf at their

their head, they would have riſen like one man in his favour; but he was ſo cautious of provoking the Engliſh, that he took up arms againſt the Welſh, when they firſt commenced hoſtilities. Owen Glendour, or Glendourduy, deſcended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard. His mind was that of a hero, and his heart that of a patriot, ready to burſt with indignation at the miſeries of his country. His genius was enterprizing, and his conduct firm but cautious. Owen at firſt contented himſelf with attacking the eſtates of the earl of Ruthyn. He was always ſucceſsful in theſe ſkirmiſhes, and at laſt took that nobleman himſelf priſoner; nor would he releaſe him, but on condition of his marrying his daughter. This alliance rendered Owen ſtill more illuſtrious in the eyes of the Welſh, who now conſidered him as born to be the deliverer of his country.

The earl of March, who we have already obſerved had officiouſly taken up arms againſt Owen, was defeated by the Welſh and taken priſoner. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the Welſh laid waſte all the Engliſh eſtates on the weſt ſide of the Severn.

Henry, not at all diſpleaſed to hear that the true heir to the Engliſh crown, was a priſoner in the hands of his enemies, made no extraordinary efforts to put a ſtop to the ravages of the Welſh, eſpecially as the injury fell principally on the Mortimer eſtates, and thoſe of the friends to the late government. Henry even ſuffered the earl to remain in captivity; and though that young nobleman was nearly allied to the Piercies, to whoſe aſſiſtance he himſelf had owed his crown, he would not permit the earl of Northumberland to treat with Owen for his ranſom.

But notwithſtanding his indifference for his couſin, Henry thought himſelf obliged to protect his people, and accordingly ordered all his forces to advance towards the borders of Wales. Owen, who was in no condition to oppoſe a royal army, commanded by the ableſt and moſt fortunate prince of the age, in the open field, purſued that conduct which true policy dictated, and the wiſeſt of his anceſtors had found ſucceſsful. He retired behind Snowdon-hills, and left Henry, in a ſevere ſeaſon, to wreak his vengeance on the already deſolate country. By this prudent meaſure, Henry was obliged to return to England, without effecting any thing of conſequence againſt the enemy.

A. D. 1402. The ſeaſon for taking the field being arrived, Henry again marched againſt the Welſh; but the very elements ſeemed to fight againſt the Engliſh, and nature to abandon her ordinary proceedings in favour of Owen. In ſhort, ſuch dreadful ſtorms aroſe, that the ignorant people, in an ignorant age, believed they were raiſed by the magic of Glendour, whoſe activity, ſucceſs, and above all his retirement in parts almoſt inacceſſible, made them conſider him as ſomething more than human. Henry was unable to regain any part of the vaſt plunder taken from the Engliſh, and forced to abandon an expedition, in which his diſappointment was heightened by the great hopes he had entertained of ſucceſs.

In the mean time Archibald, earl of Douglas, at the head of twelve thouſand men, and attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, made an irruption into England, carrying fire and ſword through the nothern counties. On his return he found his retreat cut off by the Engliſh under the command of the Piercies; and both parties prepared for a general engagement. The Scots were drawn up upon the declivity of Halidown-hill, but to great diſadvantage; for riſing one above another, they preſented to the Engliſh archers a very extended front, ſo that the arrows of the latter did much greater execution than thoſe of the former. Douglas, perceiving this diſadvantage, endeavoured to repair it, by coming down the hill upon the Engliſh ſword in hand. The archers, fearing to be broke, at firſt gave way, but again cloſing their ranks, plied the Scots ſo warmly with their arrows that a total rout enſued. The gallant, but unfortunate Douglas, ſeverely wounded, and fainting with the loſs of blood, was taken on the field of battle, together with the earls of Fife, Murray, Angus, and Orkney; the lords Montgomery, Erſkine, and Graham, beſides eighty knights, and a great number of ſoldiers. The remainder of the Scottiſh army that fled from the field of battle, were purſued by the archers, who made a dreadful ſlaughter; part were puſhed into the river Tyne, where many of them periſhed, and part obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Among the ſlain of the Scottiſh army, were Sir John Swinton, Sir Adam Gordon, Sir John Levingſton, Sir Alexander Ramſay, twenty-three knights, and near ten thouſand common ſoldiers: while the loſs of the Engliſh was too inconſiderable to be mentioned.

Henry was no ſooner informed of this victory, than he wrote a letter of congratulation to the earl of Northumberland, and Henry Piercy, congratulating them on their good fortune, but at the ſame time ſtrictly enjoining them not to ranſom any of their priſoners, or ſet them at liberty; adding, that he himſelf would take care to ſatisfy them for any advantages they might hope to receive for the liberty of their captives.

A. D. 1403. This remarkable ſucceſs againſt the Scots greatly elated the Piercies, already ſufficiently preſuming, and Henry beheld with great diſſatisfaction, that powerful family too great for ſubjects. Both parties were diſcontented, and the impatient ſpirit of Hotſpur Piercy, and the factious diſpoſition of the earl of Worceſter, younger brother to the earl of Northumberland, inflamed the diſcontent of that nobleman, and the precarious title by which Henry held his crown, tempted him to ſeek revenge, by overturning that throne he had at firſt eſtabliſhed. A formidable conſpiracy was accordingly formed againſt Henry, by uniting into one intereſt, the Scots, the Welſh, and Mortimer earl of March, who ſtill continued a priſoner in the hands of Owen Glendour, where perhaps that nobleman thought himſelf much ſafer than when he was expoſed to Henry's jealouſy. Douglas readily entered into an alliance with the Piercies, and both him and the reſt of the Scottiſh priſoners, were permitted to return to their own country, in order to raiſe forces. Glendour joined in the conſpiracy, and all the partizans of the Northumberland family were rouzed to arms, ſo that the very ſame men whom, a few years before the earl had conducted againſt Richard, now followed his ſtandard in oppoſition to Henry.

The Scotch earl of March, though himſelf a rebel, became now the chief inſtrument of quelling this

this rebellion. He examined the nature of this oppoſition in a more cool manner, that Henry, who with all his vaſt abilities, felt the ſcepter tremble in his hand. Henry had long perceived treaſon lowering upon the brows of the Piercies, but never imagined it would ſo ſoon break out into action. He flattered himſelf with being able, when his own authority reſted on a ſurer foundation, to humble the pride of that haughty family. He thought that the oppoſition made by the Piercies to Richard's government, would prevent Owen from joining their party. But he was miſtaken. The Piercies, with an impetuoſity congenial with their blood, aſſembled their followers, diſplayed their ſtandards, and marched for Shrewſbury, the place of their rendezvous; and where they were to join Owen's army. When the army was ready to march, the earl of Northumberland was taken ſuddenly ill at Berwic; ſo that the command of the forces devolved on young Piercy, who continued his march towards Shrewſbury with great expedition.

The Scottiſh earl of March, who hated the Douglas family, now ranged under the banners of the rebels, perſuaded Henry to attack the traitors, before the flames of their rebellion ſpread itſelf into different parts of the kingdom. He repreſented the danger he had juſt reaſon to apprehend from this rebellion conducted by chiefs of ſuch approved valour; who ſought to ſtrip him of his crown, overthrow the whole ſyſtem of his government, and leave his friends expoſed to glut the vengeance of an exaſperated party. Henry took his advice. Fortunate for himſelf he had a fine army on foot, intended to curb the ferocious Welſh, who ſtill infeſted the Engliſh territories. In his march he heard that the town of Shrewſbury had ſhut their gates againſt the rebels, and that they were not yet joined by the earl of Northumberland. Theſe circumſtances determined him to give the rebels battle immediately. He ſent for his ſon the brave prince of Wales, and appointed him and the Scottiſh earl of March, the principal commanders of his army, under himſelf.

Night however prevented the armies from engaging, and Piercy took that opportunity of ſending a manifeſto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, ſet the prince at defiance, and, in the name of his father and uncle, as well as his own, enumerated all the grievances of which the nation had reaſon to complain. He repreſented the perjury, of which Henry had been guilty, when, on his landing at Ravenſpur, he had ſolemnly ſworn, before the earl of Northumberland, that his ſole intention was that of recovering the du chy of Lancaſter, and that he would ever remain a faithful ſubject of king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in firſt dethroning and then murdering that prince, and in uſurping the title of the houſe of Mortimer, to whom, both by lineal ſucceſſion, and by declaration of parliament, the throne, when vacated by Richard's death, juſtly belonged. He complained of the cruel policy in allowing the young earl of March, whom he ought to regard as his ſovereign, to remain a captive in the hands of his enemies, and in even refuſing to all his friends the permiſſion of treating for his ranſom. He charged him again with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having ſworn that, without the utmoſt neceſſity, he would never levy any impoſitions upon the people. And he reproached him with the arts he employed in procuring favourable elections of members to ſit in parliament; arts, which he himſelf had before condemned in Richard, and which he had made one of the principal reaſons for the arraignment and depoſition of that prince.

As ſoon as the morning appeared, the rebels perceived the royal banners diſplayed, and an army ſuperior to their own, advancing againſt them in admirable order. Young Piercy immediately drew up his army on an advantageous ſpot of ground, where he harangued them like a veteran ſoldier, concluding, that if they did not behave themſelves with intrepidity, they would be treated as rebels; and inſtead of falling bravely in the field of honour, they would be ignominiouſly put to death by the hands of the executioner. This ſpeech was anſwered by a thundering ſhout from the ſoldiers, who all promiſed to die with their leaders, rather than ſubmit to their enemies. All the art of the earl of March, nor all the fire of the prince of Wales, could prevent the mind of Henry from being touched with this appearance of reſolution. His foreſight ſurveyed a diſmal freturity, which daunted his ſpirit. He ſaw, with horror, his life, his crown, his family, and his friends, all that lofty ſtructure of royalty he had reared with ſo much art and aſſiduity, placed on the deciſion of one dreadful and precarious event. Perhaps his breaſt was not filled with that pleaſing calm of innocence, which, from the retroſpect of a virtuous conduct, baniſhes fear, and ſupports reſolution in the hour of danger. In ſhort, Henry, great as he was, ſtooped, on this occaſion, to employ the abbot of Shrewſbury, to offer terms to the rebels. The whole day was ſpent in meſſages between the king and the rebels; but the earl of Worceſter rendered the whole abortive. That nobleman had often ſeen in the days of king Richard, how unavailing all conceſſions from kings were, whenever they had power to puniſh oppoſition, and much more rebellion. He knew of what infinite advantage the forms of government are to the reigning power, and how difficult it would be for their party to re-aſſemble, if the king and parliament ſhould declare, that what Henry had agreed to was extorted by force. Nor was he a ſtranger to that generous tenderneſs inſeparable from an open gallant temper, like that of Hotſpur Piercy, who he knew would melt into pity, on ſeeing his ſovereign ſubmit to implore his friendſhip, depreciating his arms, and, in a manner, buying off his reſentment. Theſe reaſons determined the artful earl to prevent, if poſſible, the concluſion of a peace. Accordingly he repreſented the king's behaviour in a very different light to what it really was, and ſtiffled the very conceſſions Henry had made to the inſurgents. This was pouring oil on the flames of rebellion, and Piercy accordingly, as ſoon as the morning appeared, drew up his men in order of battle. The chief command under him, was given to the earl of Douglas, and his officers of note were the baron of Kinderton, Sir Hugh Brown, and Sir Richard Vernon.

Henry made his diſpoſitions with ſurprizing foreſight, and being ſenſible that the whole ſtorm would be directed againſt his own perſon, he ordered ſeveral officers who reſembled him in his ſize, to wear the ſame armour, dreſs and diſtinctions with thoſe of himſelf. The battle began with a dreadful diſcharge from the archers of both armies; but the Scots, who always declined fighting at a diſtance, broke in with ſuch fury on Henry's in-

fantry, that his firſt line gave way, and would have diſordered all the reſt of his army had it not been for an advantage the Engliſh gained from the impetuoſity of Piercy and Douglas; for theſe two gallant noblemen fighting ſide by ſide, and reſiſtleſs in their progreſs, opened a way with their ſwords to the very center of Henry's army, where they knew the king commanded in perſon. Their charge was ſo rapid and deſperate, that few of their men could follow them; but they carried an army in their own perſons. They covered the ground with heaps of dead bodies; many principal officers were killed in oppoſing them; the royal ſtandard was beat to the ground; and Henry, at the perſuaſion of the Scotch earl of March, put himſelf at the head of his laſt diviſion, on which all the hopes of his victory and ſafety now depended. The gallant prince of Wales, however, and a few of his faithful followers, diſdained to leave their poſts; and the two leaders, Piercy and Douglas, now found, what they had never before experienced, an enemy, whoſe courage and addreſs in arms, was at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior to their own. By this time Henry had charged the rebels with the utmoſt fury, ſeparated them entirely from their chiefs, and by that means deprived them of the ſoul that animated all their motions. The main body was firſt diſordered, and then routed, with prodigious ſlaughter. Hotſpur, perceiving the condition of his forces, endeavoured to cut his way through the enemy's ranks, but fell by the hand of ſome intrepid leader, perhaps the prince of Wales. Douglas, who made the ſame attempt, was taken priſoner. But not before he had performed feats of valour almoſt incredible: he ſeemed determined that the king of England ſhould that day fall by his hand: he ſought him in every part of the field of battle, and ſeveral of the captains dreſſed in royal garb, fell the victims of his fury. The fates of theſe two intrepid leaders were no ſooner known, than a dreadful carnage of the rebels enſued; not leſs than two hundred knights, and five thouſand ſoldiers fell in the conteſt. The victory was, however, dearly purchaſed by the royal party; great numbers, perhaps nearly as many as thoſe of the inſurgents, periſhed in the fight; but the perſons of the greateſt note, were the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gauſel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Maſſey, and Sir John Calverley. Henry expoſed his perſon equally with the meaneſt ſoldier, he led his troops to the charge, fought at their head, and ſlew with his own hand ſix and thirty of the enemy. The young prince of Wales was wounded in the face, and by his intrepid behaviour againſt his two dreadful competitors, whom he defeated, tranſplanted all their laurels to his own brows. The prudent, and intrepid behaviour of the Scottiſh earl of March, was highly commended, and ſuitably rewarded by Henry, whoſe victory appeared every hour to be more and more complete. The earl of Worceſter, the baron Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon were taken priſoners, and beheaded at Shrewſbury, by the king's expreſs orders. But the king's behaviour to the earl of Douglas was very different: he admired his valour, treated him with the greateſt courteſy, and diſmiſſed him without a ranſom.

In the mean time the earl of Northumberland had recovered his health, levyed an army, and was on his march to join his ſon; but hearing of the fatal battle of Shrewſbury, he diſmiſſed his forces, and came, with a ſmall retinue, to the king at York. He pretended that his ſole intention in arming, was to offer his mediation between the two parties. This apology, however inſufficient, was accepted by Henry, who granted him a pardon for his offence. All the reſt of the inſurgents were treated with equal lenity; the king hoping by this generous method of proceeding, to ſtifle the flames of rebellion, and eſtabliſh his throne in the hearts of his people.

A. D. 1405. But notwithſtanding the lenient proceedings of Henry, the Engliſh ſtill conſidered his aſcent to the throne, as an infringment of the laws of their country. The fate of the earl of March, who ſtill continued a priſoner in Owen's hands, awakened in their minds, the moſt tender compaſſion, and a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt Henry's perſon and government. The king finding his finances very low, was obliged to have recourſe to his nobility for a ſupply, and accordingly ſummoned a council to meet at St. Albans, where he laid the ſtate of the nation before them, and requeſted a ſum of money to ſupport the neceſſary expences of government. The lords, however, thought proper to excuſe themſelves under pretence of their having but a few months before advanced their proportion of the public taxes. Henry, not chuſing to call another parliament, had recourſe to the clergy, and received from them a like repulſe, ſo that the whole aſſembly broke up greatly diſſatisfied. The Piercy family, notwithſtanding the defeat at Shrewſbury, with the death of the earl of Worceſter, and Henry Hotſpur, ſtill ſupported their great credit with the public, and the earl of Northumberland became ſtill more popular by the ſufferings of his family. The rebellion under Owen Glendour, was ſo far from being ſuppreſſed, that he had been formally acknowledged prince of Wales by the French court, and was conſidered as a ſovereign independent prince. A formal treaty of alliance both offenſive and defenſive, was concluded againſt Henry, between Owen and the French king; each party engaging never to make peace, without the knowledge and conſent of the other. This treaty was no ſecret to the diſcontented nobility; and the earl of Northumberland undertook to gain over the courts both of France and Scotland to their party. Accordingly the earl undertook a voyage to France, where he received promiſes more magnificent than ſincere. He was afterwards very favourably received at the court of Scotland. The encouragement from France gave freſh ſpirits to the conſpirators, and a plan was at laſt formed for an inſurrection in the north of England, the ſiege of Henry's moſt important places in France, and an irruption of the Welſh, all which were to be executed at the ſame time. The principal members of this conſpiracy, beſides the earl of Northumberland, were Scroop, archbiſhop of York, Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, and mareſchal of England, the lords Bardolf, Haſtings, Faulconbridge, and a great number of gentlemen of figure and fortune in their reſpective counties. The archbiſhop of York was diſtinguiſhed for his merit and courage, extremely popular, both with the laity and clergy, and tho' a firm friend to Richard's family, had hitherto prudently

dently diſſembled his ſentiments. The earl mareſchal had alſo private reſentments to gratify. His father's exile, in which he died, was owing to Henry, and he accordingly reſented it. The other noblemen had been long diſſatisfied with Henry's government, and thought this a favourable opportunity for declaring their ſentiments. Henry had kept the children of the earl of March, as hoſtages at Windſor caſtle; but they were now conveyed from their confinement, and ſuppoſed to be carried into Wales. Their eſcape greatly alarmed Henry, who was ſo active in the purſuit, that he ſoon overtook the children, recommitted them to priſon, and the ſmith who had made the keys which favoured their eſcape, was put to death.

In the mean time the diſſenſions at the French court, prevented the aſſiſtance expected by the inſurgents in England, who had never fixed the time for their riſing in arms. This miſtake rendered the whole abortive. The archbiſhop of York, and the earl of Nottingham, took up arms before the earl of Northumberland was ready to join them, and publiſhing a manifeſto, in which they reproached Henry with his uſurpation of the crown, and his murder of Richard, required that the right line ſhould be reſtored, and all the public grievances redreſſed.

Alarmed at this rebellion, Henry ſent orders to the earl of Weſtmorland, who was then in the north at the head of a body of forces, watching the motions of the Scots, to advance againſt the inſurgents, before they could be joined by the earl of Northumberland. Accordingly the earl by forced marches, ſoon reached the foreſt of Gaultree, within a mile of the rebels camp. His intention was to have ſurprized the archbiſhop and his friends; but found them in excellent order, and their numbers greatly ſuperior to the king's troops. Deſpairing of ſucceſs by force, the earl of Weſtmorland had recourſe to a ſtratagem, hardly conſiſtent with the character of a man of honour: he ſent a meſſage to the archbiſhop, deſiring to know the reaſons that could enduce a miniſter of peace to ſanctify the cauſe of rebellion, by appearing in arms, and heading Engliſhmen againſt their ſovereign. The archbiſhop, in anſwer to this meſſage, profeſſed his zeal for the public ſervice, and drew up certain articles in writing, which he ſent to the earl, who replied that he had received ſo good an opinion of the prelate's intentions, from reading the articles he had ſent him, that he was very ready to concur in promoting the ſame laudible intentions; and therefore intreated the archbiſhop to name a place where they might meet, and concert meaſures for completing a reconciliation ſo agreeable to the people. This propoſal being agreed to, the prelate and the earl mareſchal, met the earl of Weſtmorland under an open tent in ſight of both armies. After ſome debate the earl of Weſtmorland appeared to be fully ſatisfied, and promiſed to concur with the archbiſhop in the great work of national reformation. This appearance of generous candor, had ſo powerful an effect on the unſuſpecting archbiſhop, that he agreed to diſmiſs his forces, that they might be no longer a burden to his country. Orders were immediately iſſued for that purpoſe, and their troops were diſbanded upon the field. But Weſtmorland, who had ſecretly iſſued contrary orders to his army, ſeized the two rebels without reſiſtance, and carried them to Henry, who was advanced within a few leagues of their camp, at the head of a powerful army. The trial and puniſhment of an archbiſhop might have proved a very troubleſome and dangerous undertaking, had Henry proceeded regularly, and given time for an oppoſition to be formed againſt a meaſure ſo unuſual. The celerity of the execution alone, could render it ſafe and prudent. Orders were accordingly iſſued to Sir William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, for trying the prelate; but he making ſome ſcruple of undertaking the proceſs, Henry appointed Sir William Fulthorpe, a judge for that purpoſe, and who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, pronounced ſentence of death upon the archbiſhop, which was inſtantly executed; but he ſuffered death with ſo much conſtancy and piety, that the country people looked upon him as a ſaint and a martyr. The earl mareſchal ſoon after underwent the ſame fate.

The earl of Northumberland no ſooner heard of the execution of theſe two noblemen, than he fled to Berwic, and thereby made a ſafe retreat into Scotland, where he was received by the lord Fleming, who ſupported him, contrary perhaps to the inclinations of the court, whoſe intereſt it was at this juncture, to keep on good terms with Henry. He, however, ſoon found that he could not hope for ſafety at that court; a plan had been formed for delivering him up to Henry: he therefore fled immediately into Wales, and paſſed from thence over into France.

The defeat of the archbiſhop of York's conſpiracy, though chiefly occaſioned by the delay of the French, did not however diſcourage that court from equiping a powerful armament, which was ready to put to ſea juſt as Henry had finiſhed his expedition in the north. Their fleet accordingly ſailed from Breſt, and landed at Milford-haven, after a troubleſome paſſage, during which they loſt the greater part of their horſes. Henry was in no condition of meeting the combined armies of the French and Welſh in the open field, the former alone amounting to twelve thouſand fighting men. The king was returning from a fatiguing expedition; the time his troops were obliged to ſerve was now elapſed, and his army had been greatly diminiſhed by the garriſons he was obliged to leave in the places he had recovered in the north.

In the mean time the confederates made themſelves maſters of Caermarthen, but were not able to take the caſtle of Pembroke. They were alſo diſappointed in their attempts on Hereford, but ſucceeded at Worceſter, which they plundered, and retreated towards Wales, leaving Henry, who was now ſet out at the head of his army, expoſed to all the inconveniencies of a fatiguing march. He followed them, however, and found them encamped on a high mountain, inacceſſible to his army, but with a plentiful country behind them. In this ſituation they continued eight days, during which Henry's army ſuffered extremely, being in want of every neceſſary. The ſparing ſupplies of proviſions they were able to procure, were gained with the utmoſt danger and difficulty. Henry's forces daily diminiſhed by famine and hardſhips; his carriages were deſtroyed by the badneſs of the roads; his enemies could not be attacked, and he himſelf was in danger of being cut off. Thus ſurrounded with difficulties, he thought it prudent to abandon his enterprize, and accordingly retreated

retreated to Worceſter, but even this was not accompliſhed without great danger.

In other reſpects, however, Henry was not unfortunate. The French, who had brought over with them about an hundred and forty ſhips, loſt thirty of them which were burnt by lord Berkley, who guarded the coaſt ſo carefully, that the French, deſpairing of being able to ſubſiſt in Wales, began ſoon to think of re-embarking for their own country.

This reſolution was rendered the more neceſſary from their affairs having greatly ſuffered on the continent. The two dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, in conſequence of a plan which had been concerted, though the ſeaſon was now too far advanced to be carried into execution, marched at the head of two numerous armies. The duke of Orleans ſat down before Bloye in Guienne, and preſſed the ſiege very vigorouſly, but met with a noble reſiſtance from the governor. At laſt the commandant conſented to give up the place, provided the duke would make himſelf maſter of Burg, and thereby cut off all communication between Bloye and Bourdeaux. The duke was weak enough to make the attempt, but met there with as vigorous a reſiſtance as he had before done at Bloye. To complete his difficulties, there fell for ſix weeks, a continued tempeſt of hail, rain, and ſnow, and all the proviſions he had ordered for the ſupport of his army from Rochelle, were intercepted by the Engliſh. At laſt he was reduced to the neceſſity of ordering his troops into winter quarters, after loſing ſix thouſand men to no manner of purpoſe.

The duke of Burgundy, who commanded in Picardy, was equally unfortunate. The Engliſh fleet which had been fitted out under the command of Thomas of Lancaſter, burnt four large ſhips lying in the harbour of Sluiſe, alarmed that caſtle, laid the adjacent country waſte, took three rich prizes in their return, and at laſt landed their men in Calais. The ſiege of that important fortreſs was ſoon after formed by the duke of Burgundy, who conſtructed ſeveral prodigious works in order to make himſelf maſter of the place. But the beſieged acted with ſo much vigour, and the party at court, with whom he was at variance, ſupplied his army ſo ill with money and neceſſaries, that he was at laſt obliged to abandon his enterprize, and return with diſhonour to Paris.

A. D. 1407. While affairs were in this ſituation both at home and abroad, a terrible plague broke out in England, which obliged the king to remove his court, about the middle of October, to Glouceſter. Thirty thouſand perſons periſhed of this diſtemper in London only, and a proportionable number in ſeveral parts of the country.

In the mean time the prince of Wales had taken the caſtle of Aberyſtwith from the Welſh; but it was ſoon after recovered by Glendour, who had now entered into engagements with the earl of Northumberland, for raiſing a freſh rebellion in the north. In conſequence of theſe engagements, that nobleman, together with the lord Bardolf, had been very aſſiduous at the courts of France and Scotland, and were now returned to England, where they prepared every thing neceſſary for acting with the utmoſt vigour in the enſuing ſpring.

A. D. 1408. The French nation was now one entire ſcene of confuſion. After the rival dukes of Burgundy and Orleans had miſcarried in their reſpective enterprizes againſt Henry's dominions in France, the animoſities between them were carried to ſuch a height, that the king, and the other princes of the blood were obliged to interpoſe, in order to prevent the two contending nobles from proceeding to open hoſtilities againſt each other. They even obliged them to ſwear an inviolable friendſhip to each other. Perhaps the duke of Orleans was ſincere; but the duke of Burgundy was contriving, even while he took it, a baſe aſſaſſination of his rival; and who was a few nights after inhumanly murdered in the ſtreets of Paris, by eight ruffians hired for that deteſtible purpoſe. The aſſaſſins being on horſe-back, fled with great celerity, and the night being dark, the officers of juſtice found it impoſſible to overtake them. But the purſuit continuing for ſome days, and orders having been iſſued by the king for ſearching even the palaces of the princes of the blood, the duke of Burgundy, after confeſſing the murder to the king of Sicily and the duke of Berry, left Paris with only ſix attendants, and eſcaped to Flanders, where he not only avowed, but juſtified the aſſaſſination. Henry improved this horrid incident ſo well, that he concluded a very advantageous treaty of commerce with the duke of Burgundy, by which a free communication was opened between England and Flanders, from the ports of Winchelſea and St. Vallery. This communication and intercourſe was to continue for three years, even if the truce which had been concluded with France for that term, ſhould be broken, and war declared between the two crowns.

Thus ſecure of a powerful ally in the duke of Burgundy, and of an inoffenſive neighbour in the king of France, Henry was the leſs ſollicitous with regard to the rebellion, which now broke out in the north. The earl of Northumberland had received repeated aſſurances of aſſiſtance both from France and Scotland; but the affairs of both kingdoms rendered it impoſſible for either to fulfil its engagements. When the earl therefore came into the north of England, he was obliged to depend upon his own friends and followers in theſe parts. He was ſtill attended by the lord Bardolf, the inſeparable companion of his fortunes, and had been for ſome time on the borders, where he was joined by a conſiderable body of the Scots. Henry, knowing the prodigious intereſt of the earl in parliament, would have taken no notice of his return, but was alarmed when he heard he was again at the head of a conſiderable army, and had even made himſelf maſter of ſeveral of the caſtles that had been reduced after the battle of Shrewſbury, and the archbiſhop of York's inſurrection. Orders were therefore iſſued for raiſing an army againſt the rebels; and Henry prepared to ſet out in perſon to ſuppreſs them; but they were, by this time, very formidable, and had appointed Threſk in Yorkſhire the place of their general rendezvous.

The earl of Northumberland, on his arrival at Threſk, publiſhed a very ſolemn manifeſto, declaring he had taken up arms to deliver his country from her oppreſſions, and deſiring every perſon, who was deſirous of beholding ſo happy an event, to join his forces. The great ſucceſs he had met with ever ſince his firſt appearance, increaſed his numbers; and Henry being yet at a diſtance, his army grew confident of finiſhing the dangerous and

and laborious taſk they had undertaken. But their ſoldiers were undiſciplined, and diſorderly; deſtitute of property, and without any other principle than that of plunder: moſt of them indeed had joined the earl from no other motive: nor was it in his power to prevent their committing ſuch ſcandalous outrages, that the freeholders of Yorkſhire took up arms againſt them, under the command of Sir Thomas Rokeſby, the ſheriff of that county, a man of great ſpirit and courage. He firſt ſecured the paſs of Knareſborough, to prevent their advancing farther; well knowing that the king was in full march againſt them at the head of his army. The rebels were alarmed at the oppoſition of the ſheriff; but finding him very advantageouſly poſted, did not think proper to attack him, in order to force a paſſage, and therefore turned off towards Wetherby: from whence they proceeded to Tadcaſter, and thence to Branham-moor, near Haſelwood; where they drew up in order of battle. The brave ſheriff had followed the rebels at a convenient diſtance, and in his march had been joined by ſuch numbers of gentlemen in the neighbourhood, that he reſolved to give them battle, though greatly inferior to them in numbers. The earl of Northumberland diſdained to retreat, and loſt his life in the field of battle. The lord Bardolf was mortally wounded, and died ſoon after. The abbot of Hailes being taken in armour was immediately executed: but the biſhop of Bangor, who it ſeems had joined the party, was pardoned, becauſe he was not taken in armour. Henry had advanced with his army as far as Nottingham, when he was informed of the important ſervice done him by the ſheriff, whom he rewarded with the manor of Spotſwood. But notwithſtanding the defeat of the rebels, Henry continued advancing to the northward, in order, if poſſible, to deſtroy the very ſeeds of diſaffection in that country: and having reſtored peace in thoſe turbulent parts, marched back to the ſouthward.

A. D. 1409. At his return he found the nation filled with complaints againſt the French pirates, who had almoſt deſtroyed the Engliſh navigation on thoſe coaſts. Henry, always attentive to the voice of his people, ordered a ſtrong ſquadron to be fitted out under the command of the earl of Kent, who accordingly put to ſea; but the pirates on his appearance put into their ports, intending, on his return, to continue their depredations. Exaſperated at this diſappointment, he made enquiry for the place of their retreat, and found it to be Brin on the coaſt of Britany. Having obtained this intelligence he loſt no time in attacking the place, which made a very obſtinate defence, and the earl, on his firſt attack, was mortally wounded. But the death of their leader was ſo far from intimidating, that it exaſperated the Engliſh: they made a ſecond deſperate attack upon the place, took it by aſſault, put every perſon to the ſword whom they found in arms, and carried the reſt priſoners on board their ſhips.

About the ſame time Owen Glendour paid the debt of nature. This gentleman, who had ſo long called himſelf prince of Wales, could not, with all his merit, reconcile his countrymen to his title. He had, indeed, made an amazing ſtand againſt the whole power of England; but the plunder his followers had acquired, rendered them rich and factious; ſo that he was at laſt obliged to place his chief hopes upon the French, the Scots, and the earl of Northumberland; but the French diſappointing, or perhaps betraying him, and the earl of Northumberland, with the Scots of his party, being defeated, Glendour's friends inſenſibly forſook him. At the ſame time he found himſelf ſo vigorouſly preſſed by the active prince of Wales, that he was obliged to retire into the mountains. There he might doubtleſs have made his terms with Henry; but he choſe to die a freeman and a prince. Accordingly, in theſe dreary waſtes, ſurrounded by rocks and precipices, he breathed his laſt, attended only by a few friends, who diſdained to forſake their leader in diſtreſs. By the death of this active chief, together with that of the duke of Northumberland, Henry was freed from all his domeſtic enemies; and this prince, who had aſcended the throne by ſuch unjuſtifiable methods, and held it by ſo precarious a title, had yet, by his valour, prudence and addreſs, accuſtomed his people to the yoke, and had obtained a greater aſcendant over his haughty barons, than the law alone, unſupported by theſe active qualities, was ever able to confer.

About the ſame time alſo, fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbour, who, by his ſituation, was beſt enabled to diſturb his government. Robert the third, king of the Scots, was a prince, though of ſlender capacity, extremely innocent and inoffenſive in his conduct: but Scotland, at that time, was ſtill in a worſe condition than England for cheriſhing, or even enduring ſovereigns of that character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of more abilities, at leaſt of a more boiſterous and violent diſpoſition, had aſſumed the government of the ſtate; and not ſatisfied with preſent authority, he entertained the inhuman purpoſe of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw into priſon, David, his eldeſt nephew, who there periſhed with hunger. James, the younger brother of David, was now the only obſtacle that oppoſed the tyrant's mounting the throne; and king Robert, ſenſible of his ſon's danger, embarked him on board a ſhip, in order to ſend him into France, and intruſting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately the veſſel was taken by the Engliſh; and prince James, then about nine years of age, was carried to London. A truce at that time ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, but Henry abſolutely refuſed to reſtore the young prince to his liberty. Robert, worn out with cares and infirmities, was unable to bear the ſhock of this laſt misfortune. He ſoon after died, leaving the government in the hands of the duke of Albany. Henry was now more ſenſible than ever of the acquiſition he had made. While he retained ſuch a pledge in his hands he was ſure of keeping the duke of Albany in dependence: or, if offended, he could eaſily, by reſtoring the true heir, take ample revenge upon the uſurper. But though the king, by detaining James in the Engliſh court, had ſhewn himſelf ſomewhat deficient in generoſity, he made ample amends by giving that prince an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in ſome meaſure, the rude and barbarous manners of his own people.

A. D. 1410. Henry was never remarkable for favouring the clergy; but their power was now ſo exceſſive, that his private ſentiments were obliged

to give way to his public intereſt. The common people, however, were in general inclined to favour the reformation begun by Wickliff; and encouraged in their oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip, by ſchiſm in the Romiſh church, where two different popes laid claim to St. Peter's chair. The perſecutions that had for ſome time been carried on againſt the Wickliffites, or Lollards, had no other effect than increaſing their number; many of whom held places of truſt and power under the government. Alarmed at the great progreſs of theſe ſectaries, whoſe numbers were daily augmenting, the clergy determined to carry the laws into execution, in order, by ſome dreadful example, to prevent this ſchiſm from extending its influence, which threatened the foundation of their wealth and power. One Bodby, a taylor, took upon him to exclaim violently againſt the abſurdity of the real preſence in the ſacrament. This perſon, therefore, was ſingled out by the clergy for exemplary puniſhment. He was accordingly tried and condemned to the ſtake; and the prince of Wales had the curioſity to be a ſpectator of the execution. When the flames firſt reached the body of the criminal he cried out in ſo horrid a manner, that the prince ordered the fire to be removed, and offered the man his life, together with a penſion out of his private purſe, as the flames had diſabled him from following his buſineſs, on condition he would renounce his opinions. Bodby, however ſhocked when he firſt felt the flames, refuſed the offered pardon; he loved his opinions better than his life; and he was accordingly committed again to the fire, and there reſigned his breath as a forfeit to his faith.

A. D. 1412. Henry now found his health daily decreaſe; and his diſorder was greatly augmented, by the profligate courſes of the prince of Wales, whoſe hours were divided between buſineſs and debaucheries; both of which he purſued with equal intenſeneſs. When he retired from the council-board, he paſſed to the tavern, and, if we may believe tradition, carried his intemperance ſo far as to join in parties for robbing the collectors of his father's revenues. Like a bright, but excentric body, Henry often ſtarted from his ſphere, but could not ſink into obſcurity. His impetuoſity of genius hurried him into the extremes both of virtue and debauch; but as ſoon as the fire of youth, which impelled this impetuoſity was ſpent, all the diſtracted rays of his genius united in one effulgent point, and rendered him at once the terror, and the wonder of his age.

The king was too good a judge of mankind to deſpair of his ſon's reformation; but he dreaded the event of a conflict, between the excellence of nature directed by violent paſſions, and the depravity of habit, which might be confirmed by repeated acts of intemperance. His uneaſineſs, however, was greatly allayed by an incident which exhibited a juſt picture of his ſon's real diſpoſitions. One of the prince's riotous companions having been guilty of a breach of the peace, was brought before Sir William Gaſcoign, chief juſtice of the king's bench. The priſoner after a fair trial was found guilty, which ſo greatly exaſperated the prince, who was preſent, that he ſtruck the judge on the face: and the latter ordered him to be committed to the king's bench priſon: and the prince's ſally of paſſion was followed by ſo ſtrong a compunction of mind that, with the utmoſt reſignation, he ſuffered himſelf to be led to the place of confinement by the officers of juſtice. The elder Henry on being informed of this tranſaction, thanked God for having a judge of ſo much courage, and a ſon of ſo much obedience.

The king's health now began viſibly to decline, attended with the uſual conſequences, peeviſhneſs and diſtruſt. The prince, by his irregularities, had created himſelf many perſonal enemies, whoſe auſterity of manners could not bear with the common follies of youth; or who, from worſe principles, gave a looſe to their hatred of the prince. Surrounded with ſuch men, the elder Henry's ears were daily filled with complaints of the prince's exceſſes, and, at laſt, with inſinuations of his ambition. The croud of the diſſolute and abandoned, who haunted his court, were repreſented as the inſtruments he had deſigned to employ, for poſſeſſing regal power, during the life-time of his father. Thoſe inſinuations had ſo great an effect, that the prince was removed from his poſt of preſident of the council, and ſucceeded by his brother John. Though this removal gave young Henry ſtill more time for purſuing his pleaſures; yet it mortified his pride. He bluſhed at the weakneſs which had given occaſion for this cenſure; and ſaw both with dread and horror, the folly of that conduct which his artful enemies had repreſented ſo much to his diſadvantage. He even acquitted his father of credulity in liſtening to ſuch ſuggeſtions; and, at laſt, reſolved to quit the paths of vice for thoſe of duty. In order to this he determined to throw himſelf entirely on the mercy of his father, with ſo unreſerved a ſubmiſſion, that he received the euchariſt as the beſt preparative for the moſt dreadful event. In this diſpoſition of mind, and in a habit expreſſive of his ſorrow, the prince entered the preſence chamber, and the elder Henry, who was then ill, ordered his ſervants to carry him thither to give his ſon audience. The prince informed of his father's coming, ordered his attendants to keep at a proper diſtance; threw himſelf on his knees before his father, confeſſing his faults, imploring his pardon, and promiſing, with the moſt endearing expreſſions of affection, to reform his whole conduct: profeſſing, at the ſame time, his readineſs to ſubmit himſelf willingly to the ſtroke of juſtice; adding, that whatever his fate might be, he ſhould die as he had lived, a loyal ſubject. Henry, charmed to ſee the virtues of his ſon thus emerged from the clouds which had ſo long concealed them, raiſed him tenderly from the floor: frankly owned that he had entertained ſuſpicions of his conduct; but that they were now at an end, and that he was again ready to receive him to his boſom, as the beſt and moſt dutiful of ſons; not doubting but he would ſtill continue to cheriſh the ſame virtuous ſentiments.

But notwithſtanding this reconciliation the prince of Wales thought that what was allowable to the jealouſy of his royal father, was unpardonable to his ſecret enemies. Accordingly he applied to the king, deſiring to know his accuſers; he wrote to all he ſuſpected; daring them to appear, and publickly prove the truth of their ſuggeſtions; but not one among the whole tribe of ſlanderers dared to anſwer the prince's challenge. This noble behaviour entirely freed the prince from all imputations of real guilt; that the elder Henry promiſed to give him the names of his accuſers, that they might

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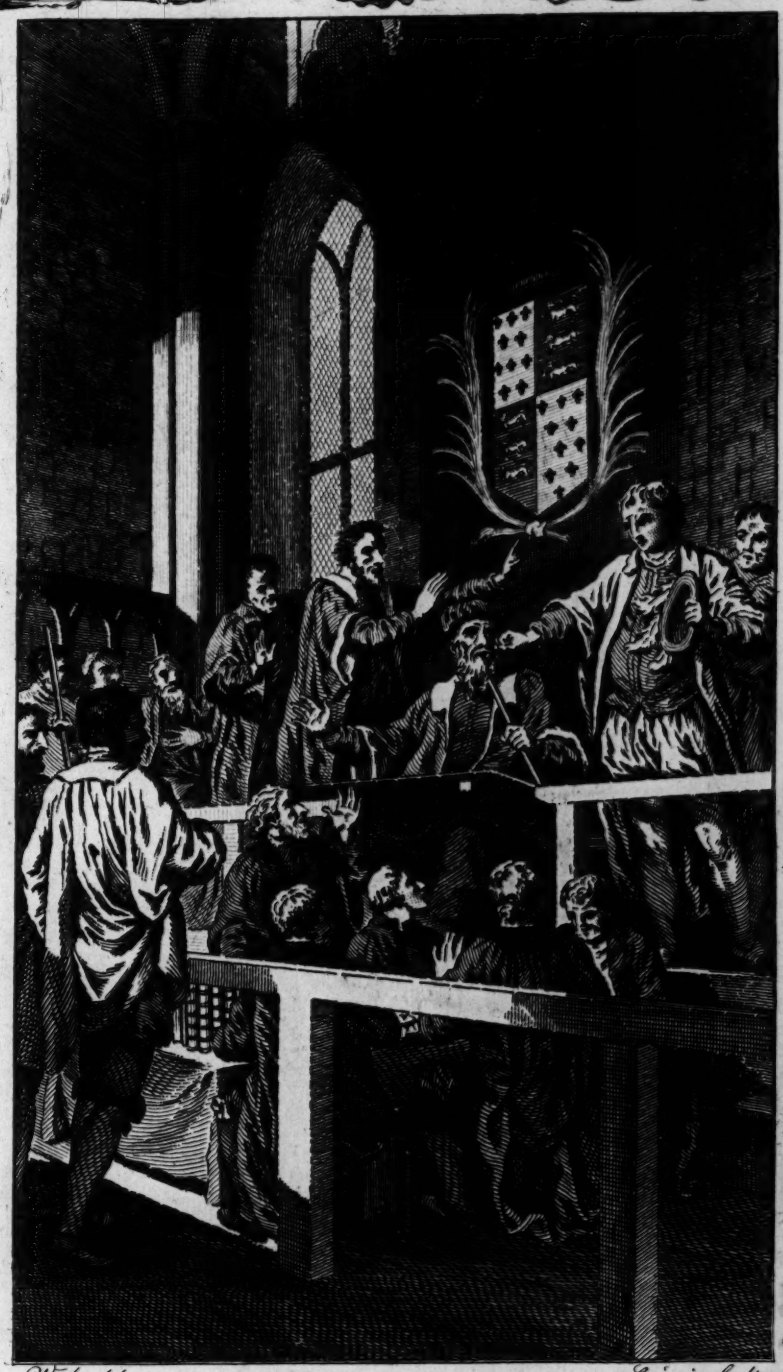

Prince **HENRY** *striking Sr. William Gascoign One of the* **JUDGES** *of* **HENRY IV** *while Administering Justice on the Bench.*

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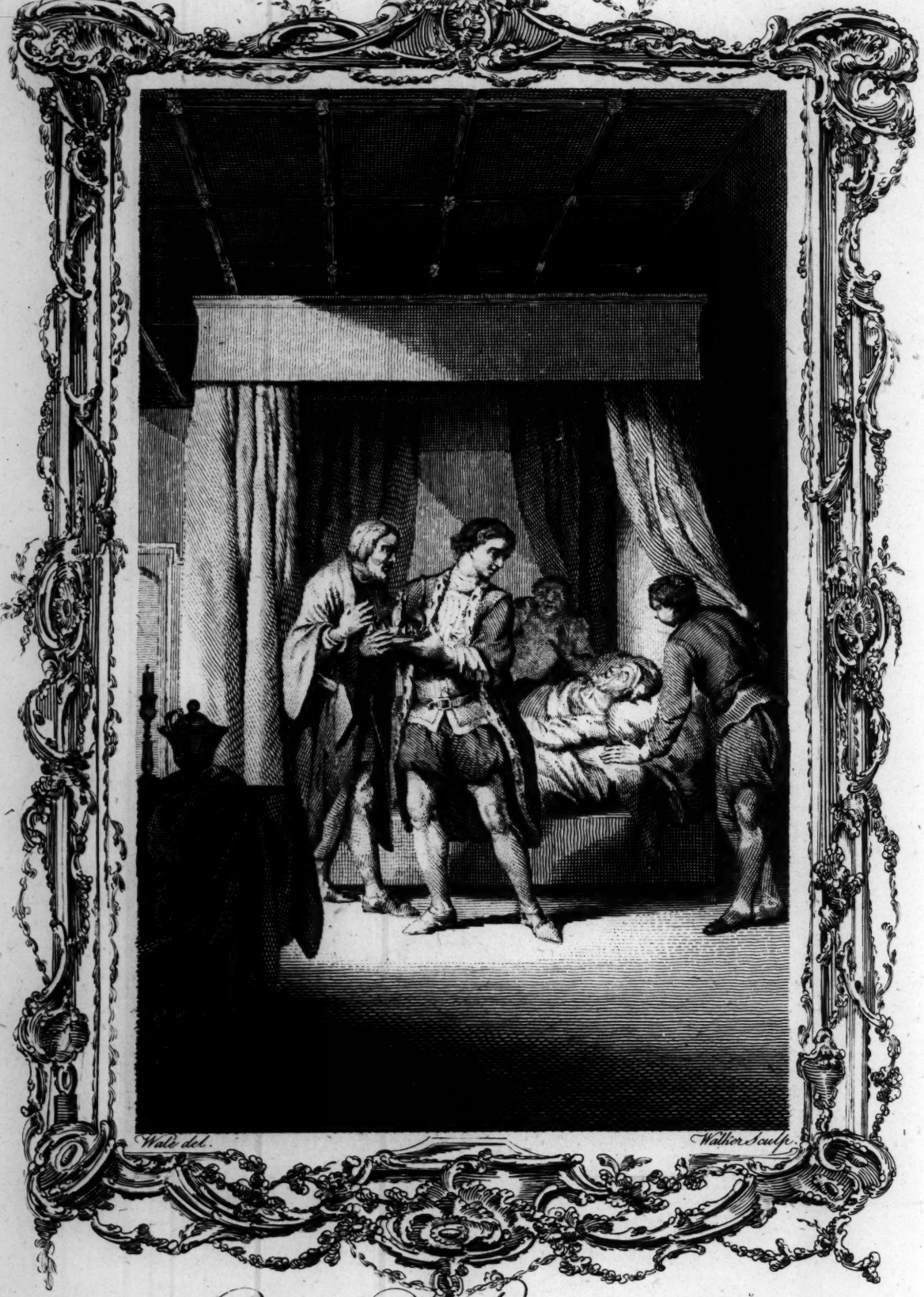

HENRY *Prince of Wales taking the* CROWN
from off the PILLOW *of his Father* HENRY IV.

might be brought to juſtice before the enſuing parliament that was then ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter.

A. D. 1413. But the death of Henry put a total ſtop to this enquiry. His health had long viſibly declined, and he now began to entertain the moſt ſerious thoughts of his approaching diſſolution. The manner in which he had acquired the crown, and the blood he had ſpilt to maintain it on his head, gave him very ſenſible diſquiet, which he could not hide even from his eldeſt ſon. But the ſentiments of an infirm prince on a death-bed, are very different from thoſe of a young prince in the vigour of life, and the purſuits of ambition. The younger Henry made no ſecret of his being reſolved to maintain by his ſword the crown he inherited from his father, and the dying king, with all the remorſe which oppreſſed his ſpirits, retained about him, even in that condition, ſo much family ambition, that his reply was rather an admonition to the prince's future conduct, than a check to his aſpiring principles. He had for ſome time been ſeized with a kind of apoplectic fits, and finding himſelf grow weaker every moment, ordered the crown to be placed on his pillow. Soon after a fit more violent than any he had yet ſuffered, ſeemed to have deprived him entirely of life, and during this interval, the prince took the crown, and placed it on his own head. The king recovering, aſked the prince why he had preſumed to take the crown before he had paid the debt of nature. The prince replied, that his majeſty appeared to all preſent as really dead, and therefore he had ſeized it as the undoubted heir; adding, that he would now moſt readily reſtore it, as he claimed no right to it while his father lived. This anſwer ſatisfied the king, who after bleſſing his ſon, expired, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign,

The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he obtained the crown, and which had ſo greatly aſſiſted him in the acquiſition of it, was entirely loſt many years before the end of his reign, and he governed his people more by terror than by affection; more by his own policy than by their ſenſe of duty or allegiance. When his ſubjects came coolly to reflect on the crimes which had led him to the throne, the rebellion againſt his prince, the depoſition of a lawful king, guilty ſometimes perhaps of oppreſſion, but more frequently of imprudences; the excluſion of the true heir; the murder of his ſovereign and near relation; theſe were ſuch enormities as drew on him the hatred of his ſubjects; ſanctified all the rebellions againſt him, and made the executions, though not remarkably ſevere, which he found neceſſary for the maintenance of his authority, appear at once both cruel and iniquitous to the people. Yet without pretending to apologize for theſe crimes, which muſt ever be held in deteſtation, it may be remarked that he was inſenſibly led into this blameable conduct by a train of incidents which few men poſſeſs virtue enough to withſtand. The injuſtice with which his predeceſſor had treated him, in firſt condemning him to baniſhment, and then ſeizing on his patrimony, made him naturally think of revenge, and of recovering his loſt rights. The furious zeal of the people hurried him to the throne; the care of his own ſecurity, as well as his ambition, made him an uſurper, and the ſteps have always been ſo few between the priſons and the graves of princes, that we need not wonder to find that Richard's fate was no exception to the general rule. All theſe conſiderations made Henry's ſituation, if he retained any ſenſe of virtue, very greatly to be lamented, and the inquietude with which he poſſeſſed his envied greatneſs, and the remorſes by which it is ſaid he was continually haunted, rendered him an object of our pity, even when ſeated on the throne of royalty. But it muſt be owned that his prudence, vigilance and foreſight, in maintaining his power were admirable, his command of temper remarkable, his courage both military and political unblemiſhed, and he poſſeſſed many qualities which fitted him for his high ſtation, and which rendered his uſurpation of it, though pernicious in after times, rather ſalutary, during his own reign, to the Engliſh nation.

Henry was in his perſon, of a middle ſize, and well adapted to the exerciſe of arms. His air, like his inclination, was ſerious, and the turn of his mind calm and unruffled. He was proof againſt the ſudden reverſes of either fortune; the good did not render him preſumptuous, nor the bad diſcompoſe him. Upon the whole, he was a greater man than a prince, but his fortune as a prince, exceeded his happineſs as a man.

This monarch was twice married. By his firſt wife Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four ſons, Henry his ſucceſſor on the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphry duke of Glouceſter, and two daughters, Blanche and Phillippa; the former married to the duke of Bavaria, and the latter to the king of Denmark. His ſecond wife Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter to the king of Navarre, and widow to the duke of Britany, brought him no iſſue.

HENRY

HENRY V.

A. D. 1413. HENRY the fifth was about twenty-five years of age when he aſcended the Engliſh throne. His mind had been properly cultivated in learning by an education at the univerſity of Oxford; and thoſe ſeeds of erudition falling into a fertile ſoil, its luxuriancy had encouraged ſome weeds of immorality to ſhoot up in the harveſt of royal virtues. But the latter, now growing to full maturity, had ſo effectually choaked the malignancy of the former, that he ſucceeded to royalty, with every merit that could adorn it. Being ſettled in a higher ſphere of life he abandoned his former courſes. He called together his former companions; acquainted them with his intended reformation; exhorted them to imitate his example; and abſolutely forbad them, till they had given proofs of their ſincerity in this particular, to appear any more in his preſence. After theſe admonitions he diſmiſſed them with liberal preſents. The wiſe miniſters of his father who had checked his riots found they had unknowingly, paid the higheſt court to him, and were received with all the marks of favour and confidence; the chief juſtice himſelf who trembled to approach the royal preſence, met with praiſes inſtead of reproaches for his paſt conduct; and was exhorted to perſevere in the ſame rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The ſurprize of thoſe who expected an oppoſite behaviour, augmented their ſatisfaction, and the character of the young monarch appeared brighter than if it had never been ſhaded by error. Such was the conduct which gave Henry's ſubjects the happy omen of his future government, which he began with a general pardon and with an appeal to heaven, that he would rather chooſe to be removed from life than uſe his power to the calamity of his country.

He began his reign on the fourth of March; and ten days after both houſes of parliament met, purſuant to the ſummons iſſued by the late king. During this ſhort ſeſſion, they offered to ſwear allegiance to Henry even before his coronation; but he thought proper to decline this mark of their confidence. He was crowned on the ninth of April by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſoon after increaſed the good opinion the people had already conceived of his reign, by his aſſiduity in reſtoring purity to the courts of juſtice, and diſplacing many judges and others, who had held places of power and profit under his father. He deſpiſed the narrow politics formerly purſued, of governing by a party. He was impartial in juſtice, with regard to perſons, and conſtantly received the petitions of ſubjects; and ſuffered none to depart without redreſs or ſatisfaction.

But his attention was chiefly turned towards France, the theatre of his future glory. Great part of the troops, ſent over to that kingdom during his father's reign, remained ſtill at Guienne, and had not only made terrible inroads into the enemy's country, but alſo defeated a body of four thouſand men under the mareſchal de Heli, whom they took priſoner. But the duke of Clarence, returning ſoon after with the main body of the troops to England, a truce had been concluded, which, as uſual, was but very ill obſerved; for immediately on the death of Henry IV. the garriſon of Calais, perſuaded that the truce terminated with the lives of the contracting parties, made an irruption into Bologne. This induced the French government to ſend ſtrong reinforcements to the garriſons of Ardres, Gravelines, and the neighbouring places, to prevent the garriſon of Calais from continuing their inroads. Hoſtilities alſo recommenced by ſea, and a ſtrong ſquadron of the French took three Engliſh ſhips, deſigned to ſurprize the harbour of Dieppe, and killed the commodore. This misfortune, however, did did not intimidate Henry; he determined to make a ſecond attempt, and accordingly ordered a ſtronger ſquadron to be fitted out; but the French had reinforced the place ſo well, that though the Engliſh landed and attacked it with amazing intrepedity they were obliged to retire with ſome loſs.

In the mean time the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and paſſed ſeveral acts for ſecuring the peace of the kingdom, the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and the freedom of parliament. But while they were thus providing for the civil, the clergy were induſtrious in deſtroying the religious liberty of the ſubject. Notwithſtanding all the ſeverities againſt the Lollards, and notwithſtanding all the power of the clergy, together with their zeal for the ſuppreſſion of that ſect; yet their tenets had found ſo favourable a reception in the minds of the people, that the whole power of the church, as then exerciſed under the biſhop of Rome, was threatened with deſtruction. The Lollards daily increaſed in number, became a formed party, and appeared even formidable to the civil power. The enthuſiaſm with which theſe ſectaries were generally actuated, the great alterations they pretended to introduce, the hatred they expreſſed againſt the eſtabliſhed authority of the clergy, alarmed Henry, who, either from a ſincere attachment to the ancient religion, or from the dread of the unknown conſequences which attend all important changes, was determined to execute the laws againſt theſe bold invaders of the peace of the kingdom. Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, was at the head of this party. He was one of the braveſt men, and one of the beſt officers in the kingdom, he had ſerved with great reputation in both the laſt expeditions into France; and the high opinion of his valour, joined to that of his honeſty, piety and ſincerity, had acquired him univerſal popularity. Theſe conſpicuous talents, together with his zeal for the reformation, ſingled him out to the clergy as a proper victim of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity. Accordingly Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, applied to Henry for a commiſſion to indict lord Cobham; but the generous nature of that prince, was averſe to ſuch ſanguinary methods of converſion. He repreſented to the primate that reaſon and conviction, were the beſt, perhaps the only methods of ſupporting truth;

Engraved for Mountague's History of England

A New and Accurate MAP of FRANCE, from the latest Improvements and Regulated by Astronomical Observations
ENGLAND
THE ENGLISH CHANNEL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
SPAIN
ITALY
GERMANY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GULF OF LYONS
GULF OF GENOA
Bristol
Chichester
Dover
Antwerp
Ghent
Cologne
Scilly Is.
Alderney I.
Guernsey I.
Jersey I.
Dragona Is. Les 7 Is.
Ushant I.
Brest
Cherbourg
Caen
Rouen
Paris
Calais
Boulogne
Lisle
Arras
Amiens
Abbeville
Dieppe
Havre de Grace
Bayeux
Evreux
Chartres
Etampes
Orleans
Blois
Tours
Angers
Nantes
Rennes
St. Male
Brest
Quiberon
Belliste
Noirmoutier I.
I. d'Yeu
I. d'Oleron
Rochefort
La Rochelle
Bourdeaux
Bayonne
Toulouse
Auch
Agen
Montpellier
Nismes
Arles
Marseilles
Toulon
Hyeres
Hyeres Is.
Frejus
Nice
Genoa
Turin
Geneva
Geneva L.
Lyons
Grenoble
Valence
Die
Gap
Embrun
Briançon
Chambery
Belley
Dijon
Besançon
Dole
Salins
Beaune
Macon
Autun
Nevers
Bourges
Orleans
Chartres
Rheims
Soissons
Metz
Thionville
Sarlouis
Verdun
Sarbruck
Nancy
Luneville
Strasbourg
Bruyeres
Mulhausen
Basil
Constance
Lucerne
Frankfort
Wurtzburg
Heidelberg
Stutgard
Coblentz
Fuld
Mentz
Treves
Limburg
Aix la Chapelle
Liege
Brussels
Mechelin
Maestricht
Mons
Valenciennes
Maubeuge
St. Quentin
Peronne
Laon
Retel
Soissons
Meaux
Montmirail
Vertus
Chalons
Bar
Troyes
Sens
Auxerre
Montargis
Gien
Briare
Chatillon
Langres
Vesoul
Montbelliard
Rey
Doux R.
Semur
Chanceaux
Vouzon
Romorantin
Blois
Chaumont
Clermont
Monstier
Joigny
Auxerre
Seez
Alençon
Mayenne
Laval
Le Mans
Chatteau Dun
Dreux
Dol
Madrignac
Rohan
Vannes
L'Orient
Derval
Asserac
Mauleon
St. Gilles
Fontenay
Poitiers
Chatellerault
Loudun
Mirebeau
Chatellon
Civray
Ruffec
Confolens
Angoulême
Tulle
Brive
Perigueux
Turenne
Sarlat
Beaumont
Mucidan
Dordogne R.
Castelmoron
Gironde R.
Pinsos
Bazas
Condom
Lectoure
Auch
Lombez
Ayre
Tarbe
Pau
Oleron
St. Bertrand
Pampelune
Sangueca
Olite
Taca
Huesca
Vic
Girone
Perpignan
Narbonne
Agde
Beziers
Castres
Lavaur
Montauban
Cahors
Rodez
Alby
Lodeve
Mende
Vivarais
Puy
Aurillac
St. Flour
Issoire
Clermont
Riom
Bourganeuf
Limoges
Tour de Cordouan
Soulac
Saintes
Talmond
Rochefort
I. d'Yeu
Olonne
Fontenay
Moulins
Bourbonnois
Sancerre
Gueret
Crousant
Sevray
Loire R.
Allier R.
Cher R.
Indre R.
Vienne R.
Charente R.
Garonne R.
Lot R.
Tarn R.
Aveyron R.
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Somme R.
Oise R.
Seine R.
Marne R.
Moselle R.
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Scheldt R.
Lys R.
Aa R.
Canal de Languedoc
Canal de Briare
Canal de Orleans
Canal de Bourgogne
Canal de Monsieur
Canal de Picardie
Canal de Flanders
Canal de Burgundy
Canal de Alsace
Canal de Franche Comte
Canal de Rhone to the Rhine
Canal de Provence
Canal de Languedoc
Canal de Briare
Canal de Orleans
Canal de Bourgogne
Canal de Monsieur
Canal de Picardie
Canal de Flanders
Canal de Burgundy
Canal de Alsace
Canal de Franche Comte
Canal de Rhone to the Rhine
Canal de Provence
British Statute Miles.
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West Longitude from London
East Longitude from London
T. Bowen Sculp:

truth; that every gentle, every perſuaſive means ought firſt to be tried, in order to reclaim men from error, and that he himſelf would endeavour by a converſation with Cobham, to bring him back to the eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip, and reconcile him to the catholic faith. He accordingly tried the experiment, but found that nobleman obſtinate in his opinions, and fully determined not to ſacrifice truth of ſuch infinite importance, to his complaiſance for royalty. Henry's principles of tolleration, or rather a love for the practice, could carry him no farther; he gave full ſcope to eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, againſt this obſtinate Lollard. Leave being thus obtained, the primate immediately launched the bolts of eccleſiaſtical fury againſt Cobham; he indicted him in the ſpiritual court, and with the aſſiſtance of his three ſuffragans, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and St Davids, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. But Cobham, who was ſent to the tower, made his eſcape before the day appointed for his execution.

Henry was then at Eltham in Kent, and ſent immediate orders for taking every precaution for preſerving the public tranquillity. The condemnation of ſo great a man as Sir John Oldcaſtle, ſufficiently informed the meaner ſort what they were to expect, if proſecuted in the ſame manner. Truſting to their numbers, and the general diſaffection of the nation towards the clergy, they grew outrageous and turbulent, while the more deſigning among them, heated the common people with ſuggeſtions that the government might with eaſe be overturned, provided they acted with unanimity among themſelves; adding, that if they would aſſemble in St. Giles's fields, the uſual place of their rendezvous, they would undoubtedly be headed by Sir John Oldcaſtle, the good lord Cobham. The very name of their favourite hero, filled them with a deſire of fighting under his banners; they aſſembled from all quarters, and thoſe fields, hitherto the place of their devotion, was now deſtined to be the ſcene of rebellion. They made no ſecret of their intentions, ſo that Henry had early intelligence of all their motions, and even of the very night when they were to aſſemble.

Fortunate for Henry, he had then a conſiderable army on foot, and therefore eaſily defeated ſo rude and undigeſted an enterprize. Accordingly he iſſued private orders for his guards, together with a large body of other ſoldiers, to draw towards Weſtminſter, where they were directed to aſſemble, the very night when the rebels were to meet. He next ordered that the gates of London ſhould be ſhut the preceding day, and proper guards poſted at all the avenues, to intercept the vaſt aſſiſtance the conſpirators expected from the capital. Having taken theſe precautions, he advanced at the head of his troops, diſplaying the banner that had before been uſed in cruſades, towards St. Giles's fields.

The ſecrecy and ſucceſs with which this was conducted, diſconcerted and defeated the conſpirators: the people who were flocking from the country to join them, fell into the hands of parties ſent out by Henry to ſcour the fields. His precautions with regard to London, kept every thing quiet on that ſide; ſo that when he advanced into the fields, then overrun with heath and furzes, he found only an inconſiderable party, but thoſe were in arms. Perceiving their deſigns diſcovered, and diſappointed in the reinforcements they expected from London, endeavoured to eſcape; but the ſoldiers falling upon them killed ſeveral, and took the greater part of the reſt priſoners. Among the latter were Acton, Brown, and Beverly, who with ſix and thirty others, all perſons of diſtinction, ſuffered death as heretics and traitors; being firſt hanged, and then burnt in St. Giles's fields. Nor did the executions end here, ſeveral others alſo ſuffered in different parts of the kingdom.

A. D. 1414. With regard to Cobham himſelf, who had the good fortune to eſcape, Henry looked upon him as more dangerous than ever; but he was not taken till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body burnt on a gibbet, in execution of the ſentence that had been formerly pronounced againſt him as a heretic.

About this time a diſpute aroſe about the right of the ſucceſſion to the crown of Arragon, between the then king, Don Martin, who ſucceeded the late king Ferdinand, and the count de Urgal, who finding himſelf unequal in power to his antagoniſt, applied to the duke of Clarence, then commander of the Engliſh troops in Guienne. As it had long been the practice of the younger brothers of England to affect independent dominion in foreign countries, the duke was ſo far prevailed upon, that on receiving a promiſe of being placed on the throne of Sicily, he engaged to ſupport the count with a thouſand horſe, and four thouſand archers. Immediately before this engagement was concluded, the elder Henry died, and the duke of Clarence was obliged to paſs over into England, in order to obtain a ratification of this treaty. During his abſence the miniſters of the count de Urgal, found means to prevail on the commanders of the Engliſh and Gaſcon troops, to follow them into Arragon, whence, after a miſerable campaign, and giving amazing proofs of their valour and conduct, they were obliged to retire.

Their retreat did not, however, free the king of Arragon from his apprehenſions. He knew what an obſtinate enemy he had to encounter, provided the duke of Clarence could prevail upon his brother, the king of England, to ratify his agreement with the count de Urgal. In order therefore to prevent this event, he applied to the duke of York, then in France; but that prince, inſtead of entering into any meaſures agreeable to the king of Arragon, entertained the king's agents, with laying before them the right he had himſelf to the crown of Caſtile, by means of his mother, daughter of the late Peter, monarch of that kingdom. But added, he was willing to reſign thoſe and ſeveral other pretenſions, provided a marriage could be negotiated between his nephew, ſon to Richard, earl of Cambridge, and the daughter of his Caſtilian majeſty. He added ſome other conditions, which the king of Arragon's allies, the kings of Caſtile and Portugal, and the duke of Britany, finding incompatible with their intereſt, applied directly to Henry.

But nothing could be farther from Henry's thoughts than his engaging the Engliſh forces in any other quarrel than that of France. He was encouraged in this reſolution by the diſtracted condition of the affairs of France. There is indeed hardly any doubt that the king from the moment he mounted the throne, had caſt his eyes upon France; but before this could be effected, many

difficulties were to be ſurmounted, and many jarring intereſts to be reconciled. This could not be done in an inſtant, ſo that it was ſome time before he could determine to carry war into the heart of this diſtracted kingdom.

A. D. 1414. But before Henry put this deſign into execution, he had recourſe to negotiation. He ſent embaſſadors to Paris, offering a perpetual peace and alliance; but demanding Catherine the French king's daughter in marriage, two millions of crowns as her portion, the payment of one million ſix hundred thouſand as the arrears of king John's ranſom, and the immediate poſſeſſion and entire ſovereignty of Normandy, and of all the other provinces, which had been wreſted from England by the arms of Philip Auguſtus, together with the ſuperiority of Britany and Flanders. Nothing but the diſtractions that prevailed in France could have encouraged Henry to make ſuch exorbitant demands: and the terms offered by the French court, though greatly inferior, diſcovered their conſciouſneſs of the ſame melancholy truth. They were willing to give him the princeſs in marriage, to pay him eight hundred thouſand crowns, to reſign the entire ſovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the country of Perigord, Rovergue, Xaintonge, the Angoumois, and other territories. Theſe conceſſions were rejected by Henry, who redoubled his efforts in making preparations for invading the kingdom of France.

The Engliſh army was ordered to rendezvous at Southampton, the whole nobility of the kingdom were invited to attend Henry, and ſhare with him in his glory and conqueſt. But before the king could embark his forces, a deteſtable conſpiracy was formed againſt his perſon. The perſons who were to execute this horrid deſign, were Richard earl of Cambridge, younger brother to the duke of York; the lord Scroop, treaſurer of England, and Sir Thomas Gray, a knight of Northumberland. The earl of Cambridge was remarkably ambitious, Scroop was inſatiably covetous, though immenſely rich, and Gray was a diſcontented courtier. Theſe conſpirators were to place the earl of March on the throne, as ſoon as Henry was embarked for France with his army. But the earl, inſtead of joining in the project, diſcovered the whole to Henry, who inſtantly ordered the conſpirators to be arreſted, and tried by a ſpecial commiſſion directed to the duke of Clarence, as lord high ſteward, the earl mareſchal, and other judges. The priſoners confeſſed the whole, received ſentence of death, and were all ſoon after executed.

This conſpiracy being thus defeated, the king embarked at Southampton, and, after a ſhort paſſage, landed at Caux in Normandy, with an army of ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand foot, moſt of whom were archers. So formidable an army alarmed the whole kingdom of France. D'Albert the conſtable, was then at Rouen, with a conſiderable army, but it having been determined to purſue the wiſe maxims of Charles V. by endeavouring to harraſs the Engliſh, ſurprize their parties, and cut off their proviſions without hazarding any general engagement, he ſuffered them to land without oppoſition, and form the ſiege of Harfleur. The garriſon made a very noble defence; nor were any means left unattempted to annoy the beſiegers. But the fire of Henry's train of artillery was ſo dreadful, that the garriſon conſented to deliver up the place, if not relieved before the eighteenth of September. But when the time was expired, they formed various pretences for not opening their gates, though no army had appeared in their favour. Incenſed at this breach of the capitulation, Henry made a general aſſault, took the place by ſtorm, and put the whole garriſon, a few gentlemen only excepted, to the ſword.

The taking of Harfleur rouſed the French court. Orders were immediately iſſued to all the nobility to aſſiſt the king againſt the Engliſh invaders, with all their force. The dauphin himſelf took the field, but the conſtable d'Albert, continued to act as general of the army. All France was now in arms. The animoſities that had ſo long diſtracted their government, were all centered in revenge and fury againſt the Engliſh. Henry no longer appeared as a claimant to a diſputed portion of territory, but as a pretender to their crown, which he could hold only by conqueſt; a right of poſſeſſion which gave them every thing to apprehend for their lives, their fortunes, and their liberties. It is therefore no wonder if a general effort, was made againſt ſo general a danger; and the difficulty of Charles's government conſiſted rather in reſtraining than increaſing the numbers that offered to take the field.

Henry's affairs were in a very different ſituation. The taking of Harfleur was indeed both a ſolid and a ſplendid conqueſt; but it had been purchaſed too dear. The Engliſh troops had ſuffered inexpreſſibly during the ſiege. Detachments from the neighbouring garriſons had omitted no opportunity of cutting off their ſtraggling and foraging parties; and the new wines joined to the change of air and diet, together with the hardſhips they had ſuffered in laying abroad in a rainy ſeaſon, had carried off great numbers of their men and beſt officers. Henry, in this deſperate ſituation, called a council of war, in order to conſult the moſt proper meaſures to be purſued. The more cautious part of the officers were of opinion, that Henry had done enough for his own glory, by reducing, in ſo ſhort a time, a place conſidered as impregnable, and therefore propoſed returning to England, where the people would be ſo much encouraged by Henry's having thus ſecured the moſt important key of Normandy, that he might return in the ſpring with double advantage. But Henry was too much a hero to liſten to this advice. Beſides his fleet had been diſperſed by a ſtorm, ſo that there was not in the harbour a ſufficient number of tranſports to carry the troops back to England. It was therefore determined to purſue their march to Calais, where alone they could hope for ſafety. But as it would have been impoſſible to have carried their ſick with them, it was determined to ſend them back to England; while the reſt, conſiſting of about twenty thouſand men, prepared for the fatiguing and dangerous march through an enemy's country to Calais.

The French army now lay at Rouen, conſiſting of above one hundred and twenty thouſand men, all in high ſpirits on hearing of Henry's intention of marching acroſs their country. It muſt not indeed be ſuppoſed that this vaſt army was wholly compoſed of ſoldiers; but it is certain, that upwards

wards of fifty thouſand were veteran troops, and commanded by experienced generals.

Fifteen days after the ſurrender of Harfleur, Henry began his march. His firſt intention was to keep cloſe to the ſea ſide, that his army might be ſupplied with proviſions from his ſhips; but he ſoon found this to be impracticable, and he was obliged to proceed higher up the country. He divided his army into three columns, the horſe forming two wings. In this diſpoſition the Engliſh advanced towards the Somme, with a view of paſſing it below Abbeville, where Edward the third had croſſed it, nearly in the ſame circumſtances. But Henry in his march thither, was continually harraſſed by the French, who followed him cloſe, cut off his proviſions, and ſurprized his parties. In ſhort nothing could have prevented Henry's army from being deſtroyed by famine, but his admirable diſcipline, which endeared him ſo much to the country people, that finding they ſuffered much leſs from his army than from their own, ſupplied him with proviſions, notwithſtanding all the menaces of the French. At the ſame time the officer and ſoldier fared alike; nor were they diſtinguiſhed but by the pre-eminence of toil. Every little paſs in their march was obſtructed by trees felled by the enemy, and every ſmall ford guarded by their troops; yet the Engliſh found nothing impervious to their courage, nothing unſurmountable to their perſeverance. When they came to Eu, the laſt town in Normandy, the van-guard repelled a ſally which the garriſon made from that place, and all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made during the night, for paſſing the Somme early in the morning. But Henry receiving intelligence that the oppoſite bank was fortified, and ſtrongly guarded by a party of French, the paſſage was thought impracticable, by means of the precautions taken by the conſtable, admiral, and mareſchal of France, who lay at Abbeville, with the main body of their army. It was therefore reſolved to attempt the paſſage higher up the river. Accordingly the Engliſh marched to Hangeſt, thence to Ponteau de Mar, and thence to the bridge of St. Maxence. On the bank they perceived thirty thouſand French defending it; and Henry then, expecting a battle, knighted ſeveral of his officers. But the French not chuſing to venture an engagement, Henry paſſed by Amiens, the garriſon of which ſallying out, he drove them back, and then advanced to a neighbouring town, where he halted two days to refreſh his troops. His ſtay at this place might have been more fatal to the Engliſh than the ſwords of the French, had it not been for Henry's exact diſcipline; for the people being employed in making their new wine, he found his ſoldiers too apt to indulge themſelves after a fatiguing march; but his orders were ſo ſevere, that the ſtricteſt ſobriety was preſerved, and he continued his march to Corbie, a town in Picardy. At a paſs near this place, a very ſmart ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the van of Henry's army loſt their ſtandard; but it was retaken by one Bromeley, a gentleman of Staffordſhire, who drove the enemy from their poſts and followed them with prodigious ſlaughter to the very gates of Corbie. This action facilitated Henry's paſſage over the Somme, which he paſſed the next day over a bridge formed of ladders and the timber of ſome ruined houſes, between Corbie and Perrenne; Henry himſelf being the firſt perſon who began making the bridge. The paſſage was begun at eight in the morning, and though it was dark before all the troops were got over, yet they marched that night to Athies, and the next day to Mireumont, places, which without this march, had never been mentioned in hiſtory. The next day he encamped at Bonniers, and cantoned his army in villages ſituated on the river de Couche. Henry had met with no enemy ſince he paſſed the Somme, the French having retired to St. Pol, on the river d'Avien; knowing that Henry muſt paſs in his way to Calais. When he arrived at Blogney he defeated a party of the French, who were employed in breaking down the bridge; and, finding the avenues clear, he ſiezed that important paſs, whence, having an extenſive proſpect of the country, he perceived the whole of the French army on their march to Rouſſeauville and Agincourt, ſituated between Calais and his army; and, by their motions, he had reaſon to believe, they intended to make their final ſtand there.

He was not deceived: for the French having by this time aſſembled from all quarters, held a general rendezvous near Agincourt; their army amounting to near one hundred and fifty thouſand fighting men. A grand council of the French generals was now held, in which it was debated whether they ſhould give battle to the Engliſh next day. The conſtable of France, the mareſchal de Boucicaut, and the moſt experienced generals were of opinion, that they ought to purſue the wiſe conduct they had hitherto obſerved, of harraſſing Henry in his marches; and of obliging him to purchaſe every foot of ground he advanced; by which means his troops, before it was poſſible for him to reach Calais, muſt be reduced to the mere phantom of an army. But theſe ſentiments however prudent, were very diſagreeable to a headſtrong nobility, at the head of an infinite ſuperiority, compoſed of brave troops, furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for inſuring ſucceſs in a general engagement, and fighting for every thing that could render victory deſirable. A great majority, therefore, were for fighting the Engliſh. But the conſtable, who was no ſtranger to Britiſh valour, ſtill refuſed to riſk the conſequences of a battle, and it was at laſt reſolved to tranſmit the minutes of the council to Rouen, where the king of France, the Dauphin, and the duke of Berry, had their quarters, for their determination. The conſtable had a fair pretence for this cautious behaviour, as the ſecret orders he had received from his maſter were, not to hazard a battle. But the reaſons for a general engagement being examined at Rouen, expreſs orders were ſent from the king and the dauphin not to decline fighting the Engliſh. Theſe orders were no ſooner known than the French troops were drawn up in order of battle, on the plain between Agincourt and Rouſſeauville, in ſuch a manner that the Engliſh could proceed no farther without fighting. The plain in which the French were drawn up was ſo narrow, that they could extend their front line but a very little way beyond that of Henry; but it was ſupported by two other lines, each of the three forming an army more than double that of the Engliſh. In the firſt line were eight thouſand gentlemen, beſides other troops, commanded by the conſtable, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu and Richemont, the mareſchal Boucicaut, and David Rambure, grand maſter of the artillery.

Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition, the conſtable's diſcretionary

diſcretionary orders were ſuch, that he was by no means forward to attack the Engliſh; and Henry being fully convinced of the madneſs of attacking them, both armies continued for ſome days in order of battle. This delay was very fatiguing to Henry's troops, who were continually waſting by ſickneſs, and more and more ſtreightened for want of proviſions. Theſe circumſtances awakened Henry from his deluſive dream of glory: he ſaw death, dangers, ſickneſs, famine and peſtilence, ſurrounding his army, and hourly thinning his ranks: he even liſtened ſo far to the voice of diſtreſs, as to reflect, that all his men were not like him, kings and heroes, and condeſcended to the mortifying alternative of offering to reſtore Harfleur, indemnify the French for the damage of his invaſion, to return his priſoners without ranſom, and to give ſecurity, that he would never more invade France, provided he was ſuffered to continue his march unmoleſted to Calais, and thence paſs over to England. The evil genius of France would not ſuffer her to embrace this critical moment of Henry's humiliation. In vain did the conſtable again remonſtrate the uncertain event of battle even with the greateſt ſuperiority; and ſtrengthened his opinion by inſtancing the fields of Creſſy and Poictiers. In vain did he lay before the younger officers the incredible efforts of courage, prompted by deſpair, with the vaſt advantages which the Engliſh, from their bodily ſtrength, and manner of arming, had over the French, and, that except the pleaſure of fighting a bloody battle, the French government could expect no greater advantages from a ſucceſsful action, than what Henry had offered. The young generals of France, at the head of whom were the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, were deaf to all conſiderations but that of fighting the Engliſh. They even refuſed to wait for large reinforcements, then marching from all quarters, particularly from Britany, to join their army; and all Henry's propoſals were abſolutely rejected.

This imprudence was followed by many acts of inſolence and mad ſecurity. Three heralds were ſent to Henry's camp, from three princes of the blood of France, to acquaint him that they were ready to give him battle, when and where he pleaſed. Henry received the meſſengers with great politeneſs, and diſmiſſed them with proofs of his liberality, but without any anſwer. He reſerved that particular for two of his own heralds, who, by his orders, acquainted the French princes, that as he had never, ſince his painful march from Harfleur, declined fighting, he ſhould continually perſevere in the ſame ſentiments; but prudence ſufficiently dictated that he ſhould not be the aggreſſor, eſpecially againſt ſo numerous an army; though he alſo knew it was due to the honour of an Engliſh king: adding, that by the help of heaven, he ſhould continue his march to Calais, and that whoſoever ſhould attempt to ſtop him, would find it attended with the utmoſt danger.

This modeſt, though reſolute anſwer, was conſtrued by the giddy Frenchmen as the dictates of fear. They ſent letters to the principal towns of France, ordering the inhabitants to make the neceſſary preparations for celebrating a ſignal victory over the Engliſh. They alſo reſolved to give no quarter to any but the king, and ſome of his principal officers, who were to be reſerved to grace their triumph. They threw dice for the imaginary ranſoms of their illuſtrious priſoners, and the ſpoils of the Engliſh camp; and at laſt ſome were inſolent enough to propoſe the queſtion to Henry by a herald, how much he would give for his ranſom.

Henry bore all theſe inſults with patient, yet noble diſdain; nor even in the hour of victory did he appear ſo great as in the moments of his diſtreſs. He conſidered his preſent ſituation, as the juſt chaſtiſement of his late preſumption. The effervеſcence of youth, ſucceſs and ambition, now ſubſided, and all his mind was filled with reſignation to the will of heaven, and reſolution to act with a conduct, which ſhould render the period of his glory a noble cloſe to his life.

He called a council of war, where he laid before his officers a clear detail of what had paſſed between him and the enemy. He ſhewed them that they muſt now depend entirely on their ſwords and the juſtice of their cauſe: he conjured them to lay aſide all private animoſities, and to unite in a general endeavour to act as Engliſhmen. As an incentive to this, he made each of them a ſmall preſent, and concluded with laying before them every motive that could prompt them to reſolution, inſpire them with the hopes of victory, or arm them againſt the event of a contrary fortune. And what had ſtill greater weight than words, he gave them in his own perſon, the moſt illuſtrious example of modeſty, vigilance, and piety, that never failing ſupport of true courage. He continued for whole days on horſeback, encouraging his men and examining their condition. He ordered each of his archers to provide himſelf with a ſtake, ſharpened at both ends, and ſo contrived, that when thrown out of their hands, one end ſhould ſtick faſt in the ground, while the other ſtood up a ſlant, with its iron point towards the enemy. A wiſe and neceſſary precaution to defend them againſt the attacks of the enemy's cavalry.

Henry's ſhew of reſolution, and the excellent diſpoſition he had made of his troops, induced the conſtable, and the other veteran officers of France, to apply to the king for freſh orders, Charles having countermanded thoſe for giving the enemy battle, and enjoined his generals to maintain their poſts, in order to prevent the Engliſh from advancing. This led the French into a fatal miſtake, and gave their enemy a deciſive advantage: for the conſtable, not apprehending after the offers which Henry had made, and conſidering the prodigious inequality of numbers, that he would ever attack the French, had continued his troops in the diſpoſition already deſcribed, with a view of ſtarving Henry in his camp. This conduct was extremely diſagreeable to the young French generals, and they would have forced the conſtable to have come to a battle, had they not been prevented by Henry. Both armies continued in order of battle from the twentieth to the twenty-fifth of October. The fields in which the French were drawn up, were of a fat miry ſoil; the ſeaſon was rainy, and the patroling and trampling of the French cavalry had, by this time ſo battered the clay, that both horſe and foot found the utmoſt difficulty in moving from their poſts.

Henry, on one ſide, was well apprized of the advantages which both this circumſtance, and the diſpoſition of the French army gave him. All he dreaded was the army's drawing off to ſome more

advantageous

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The Battle of Agincourt.

advantageous poſt between him and Calais; though he found it impracticable to continue any longer in his preſent camp; and was therefore under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of fighting the enemy. It was therefore with great ſatisfaction he received a bravading meſſage from the duke of Alençon, and the other French generals, that they would give him battle on the twenty-fifth. Though this meſſage was doubtleſs ſent without the knowledge of the conſtable or the king of France, now ſolely directed by the duke of Berry, who had been witneſs of the Engliſh valour in the fields of Creſſy and Poictiers, yet Henry received it as coming from the higheſt authority, and made the herald who brought it a preſent of two hundred crowns and a rich robe.

The night before the battle was particularly cold and rainy, and Henry being abſolutely determined to give the enemy battle the next day, ordered large fires to be lighted up, both for the relief of his men, and diſcovering the motions of the French. This precaution proved very neceſſary; for about midnight ſome of the Engliſh advanced guards, were attacked by a body of two thouſand French horſe, commanded by the count de Richemont, brother to the duke of Britany, and ſon to the queen dowager of England; but the enemy, after a ſhort diſpute were driven back to their camp.

Early in the morning, Henry ſent out a Welſh gentleman, one David Gam, to reconnoitre the force and diſpoſition of the enemy. Gam, on his return, reported to his majeſty, that there were of the French enough to fight, enough to be ſlain, and enough to run-away. This gallant diſguiſe of the enemy's real force, gave Henry great pleaſure, and by his conduct and behaviour, he infuſed the ſame ſentiments to all about him. He firſt paid his devotions to heaven, and then dreſſed himſelf in all the magnificence of a royal warrior, when ordering his men to be drawn out, he appeared at the head of the firſt line, on a ſtately white courſer, with four royal banners waving before him; a number of led horſes with embroidered equipages behind, and ſurrounded by all the chief officers of his court and army. The plain where he drew up his troops was a field that had been ſown with wheat, terminated at each end by a wood which ſecured his flank; and in his rear was a riſing ground covered with trees and thick buſhes. Henry's great difficulty conſiſted in extending his front as far as the French, who where drawn up at about three hundred paces diſtant. It was not therefore practicable for Henry to draw his line up in the manner of the enemy, one behind the other, which afterwards indeed proved the ruin of their whole army. He was therefore obliged to form three lines, which though called the firſt, the middle and the rear, formed in reality but one front, the extremity of which was flanked by horſe in the manner of wings. But though there was but one front, yet the firſt line, which conſiſted of archers, commanded by the duke of York, lay on the right of the main body, and was ſomewhat more advanced. The center, or main body was commanded by Henry in perſon, attended by his brother, the duke of Glouceſter, the earl mareſchal, and the young earl of Suffolk. The rear was commanded by the duke of Exeter, and lay to the left ſomewhat leſs advanced towards the enemy, than the central diviſion. Beſides this noble diſpoſition, Henry placed a body of horſe, as an ambuſh in the wood, which covered the right flank of his army, and about two hundred and fifty of his beſt archers in the other wood, covering his left flank. Both theſe bodies were to fall upon the enemy on a certain ſignal being given.

This diſpoſition was made by the advice of Sir Thomas Erpingham, a veteran ſoldier, who that day acted as Henry's field mareſchal, and who was appointed to give the ſignal for the attack, by throwing up his mareſchal's ſtaff in the air.

The French ſtill continued in their diſpoſition; and as Henry's whole dependence lay on his archers, he ordered them, as ſoon as they perceived the enemy's horſe advance, who he knew would endeavour to break their ranks, to pitch their ſtakes in their front, and on their flanks, retiring within them, in order to ply the enemy with their arrows. Henry then diſmounting from his horſe, commanded his ſtandards to be taken up, and finding that the enemy would not advance, he ordered Sir Thomas Erpingham to give the ſignal for the attack. Immediately the whole body of the Engliſh marched with a prodigious ſhout, and incredible alacrity towards the French, who ſtood firm to receive them.

Henry fearing that when his men came to cloſer fight they might be almoſt breathleſs with the quickneſs of their motion, ordered them to halt about midway, and his archers to pour a dreadful ſhower of arrows into the breaſts of the enemy. The French had drawn up before their front line two thouſand ſeven hundred horſe, with the riders covered with armour for receiving the firſt diſcharge of the enemy's arrows. After which they propoſed to break into the Engliſh archers, who being once diſordered, their rout was to be completed by the reſt of the army. But the ſtrongeſt armour was not proof againſt the barbed arrows launched by an Engliſh arm; the ſolid plates gave way, the bold knight tumbled to the ground, the wounded ſteed rolled over his rider, who periſhed under the horſes weight.

Hardly an Engliſh arrow of this firſt diſcharge fell in vain; and the conſtable of France, perceiving the moſt advanced of the Engliſh archers was finiſhing with their battle-axes the ſlaughter they had begun, ordered his firſt line to advance, which was done, though under the greateſt diſadvantages, for the horſes that had eſcaped the arrows of the Engliſh, bore their riders headlong through their own ranks, while the heavy army of the French both horſe and foot rendered it extremely difficult for them to move, through the miry ſoil to the attack.

On the other hand the Engliſh archers, being lightly armed, and ſupported by a body of pioneers fell back into their ranks, which they kept entire, and after pitching the pointed ſtakes into the ground, by way of palliſadoes before them, they gave another general diſcharge of arrows, ſo cloſe and fatal, that the French began to real in the deepeſt area of the firſt column. This diſorder was improved by the narrowneſs of the ground; their ranks and files were ſo thick, that they had not room to draw their ſwords, nor manage their pikes. But Henry, who was preſent in every ſcene of danger and difficulty, ordered his whole

line of archers, in this critical moment, to break in with their ſwords, which was immediately done with amazing execution.

The attack was remarkably furious; the reſiſtance amazingly feeble. The French, both horſe and men in their front, were impaled upon the Engliſh ſtakes. They were the more incumbered in proportion to the depth of their files: they were diſabled by their numbers: their ſwords fell ineffectual; their ſpears were puſhed with inavailing force. In a word, the tide of battle appeared as choaked up within its own narrow channel, till the Engliſh ſwords gave it vent by opening the flood-gates of ſlaughter. The buſineſs of the archers was rather that of executioners than ſoldiers, and their ſtrength was hardly ſufficient to complete this bloody triumph.

When the French ranks were greatly thinned, and they, by that means acquired room for action, they made a terrible charge in their turn upon the archers, but found themſelves ſo ſtrongly flanked by the horſe who had ſtill kept their poſt on the right, and again ſo warmly plied by the archers, who had now recovered their bows, and regained their palliſadoes, that they were driven back, and the rout of the firſt line of the French, was thereby completed.

The field on which the ſecond line of the French were drawn up, happening to be ſomewhat larger than that of the firſt, the duke of Alençon, who commanded that diviſion, endeavoured to avoid the fate of the front, by maintaining his poſt, and receiving the Engliſh diſcharge on the ground where his men were drawn up. This ſervice fell to the body commanded by Henry in perſon. He had been hitherto employed in ſurveying, examining, and directing the motions of the battle. But finding the rout of the enemy's firſt line completed, he advanced to charge the ſecond.

The battle now preſented a very different appearance, the terms were more equal, the combatants better paired, and the action more fiercely maintained. The king of England, as if provoking danger rode in the foremoſt rank, conſpicuous indeed by the advantages of a majeſtic ſtature, and the blaze of a royal diadem; but theſe were not the glories which this day diſtinguiſhed his perſon. The boldeſt in the field ſeemed as unacquainted with the toils of war. Eighteen French knights who had conſpired againſt his life, ruſhed upon him at once, and were all of them laid dead at his feet; one of them had indeed the honour of ſtriking the royal diadem with his battle-axe. The duke of Brabant ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate, while the duke of Alençon, with a ſpirit worthy his blood, ſeemed to gain courage from the greatneſs of the danger, and prepared to return the attack upon the Engliſh. The rage of battle increaſed, the claſh of armour, the groans of the wounded, the ſhouts of the victorious, the pangs of the dying, and the horrible confuſion of the whole, left it doubtful whether the eye or the ear was moſt diſtreſſed. Henry's progreſs might be traced through lanes of deſtruction formed by his ſword. He was ever foremoſt in the ranks, and till now had met with nothing capable of oppoſing his paſſage. But the French no longer fought under the ſame diſadvantages. Headed by the duke of Alençon, they had opened a paſſage to Henry's perſon, through the flank of his diviſion, and were making a moſt dreadful attack, when the duke of York came to the king's aſſiſtance, with his line of archers, who had finiſhed the rout of the enemy's firſt diviſion; and, at the ſame time both the bodies that were in ambuſh fell upon the rear of the French, with a moſt dreadful ſhout. But before this happened, the king was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger; for when the duke of York came up, he found Henry covering the body of his brother the duke of Glouceſter, who had been ſtruck from his horſe, with his ſhield, and defending him with his ſword. This ſaved the duke's life, but before he could recover himſelf, Henry had received a blow upon his helmet, which ſtunned and ſtaggered him, ſo that he put one knee to the ground, while he ſaw two of his officers, who fought by his ſide, cut in pieces. He, however, ſoon recovered himſelf, and the duke of Glouceſter being now able to return the fraternal duty, ſeconded the valour of his brother ſo well, that the French were no longer able to ſtand the charge of the Engliſh, now doubly enraged by the danger of their beloved king.

The rout was juſt beginning, when the duke of Alençon endeavoured to prevent it by one important blow, which muſt have changed the fortune of the day. With a few of his faithful followers, he again cut his way through the thickeſt of the Engliſh battalions, which now ſurrounded Henry, and then riding up, killed the duke of York by the king's ſide, and engaged Henry himſelf, cutting off part of his helmet with his ſword. But the conteſt was unequal; for Henry, who did not know the duke, ſoon ſtruck him to the ground, and endeavouring to diſpatch him with his own hand, killed two of the duke's knights, who endeavoured to cover their maſter's body. At laſt the duke called out that he was Alençon, and demanded quarter from the king; which Henry, admiring his courage, readily promiſed; but his troops, whom danger had rendered deaf to his voice, put the unhappy duke to the ſword. His loſs was followed by the total defeat of the line he commanded; and the third line of the French, which remained hitherto unbroken, perceiving the frightful carnage that enſued, retired from the field, without attempting any thing againſt the Engliſh.

Nothing now remained, but to defeat a ſmall body of reſerve, commanded by ſome of the French officers, which was immediately done; they were driven from the field, without much oppoſition, when a freſh alarm was raiſed. Part of the troops that formed the firſt and ſecond line, having eſcaped from the battle, had attacked the tents and baggage of the Engliſh, it being guarded only by thirty or forty horſe. This was attended with ſo much ſucceſs that they ſeized great part of Henry's baggage, his jewels, robes of ſtate, and cabinet. All theſe were, however, afterwards recovered. In this action the followers of the camp were, in general, put to the ſword, while the few who eſcaped carried the news to Henry, with ſo many dreadful circumſtances, that he ſent out to reconnoitre the ground. Being informed of the truth of the fact, and that a very conſiderable part of the enemy were ſeen in a body, he imagined that all the French troops that had eſcaped the ſword were rallied, and formed a ſecond army.

Alarmed at this circumſtance, Henry gave orders for his troops to continue for ſome time under arms; and

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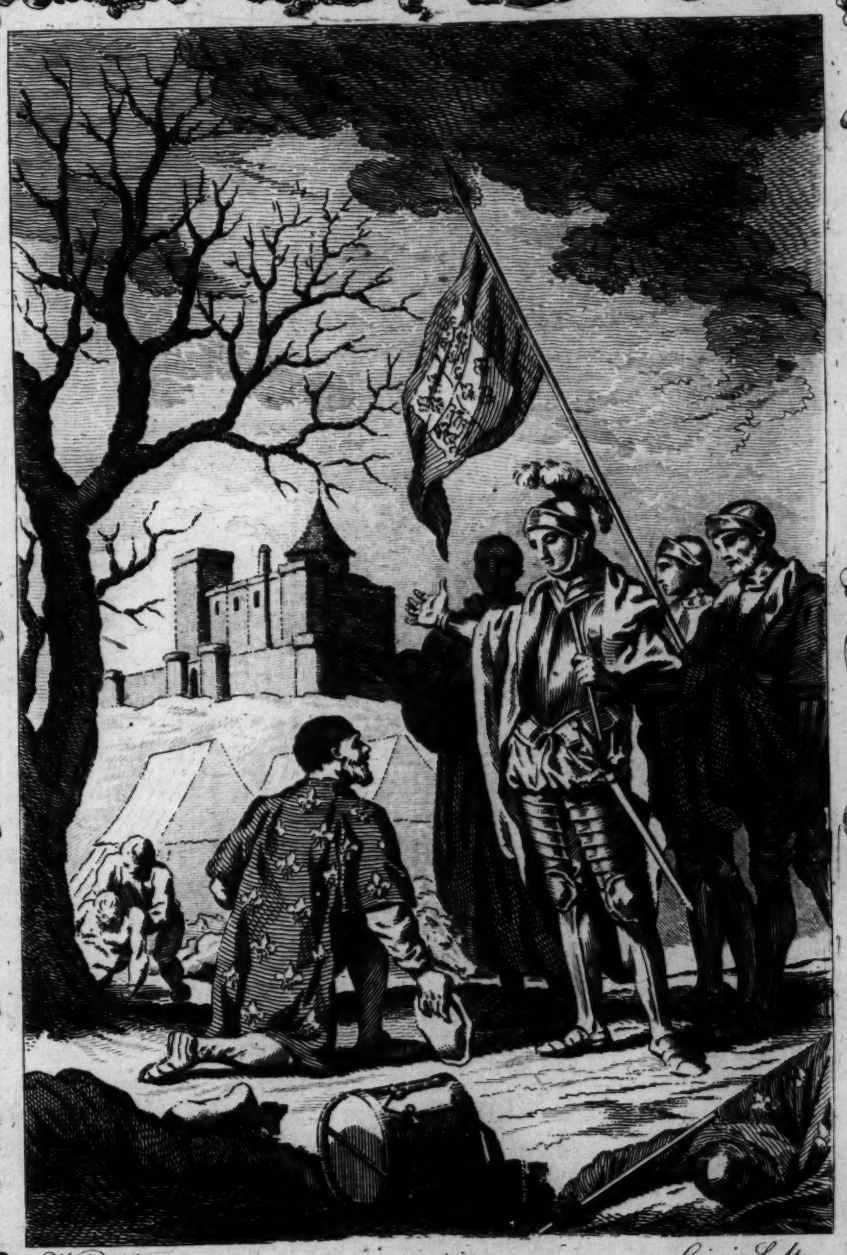

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The Battle of Agincourt named by HENRY V

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and many of his priſoners, who were equal to his own army in number, to be put to the ſword. The latter was an order very diſagreeable to the Engliſh, both in point of humanity and intereſt. But neceſſity knew no law: and finding the generality of his army averſe to the execution of the bloody order, he let looſe among the priſoners two hundred of the moſt hardened ſoldiers of his army, who performed the part of executioners, and put a great number of the priſoners to death; but as ſoon as Henry perceived he had nothing to fear from the enemy, he immediately put a ſtop to the ſlaughter.

France never ſaw a more fatal battle, either with regard to the number of princes ſlain or taken priſoners. Among the former were the conſtable himſelf, the count de Nevers, and the duke of Brabant, brothers to the duke of Burgundy; the count de Vaudemont, brother to the duke of Lorrain; the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barre, and the count de Marle. The moſt eminent priſoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, and the mareſchal de Boucicaut; the archbiſhop of Sens alſo periſhed fighting in the battle. The number of the ſlain amounted to ten thouſand men; and, as the ſlaughter fell chiefly among the cavalry, it is ſaid, that of thoſe eight thouſand were gentlemen. Henry was maſter of fourteen thouſand priſoners. The chief perſon of note, who fell among the Engliſh, was the duke of York, who was ſucceeded in his honours and fortune by his nephew, ſon to the earl of Cambridge. The whole number of the ſlain among the Engliſh did not exceed forty, tho' ſome writers make their number amount to ſeventeen hundred.

The three great battles of Creſſy, Poictiers and Agincourt, were very ſimilar to each other other in their moſt conſiderable circumſtances. In all of them there appears the ſame temerity in the Engliſh princes, who without any object of moment, merely for the ſake of plunder, had ventured ſo far into the enemy's country, as to leave themſelves no reſource; and unleſs ſaved by the utmoſt imprudence of the enemy's generals, were, from their ſituation, expoſed to inevitable deſtruction. But allowance being made for this temerity, which, according to the irregular plans of war followed in thoſe ages, ſeems to have been in ſome meaſure unavoidable. There appears in the day of action, the ſame preſence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmneſs and precaution, on the part of the Engliſh: the ſame precipitation, confuſion, and vain confidence, on the part of the French: and the events were ſuch as might reaſonably have been expected from ſuch oppoſite conduct. The immediate conſequences alſo of theſe great victories were ſimilar. Inſtead of puſhing the French with vigour, and taking advantage of their conſternation, the Engliſh princes after their victory, ſeem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leiſure to recover their loſs. Henry did not delay his march a moment after the battle of Agincourt. He carried his priſoners to Calais, and thence to England. He even concluded a truce with the enemy, and it was not, till after an interval of two years, that an Engliſh army appeared in France.

The finances of all the princes of Europe were now ſo greatly reduced, that a ceſſation from hoſtilities became abſolutely neceſſary. And though the maxims of war were in general deſtructive, their military operations were hardly any thing more than mere incurſions; which, without any ſettled plan, they carried on againſt each other. The luſtre, however, attending the victory of Agincourt, procured ſome ſupplies from the Engliſh parliament, though ſtill unequal to the expences of a campaign, they granted Henry an entire fifteenth of moveables, and conferred on him for life, the duties of tonnage and poundage, together with ſubſidies on the exportation of wool and leather. This conceſſion was more conſiderable than that which had been granted to Richard II. by his laſt parliament, and which was afterwards, on his depoſition, made ſo great an article in the charge produced againſt him.

A.D. 1416. The emperor Sigiſmond had been for ſome time at the court of France, and drawn up a plan of a truce, which he intended to communicate to Henry without loſs of time. He accordingly came to Calais, where he was nobly entertained by the earl of Warwick the governor, and received a ſafe conduct for himſelf and all his retinue, which conſiſted of a thouſand horſe, among whom were the count palatine of the Rhine; the duke of Milan, the marquiſſes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Montſerrat; count Bertold of Hungary, the prince of Orange, the duke of Paleſtine, and many others of the German and Italian nobility.

During the ſtay of Sigiſmond in France, he had been admitted to be preſent at a meeting of the parliament of Paris, where, perhaps from a notion that emperors enjoy a power ſuperior to that of kings, he had exerciſed an act of ſovereign judgment. The account of this tranſaction having reached the ears of Henry and his nobility, they reſolved to inform his imperial majeſty that the king and people of England knew no ſuperior but God. The duke of Glouceſter, and other Engliſh noblemen, were ordered by Henry to receive the emperor at his landing. He was brought over in a magnificent fleet of Engliſh ſhips, and approaching near the ſhore, he perceived the duke and his retinue drawn up upon the ſand. On his approaching the ſhore they advanced into the water towards the emperor's barge, with their drawn ſwords, and ſtopped it. This extraordinary proceeding was followed by a formal declaration from the duke of Clarence, in the name of the king and people of England, "That if his imperial majeſty was to land as "a friend, an ally, and a mediator of peace, they "were ready to receive him with all the reſpect "and honour due to his high dignity; but as the "crown and nation of England were free and inde"pendent, they were ready to oppoſe his landing if "he pretended to claim any power as a paramount "ſovereign." The emperor ſatisfying the company, that he came to England with no view of claiming or exerciſing any ſuch power, but as a friend, and mediator of peace: he was received on ſhore, with the utmoſt demonſtrations of reſpect. After being highly entertained on the road, he was met by Henry himſelf on Blackheath, and conducted firſt to London, and afterwards to Windſor, where he was inſtalled, with extraordinary pomp, a knight of the garter.

After theſe ceremonies were over, buſineſs ſucceeded. The great blow the French had received at the battle of Agincourt, the doubtful ſituation of the duke of Burgundy, and the importunities of the emperor, had induced that court to offer the king of England, the ſame advantages Edward the third

third ought to have enjoyed after the treaty of Britany. But Henry thought it was highly reaſonable after the blood and treaſure England had ſpent in the late invaſion, that Harfleur ſhould be added. This might perhaps have been agreed to had it not been for the oppoſition of the conſtable Armagnac, a true Frenchman, and one, who, with a laudable patriot zeal, would never agree to any terms preſcribed to his maſter and his country. He had hitherto behaved with a ſpirit anſwerable to his high ſtation, and had been very ſevere without regarding any conſequences that might reſult from the behaviour of the Burgundy party. About the beginning of the year, the conſtable, informed of the peace then in mediation between the monarchs of France and England, he marched with the mareſchal de Loigni, at the head of a ſtrong body of troops into the country of Caux, where he ſurprized a detachment, commanded by the earl of Dorſet, governor of Harfleur. The next day he was attacked by an army of fifteen thouſand men, and defeated, through the overſight of the mareſchal, the conſtable himſelf narrowly eſcaping.

Hoſtilities being thus recommenced by the French, Henry thought proper to ſuſpend the negotiations begun by the emperor; but that potentate was ſo indefatigable in purſuing his pacific meaſures, that he ſoon after prevailed upon Henry to renew the conferences. Theſe were, however, quickly interrupted by advice that the French, after contracting with the Genoeſe, and a number of Flemiſh merchants, had not only blocked up Harfleur by ſea, but had made ſeveral deſcents on the coaſt of England; ravaged the ſmall iſland of Portland, blocked up the harbours of Portſmouth and Southampton, and plundered part of the Iſle of Wight. The valour of the inhabitants, however, ſoon obliged them to leave the Engliſh coaſt; but the conſtable of France, and the viſcount of Narbonne, the French admiral, ſoon ordered a general rendezvous of their ſhips at Harfleur, their whole fleet amounting to five hundred. Part of this powerful armament was ordered to ſcour the Engliſh channel, part to ſtrengthen the blockade of Harfleur by ſea, while the French admiral with ſome of their principal officers, went on board nine of their largeſt ſhips, in order to attack that part of the Engliſh navy already put to ſea. The firſt part of their plan ſucceeded; but in both the other they failed: for while the French were employed in making theſe diſpoſitions, Henry had time ſufficient for fitting out the whole naval force of England, under the command of his brother, the duke of Bedford. The Engliſh fleet amounted to four hundred, on board of which twenty thouſand land forces were embarked, under the earls Mareſchal, Oxford, Huntingdon, Warwick, Arundel, Saliſbury, and Devonſhire, who, with the duke of Bedford, had orders to attempt, at all events, the relief of Harfleur, which was now blocked up by land as well as ſea, and reduced to ſuch extremities, that, without ſpeedy relief, it muſt ſoon ſurrender.

Henry was ſo intent upon this expedition, that nothing but the preſence of the emperor could have diverted him from heading his forces in perſon. But it was the fifteenth of Auguſt before all the ſhips could rendezvous, and ſail in queſt of the enemy, whoſe nine ſhips had before this time, rejoined their main fleet before Harfleur. At laſt they came up with the French fleet, which ſtill lay in the mouth of the Seine, and had great advantages, not only by their oars, but alſo by the flatneſs of their veſſels, which enabled them to ſail much nearer to the ſhore. But notwithſtanding theſe advantages, added to a conſiderable body of Genoeſe croſs-bow-men, eſteemed the beſt then in Europe, the duke of Bedford attacked the French with the greateſt intrepidity. The enemy at firſt attempted to deſtroy his ſhips by throwing wild-fire on their decks, and bearing them down by the ſhock of their large gallies. But the courage of the Engliſh rendered all attempts abortive.

The duke of Bedford ſet his men ſo gallant an example, that after a cloſe engagement, in which the Genoeſe were in their turns the boarders and the boarded; victory inclined to the Engliſh, and the enemy was at laſt totally routed.

The French loſt in this engagement two thouſand men, and ſeven of their largeſt ſhips; the Engliſh having directed their chief efforts againſt them. Five others were afterwards taken on the coaſt of England, and ſeveral driven on ſhore and wrecked in the purſuit. The duke of Bedford had now a ready entrance into Harfleur, which he reinforced, and ſupplied with proviſions. And the conſtable Armagnac thought proper to raiſe the ſiege by land.

In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy, flattering himſelf that the French generals and miniſters were entirely diſcredited by the misfortune at Agincourt, advanced at the head of a powerful army to Paris, and attempted to reinſtate himſelf in poſſeſſion of the government, and alſo of the king's perſon. But his partizans in that city were overawed by the court, and kept in ſubjection. The duke therefore deſpaired of ſucceſs, retired with his forces, and diſperſed them in the Low Countries. He was ſoon after invited to make a new attempt by ſome violent quarrels which broke out in the royal family. The queen Iſabella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, who had been hitherto an inveterate enemy to the Burgundian faction, had received a great injury from the other party, which the implacable ſpirit of that princeſs was never able to forgive. The public neceſſities obliged the count d'Armagnac to ſeize the great treaſures Iſabella had amaſſed; and when ſhe expreſſed her diſpleaſure at this injury, he inſpired into the weak mind of the king, ſome jealouſies againſt her conduct, and preſſed him to ſeize, and put to torture, and afterwards throw into the Seine, Bois-Bourbon, her favourite, whom he accuſed of a commerce of gallantry with that princeſs. The queen herſelf was ſent to Tours, and confined under a ſtrong guard: and, after thoſe multiplied inſults, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to enter into a correſpondence with the duke of Burgundy. As her ſon, the dauphin, Charles, a youth of ſixteen, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, ſhe extended her animoſity to him, and ſought his deſtruction with the moſt unrelenting hatred. She had ſoon an opportunity of carrying her unnatural purpoſe into execution. The duke of Burgundy in concert with her, entered France at the head of a powerful army, made himſelf maſter of Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Montruel, and ſome other towns in Picardy, Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troye, and Auxerre, declared themſelves in his favour. He found means to take poſſeſſion of Beaumont, Pontoiſe, Vernon, Meulant,

lant, Montlheri, all ſituated in the neighbourhood of Paris; and extending ſtill his progreſs towards the weſt, he ſeized Etempes, Chartres, with ſeveral other caſtles, and was at laſt able to deliver the queen, who fled to Troye, declaring openly againſt thoſe miniſters, whom ſhe declared continued her huſband in captivity.

While the duke was making this rapid progreſs in ſubduing the principal fortreſs of the kingdom, his partizans raiſed a commotion at Paris, which always favoured that faction. One of the duke's captains was admitted into the city during the night, and put himſelf at the head of the inſurrection of the people, who in a moment became ſo impetuous, that nothing could oppoſe them. They ſeized the king's perſon; the dauphin made his eſcape with difficulty; great numbers who favoured the faction of the conſtable were put to the ſword; d'Armagnac himſelf with many other perſons of note, were thrown into priſon; murders were every moment committed from private animoſity under the maſk of faction, and the populous, ſtill unſatiated with their fury, and thinking the courſe of public juſtice too dilatory, broke open the priſon doors, and put the count d'Armagnac, and the other nobility confined there, to death.

A. D. 1417. In the mean time Henry having concluded a treaty with the duke of Burgundy, raiſed a powerful army, and landed at Beville in Normandy, where, by an accurate muſter, it appeared that his troops amounted to twenty-five thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-eight fighting men, beſides a thouſand pioneers, all of them the braveſt and beſt appointed forces in the world; the flower of the Engliſh nation for birth, martial and other accompliſhments. Upon his landing he created forty-eight knights, gave orders for all the ſhips and tranſports that were not wanted for conveying the cannon and warlike engines, to return to England, and ſent out parties to reconnoitre the country. The French government, dreading the conſequences of this invaſion, had been very aſſiduous in giving the inhabitants of the provinces the moſt frightful ideas of the Engliſh, who found the whole country reduced to a deſart; the people either flying into Britany, or ſecuring their perſons and effects in the fortified towns. The firſt place Henry attacked was the caſtle of Tonque, a fortreſs of great ſtrength, and defended by d'Angierre, a French officer of diſtinction. At firſt the beſieged made a ſally with five hundred cavalry; but being repelled with great loſs, the duke of Glouceſter opened the trenches, and battered the place with ſo much fury, that the French ſoon offered to capitulate, promiſing to ſurrender if not relieved in ſeven days, on condition of having both their lives and effects ſpared. The ſurrender of this place was followed by that of the caſtle of Danbieres, which capitulated to the earl of Saliſbury, to whom Henry gave the eſtate of the Sieur Tournebu, the owner of the fortreſs. Having reduced theſe two important places, Henry determined to inveſt Caen, capital of the Lower Normandy.

But in the mean time, to remove all apprehenſions of the Engliſh barbarity, Henry iſſued orders for his army to obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and that none ſhould offer any injury to an eccleſiaſtic, upon pain of death; while all the inhabitants not found in arms were to have their effects ſecured. By thoſe neceſſary precautions, the people returned to their habitations, and the Engliſh troops were well ſupplied with proviſions during their march to Caen, where they immediately ſeized the ſubburbs and the abbey of St. Stephen. The French intended to have burnt this religious edifice; but before they could execute their deſign, one of the monks eſcaped, about midnight, to the duke of Clarence, whom he found ſleeping on the graſs, with a ſtone for his pillow. The monk having waked him, informed him of the danger with which the abbey was threatened, conjuring him to come and take poſſeſſion of it, as he could ſhew his detachment a ſafe and ſpeedy entrance into the ſtructure. The duke followed the monk's advice, and ſeized the place, together with a nunnery which had been fortified by the French; both of which proved of infinite advantage to the Engliſh approaches.

Henry's whole army being now arrived, Caen was inveſted on all ſides, the trenches were opened, the king commanded on the ſouth, the duke of Clarence on the weſt, and the earls of Warwick, Huntingdon, and Saliſbury on the eaſt. The city was defended by the lord de Monteney, and furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon, ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for making a long and vigorous defence. The fire of the Engliſh was very ſevere, under which the beſiegers attempted to ſcale the walls. In order to this the braveſt of Henry's army made the attempt, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. This miſcarriage obliged Henry to proceed with more caution; and accordingly he undermined the walls; propping the foundation with ſtrong piles of timber, placed in ſuch a manner that they could be readily ſet on fire. Having finiſhed this work, Henry ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, which they refuſing, the city was attacked in two places, one where the wall fell down by the props being burnt, the other by a prodigious diſcharge from the batteries. The duke of Clarence entered the place through the breach, at the head of the diviſion under his command; while the king, who directed the aſſault from the batteries, was ſtrongly oppoſed by the greater part of the garriſon. But the duke of Clarence having ſucceeded in his attempt, puſhed on to the very place where the king was making his aſſault, and falling upon the rear of the garriſon, gave Henry an opportunity of entering the place at the head of his forces.

But though the Engliſh were thus maſters of the town, great part of the garriſon retired to the citadel, where they ſeemed diſpoſed to defend themſelves to the utmoſt extremity: and Henry found the citizens extremely averſe to his government. As the place was full of people, he ordered the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, and aſſemble in the common hall, where he gave orders for many of them to be put to death, merely for their inviolable loyalty to their own ſovereign. Others were fined, and ſome received into favour. In the mean time the ſiege of the citadel was now carried on with the utmoſt fury, that the garriſon were ſoon obliged to capitulate, on conditions of having their lives and effects preſerved.

A. D. 1418. Henry having made himſelf maſter of Falaiſe, publiſhed a proclamation promiſing protection to all who ſhould return to their habitations and ſubmit to his government; and then formed a ſcheme for the reduction of all Normandy. In

order to this he divided his army into three bodies, one commanded by himſelf, another by the duke of Clarence, and the third by the duke of Glouceſter. This ſcheme was attended with ſuch amazing ſucceſs, that Chambroiſe, and the monaſtery of Beche, Lovyn, Bire, Carentine, Pontdoun, St. Saviour le Viconts, Hamby, Briquebec, Dorbec, Ange, Pontaton, and Ponteau de Mer, all ſurrendered to the Engliſh. The ſiege of Cherburg was next reſolved upon, and the duke of Glouceſter appointed to command. The place was well provided, and made a gallant defence; ſo that Henry found himſelf under a neceſſity of ordering two thouſand men to the duke's aſſiſtance. Upon the arrival of this reinforcement the garriſon capitulated.

The earl of Warwick and the lord Talbot had the ſame ſucceſs before the ſtrong caſtle of Damfront; and Henry generouſly beſtowed noble rewards to thoſe who ſerved with a proper ſpirit and reſolution.

Soon after theſe acquiſitions he was joined by a reinforcement, under the command of the earls of March and Huntingdon. Several places were ſoon after reduced, and in particular the city of Conſtance, But the towns which had been taken required ſo many and ſuch large garriſons, that Henry was obliged to ſend to England for a farther ſupply of fifteen thouſand men, who ſoon arrived under the command of the duke of Exeter. Henry now ſoon completed the reduction of all Normandy, except the city of Rouen, and the caſtle of Louvieres; the city of Evreux, and the caſtle of fort l'Eveſque, were both taken by the Engliſh, and Louvieres at laſt capitulated.

While Henry was employed in this ſiege, the cardinal d'Urſins attempted to negotiate a peace, and moderate Henry's pretenſions. But the king anſwered him in ſuch terms as ſufficiently proved he was fully ſenſible of all his preſent advantages. "Do you not ſee, ſaid Henry, that God has led "me hither as by the hand. France has no ſove-"reign. I have juſt pretenſions on that kingdom. "Every thing here is in the utmoſt confuſion. No "one thinks of reſiſting me. Can I have a more "ſenſible proof that the being, who diſpoſes of "empires, has determined to put the crown of "France upon my head?"

Henry, however, though he had thus opened his mind to this ſcheme of ambition, he ſtill continued to negotiate with his enemies, and endeavoured to obtain more ſecure, though leſs conſiderable advantages. He made, at the ſame time, offers of peace to both parties. To the queen and duke of Burgundy on the one hand, who having obtained poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, carried on the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin on the other, who being the undoubted heir of the monarchy, was followed by every perſon who had any regard to the true intereſt of their country.

At the ſame time theſe two parties carried on a continual negotiation with each other. The terms propoſed on all ſides were perpetually varying; the events of the war, and the intrigues of the cabinet were blended with each other; and the fate of France remained long in this uncertainty.

While theſe negotiations were carrying on, Henry inveſted Pont de l'Arche. The place was extremely well provided, and defended by the Sieur de Graville; but the chief hopes of the garriſon were placed on their defending the paſſage of the Seine, which Henry was obliged to paſs before he could inveſt the town. This difficult attempt was, however, executed by a mixture of courage and ſtratagem, in which the lord Cornwall and his ſon, a youth only ſixteen years of age, had the greateſt part. The Engliſh being thus maſter of both ſides of the river, the Sieur de Graville was obliged to capitulate, when the lord Cornwall told him, that he could make a better defence with ſixty Engliſhmen, than he had done with his whole garriſon, which conſiſted of ſeveral thouſands.

The conqueſt of Rouen was now the only difficulty that remained to be ſurmounted. The taking of Pont de l'Arche had ſecured all the avenues to that city, and Henry could now eaſily cut off its communication with all places from which the garriſon could hope for any relief. The city itſelf was ſituated on the banks of the Seine; contained near three hundred thouſand inhabitants, eighteen thouſand of whom were capable of carrying arms; while the garriſon conſiſted of four thouſand of the beſt regular troops in France, commanded by their braveſt and moſt experienced officers. The city had declared for the duke of Burgundy; but the importance of the city was ſo great, that the dauphin and the duke, however oppoſite in other reſpects, united in their endeavours to enable the garriſon to make a vigorous and ſucceſsful defence. Guy de Boutilliere, commanded the troops. The uſeleſs part of the inhabitants were put out of the city; the fortifications were in excellent repair; the ditches were cleared, and orders given that every perſon who thought proper to continue in the place, ſhould lay in proviſions for ten months.

But nothing could withſtand the intrepidity of the Engliſh, who inveſted the place on all ſides, and ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender. The anſwer was, that they were determined to defend the city to the laſt extremity; and in conſequence of that reſolution made ſeveral ſallies; but were always repulſed. It was, however, ſome time before the whole Engliſh army could come up, and the approaches regularly formed. The diſpoſitions of Henry were admirable: the approaches both above and below the ground were conducted with the utmoſt regularity; but principally directed againſt St. Catharine, the chief garriſon of the city. The prodigious advantages enjoyed by the beſieged both from their numbers and ſituation, rendered it impracticable to make any impreſſion upon the place during a whole month. In the mean time the prior of Kilmainham joined the king with eight thouſand Iriſh troops, moſt of them mounted upon ſmall horſes, and proved of infinite advantage in ſupplying the Engliſh forces with proviſions. Soon after the garriſon of the fort capitulated, by which means Henry became maſter of the mouth of the Seine, which he blocked up with a large ſquadron of ſhips. But notwithſtanding theſe advantages Henry found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of reducing the town by famine. This proved a work of time, of difficulty, and of danger: it would perhaps have been impoſſible, had not Henry taken the moſt admirable precautions. Lines of circumvallation were drawn round the city, while others of communication were made between all the quarters of the Engliſh camp; every ſoldier was obliged, under pain of death, not to leave the poſt aſſigned him; and the trenches

trenches of his camp were filled with ſharp ſtakes, to prevent the conſequences of any ſally from the beſieged.

Nor were theſe all the difficulties Henry had to conquer; the forts built between Rouen and the mouth of the Seine, were perpetually galling his fleet, and preventing his receiving proviſions from England. The earl of Warwick, Sir John Bromley, and Sir John Umfraville were therefore detached to reduce the fort of Chaudebec, the principal of theſe caſtles. The ſervice was ſoon effectually performed; the governor capitulated; and the commanders of the other forts followed his example.

Deprived of all ſupplies from the Seine, the garriſon of Rouen began ſoon to feel at once the miſeries of famine and the ſword. They did not, however, yet deſpair: they deputed a prieſt of great addreſs and courage, to inform the king of France of their deplorable ſituation, and of the neceſſity of their ſurrendering the city to the Engliſh, if not ſpeedily relieved. Favoured by a ſally from the town, the eccleſiaſtic, by admirable dexterity, eſcaped the vigilance of the Engliſh, repaired to Paris, and, with all the intrepidity of a patriot, laid the purport of his commiſſion before the government; and concluded his meſſage with declaring, that the inhabitants were determined, if they were obliged to ſubmit to the Engliſh, to live the irreconcileable enemies of the duke of Burgundy and his family. This boldneſs, however, was not offenſive; he was treated with the higheſt reſpect, and diſmiſſed with a promiſe of ſpeedy relief.

In the mean time Henry perceived, from what his troops had already ſuffered, that he had undertaken a taſk too difficult for him to execute, unleſs he could find ſome method of attaching one of the contending parties in France to his intereſt. He ſaw, that with all his cares and diſcipline, he had not been able to gain over one Frenchman of any conſequence to his party; that the expences he had been at in punctually paying his army, had drained his coffers; and that any attempt to raiſe money from his conqueſts muſt abſolutely ruin him in the affections of the lower claſs of people. At the ſame time he dreaded a coalition between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, by which means a force much ſuperior to that of the Engliſh army, would immediately take the field.

He therefore determined to purſue every extraordinary conduct on this critical occaſion. He continued his negotiations both with the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin. Henry offered the former to make peace with him and queen Iſabella, to marry the princeſs Catharine, to accept of all the provinces ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Britany, with the addition of Normandy, which he was to receive in full and entire ſovereignty.

He offered the dauphin to conclude a peace with him on his agreeing to deliver up the above territories: adding, that on theſe conditions he would join the dauphin with all his forces, in order to deliver the king, the queen, and the princeſs out of the hands of the duke of Burgundy; which being performed, the dauphin was to aſſiſt Henry in the reduction of Flanders, which was alſo to be given to him in full ſovereignty.

The dauphin was ſtaggered with the pleaſing proſpect of taking ample revenge on his inveterate enemy; but reaſon ſoon reſumed her ſeat, and he nobly declared, that he would never agree to aggrandize the power of his country's moſt formidable enemy at the expence of the ruin of her moſt powerful vaſſal.

The duke of Burgundy, more artful and leſs ſincere than the dauphin, accepted the terms offered by Henry, and there remained only ſome almoſt immaterial circumſtances to adjuſt, in order to complete the treaty: but during the interval that powerful vaſſal finiſhed his treaty with the dauphin, by which theſe two princes agreed to ſhare the royal authority during the life of Charles; and in the mean time to join their forces in order to expel every foreign enemy from France.

But Henry was not ſo wholly employed in negotiation as to relax for a moment the ſiege of Rouen. The diſtreſſed inhabitants had for ſome weeks ſubſiſted upon the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, mice, rats, and other nauſeous animals. Reduced to this extremity, and perceiving that all their promiſes of relief were only empty ſounds, they formed the deſperate attempt of undermining a large part of the walls, and of cutting their way through the Engliſh camp. But this deſign being diſcovered before it could be carried into execution, they agreed to deliver up the city, on condition of their lives being ſpared.

A, D. 1419. This important conqueſt being completed, Henry appeared publickly in the ducal robes, and with all the other diſtinctions of a duke of Normandy. He ordered an exchequer, a coinage, and a chamber of finances to be eſtabliſhed at Rouen. He declared his intention of keeping his court in that city, and accordingly laid the foundations of ſeveral magnificent ſtructures. He ordered proclamations to be iſſued, aboliſhing the tax upon ſalt and other unpopular imports, and gave great encouragement to the former citizens of Rouen to ſwear allegiance to his government. But all thoſe arts were not ſufficient to quiet the apprehenſions of the people, who perceived themſelves, notwithſtanding all Henry's affectation of clemency, that they were in reality, little better than ſlaves, or priſoners.

Henry's conqueſts therefore, were more ſplendid than ſatisfactory; and though they had opened him a way into the very heart of France, yet he found they had coſt him dear. He had loſt many of his braveſt men, and ſome of his beſt officers. The citizens of Rouen, even while he reſided among them, could not conceal their attachment to their natural ſovereign, though at the expence of many of their lives. Nor could the inhabitants of the adjacent country be prevailed upon to conſider the Engliſh as their friends.

Henry, however, proceeded with great rapidity in his conqueſts, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of Ponthoiſe, which lay within a few leagues of Paris, opened him a paſſage to the very gates of that capital, contained ſtores and proviſions for two years, and afforded him and his army a hundred and twenty thouſand crowns in ſpecie.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation of Paris, when firſt the news of Henry's taking this important place reached that city. The royal family and the duke of Burgundy, could not think themſelves ſafe at St. Denis, and therefore retired to Troye. The Pariſians imagined they ſaw the Engliſh ſtandards already waving on the battlements of their capital, their ſtreets filled with blood and ſlaughter, and their very churches polluted

luted by the licentious ſoldiers. The moſt intrepid among them were diſcouraged, and the moſt conſtant ſtaggered in their reſolution. This conſternation was improved, when the duke of Clarence, with the vanguard of the Engliſh army, ſat down before their gates. But the duke of Burgundy having found means to ſend a ſtrong reinforcement to the garriſon of Paris, Henry thought it prudent to recall his troops, and employ them in reducing other places in the neighbourhood of his army.

In the mean time the late alliance formed between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, proved the moſt favourable event that could have happened to favour Henry's pretenſions. Whether theſe two princes were ever ſincere in their mutual engagements is uncertain, but very fatal effects reſulted from their ſeeming union. The two princes agreed to an interview in order to concert the means of rendering their attack upon the Engliſh effectual, but ſome difficulties attended this interview with regard to the ſafety of both or either of the parties. The aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans, perpetrated by the duke of Burgundy, and ſtill more his open avowal of the deed, and defence of the action, tended to diſſolve all the bands of civil ſociety; and even men of honour, who deteſted the example, might deem it juſt, on a favourable opportunity, to put in practice the law of retaliation on the author. The duke therefore, who neither dared to give, nor could pretend to require any truſt, agreed to all the contrivances of mutual ſecurity, which were propoſed by the miniſters of the dauphin. The two princes came to Montereau; the duke lodged in the caſtle, the dauphin in the town, which was ſeparated from the caſtle by the river Yonne. The bridge between theſe two places was choſen for the place of interview; two high rails were placed acroſs the bridge; the gates on each ſide were guarded, the one by officers of the dauphin, the other by thoſe of the duke. The princes were to enter the intermediate ſpace by the oppoſite gates, each attended by ten perſons; and there, with all theſe marks of diffidence and diſtruſt, to conciliate their mutual friendſhip. But it ſoon appeared that no precautions are ſufficient, where laws have no place, and where all principles of honour are totally abandoned. Tanneguy de Chatel, and others of the dauphin's retinue, were zealous partizans of the houſe of Orleans, and determined to ſeize the preſent opportunity of revenging on the aſſaſſin, the murder of that prince. Accordingly they no ſooner entered the rails, than they drew their ſwords, and attacked the duke of Burgundy. The aſtoniſhment of his friends deprived them of the power of making any defence, and all of them either ſhared his fate, or were taken priſoners by the retinue of the dauphin.

The great youth of this prince rendered it doubtful whether he was admitted into the ſecret of the conſpiracy: but as the action was done in his preſence, and by his moſt intimate friends, who ſtill retained their connections with him, the blame of the deed, which was certainly more imprudent than criminal, fell entirely upon him.

But whether he was or was not privy to this deſign, it is certain, that the whole face of affairs were changed by that incident. The city of Paris, which was entirely devoted to the family of Burgundy, broke out into the higheſt fury againſt the dauphin. The court of Charles entered, from intereſt into the ſame views; and as all the miniſters about that monarch, had owed their preferment to the late duke, and foreſaw their fall if the dauphin recovered the poſſeſſion of his father's perſon, were concerned to prevent, by any means the ſucceſs of his enterprize. The queen perſevering in her unnatural animoſity againſt her ſon, encreaſed the general flame, and inſpired into the king, as far as he was ſuſceptible of any ſentiment, the ſame prejudices by which ſhe herſelf had long been actuated.

At the ſame time Philip count de Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, thought himſelf bound by every tie of honour and of duty, to revenge the murder of his father, and to purſue the aſſaſſin to the utmoſt extremity. And in this tranſport of rage, every conſideration of national and family intereſt was buried in oblivion by all parties. The ſubjection of a foreign enemy; the expulſion of the lawful heir; the ſlavery of the kingdom appeared but ſmall evils, provided they led to the gratification of the preſent paſſion of revenge.

All the arts the dauphin could employ, all the varniſh he could lay on, could never conceal the guilt, nor palliate the foulneſs of this aſſaſſination. The duke of Burgundy's great abilities in war, his daring ſpirit, his high rank, and his vaſt power, was now the common topic of converſation in every part of France; and that people deſpaired of ever ſeeing again the juncture, that promiſed ſo fair for driving the Engliſh out of their country, as that they had unfortunately loſt, by the duke's untimely death.

Ambaſſadors were now ſent from the French court to Henry who was then at Rouen, deſiring a ceſſation of arms. But the dauphin had been there before them. That prince, well knowing the importance of Henry's friendſhip, he had already offered to the king of England the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of all Normandy, together with all the dominions of the duke of Burgundy, which he promiſed to aſſiſt him in conquering. But it was eaſy to foreſee how precarious all theſe offers were, when compared to the ſolid advantages that muſt reſult from an agreement with the other party; Henry, therefore, rejected the dauphin's propoſitions.

Accordingly a league was immediately concluded between Henry and the duke of Burgundy, who, without ſtipulating any thing for himſelf, except the proſecution of his father's murder, and the marriage of the duke of Bedford with his ſiſter, was willing to ſacrifice the kingdom to the ambition of Henry; and therefore readily agreed to every demand that monarch thought proper to make.

A. D. 1420. But the agreement with the duke of Burgundy was not ſufficient; it was neceſſary to conclude a treaty with the court of France, in order to transfer that crown from the head of the dauphin to that of the king of England. Henry accordingly repaired to Troye, accompanied by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, and was there met by the duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen, made him incapable of ſeeing any thing but through the eyes of thoſe who attended him; and even they ſaw every thing through the medium of their paſſions. The treaty being already concerted among the party, was immediately

immediately drawn, ſigned, and ratified. Henry's will ſeemed to be the only law that governed the negotiation; his advantages alone were conſidered.

The principal articles of this famous treaty were, that Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catherine, that Charles, during his life-time, ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; that Henry ſhould be declared and acknowledged heir of the crown, and be intruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government: that the kingdom of France ſhould paſs to his heirs general: that France and England ſhould for ever be united under one king, but ſtill retain their ſeveral uſuages, cuſtoms, and privileges: that all the princes, peers, vaſſals and communities of France, ſhould ſwear, both that they would adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and pay him preſent obedience as regent: that Henry ſhould unite his arms with thoſe of king Charles, and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of Charles the pretended dauphin: and that theſe three princes ſhould make no peace nor truce with him, but by common conſent and agreement.

Three weeks after this treaty was concluded, it was approved of and ratified by the parliament of Paris, and the inhabitants of that capital, took an oath to obſerve it. In all public deeds, Henry had the title of "Regent and heir to the crown of "France." His court and equipages at Troye, were extremely magnificent; his guards amounted to above fifteen hundred, richly dreſſed and completely armed; and the duke of Burgundy, in honour of the king of France, fell little ſhort of Henry's ſplendor.

Ten days after the ratification of this treaty by the parliament of Paris, Henry's marriage was performed with the princeſs Catherine, the greateſt fortune, and the fineſt woman of her age. Henry was attended on this occaſion by forty Engliſh princes and noblemen, and the royal bride and queen of France, were uſhured in by the duke of Burgundy and forty of the principal nobility of France. The peace was again ſworn to by both parties, and the agreement between Henry and the duke of Burgundy was mutually renewed. The duke promiſed to obey Henry as regent of France, and heir of the crown, while Henry engaged to give up into his hands all who had any concern in the murder of his father. In a word, no formality, either on the part of France or England, was omitted, to give this treaty all the ſtrength, permanency, and ſolemnity it was capable of receiving.

Had not Henry been totally blinded by his ambition, he could not have overlooked the abſurdity of this treaty. He did not conſider that the weakneſs and frenzy of the king of France, rendered every act of government null, in which he was a party. He did not conſider that, ſuppoſing the king of France to have been at liberty and in the full poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, it was not in his power, it was not in the power of his council, to alter the ſucceſſion to the crown, to root up the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, and to ſubvert the monarchy of France. Henry did not conſider, that, admitting his own, the queen's, and the duke of Burgundy's intereſts, could have rendered the dauphin's crime a juſt reaſon for excluding him from the ſucceſſion, yet the houſes of Orleans and Anjou, of Alençon, of Britany, and even of Burgundy, had all pretenſions to the crown, far preferable to thoſe of Henry. He did not reflect that the treaty itſelf reſted neither upon the principles of conqueſt, of hereditary right, of election, nor adoption.

Hereditary right was entirely out of the queſtion, both in his own perſon and that of his wife. As a king of England, claiming in right of Edward III. his claim deſtroyed itſelf, becauſe it was in prejudice of an undiſputed elder branch, whoſe right to the crown of France muſt be allowed to ſubſiſt, even admitting the validity of its excluſion from that of England. His wife, queen Catherine, could have no pretenſions to the crown, even ſuppoſing the Salique law of no effect, becauſe ſhe had an elder ſiſter, who was married to the duke of Burgundy. His right could not be founded upon conqueſt, becauſe no ſovereignty was immediately veſted in his own perſon; he acted only as the firſt ſubject of the crown of France. With regard to adoption, it could never operate in prejudice of the unalienable rights of ſettled monarchy, which are abſtracted from thoſe perſonal or private affections, intereſts or relations, that conſtitute adoption. He could never pretend to have gained the crown by election, becauſe the people were not conſulted, the only circumſtance that can give the leaſt colour of juſtice to any attempt for altering the male ſucceſſion.

Henry had now reached the zenith of human happineſs, poſſeſſing every object of love and ambition; the Engliſh, enchanted by his ſhining qualities, the French over-awed by his courage, and all Europe filled with his fame. But his attention was now chiefly employed in cultivating a nearer acquaintance with her future ſubjects, in conciliating their affections for his perſon, in removing their apprehenſions of his government, in raiſing their ideas of his intentions, and in perſuading them that the commencement of his power among them, ſhould be the commencement of their liberty and glory. All this he attempted in the firſt ſpeech he made in a full aſſembly of their nobility. Nor did he forget to remind the aſſembly of the dauphin's demerits, of the melancholy ſtate of the nation, if ever he ſhould hold the reins of government; and of his own firm reſolution to employ all his power in eſtabliſhing the authority of the preſent government.

The ceremonies of the marriage and treaty being now over, Henry again applied himſelf to the operations of the campaign. The firſt place he ſubdued was Sens, which opened its gates after a ſlight reſiſtance. He made himſelf maſter of Montereau, with the ſame facility. The defence of Melun was more obſtinate. Great part of the city was encompaſſed by the river Seine, and the whole defended by a ſtrong wall, flanked with towers and bulwarks. Henry ſoon perceived that a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garriſon utterly averſe to the Burgundian faction, and commanded by de Barbaſon, one of the beſt officers in France, muſt be attended with great difficulty. He was not miſtaken, the place held out four months, when famine alone forced the garriſon to capitulate. Henry promiſed to ſpare the lives of the beſieged except ſuch as were accomplices in the murder of the duke of Burgundy; and as Barbaſon himſelf was ſuſpected to have been

been one of that number, Philip demanded his execution; but on Henry's interceding for him, his puniſhment was changed into impriſonment.

Soon after the capitulation of Melun, Henry made his public entry into Paris. This was performed with extreme magnificence. The two monarchs rode ſide by ſide, while the duke of Burgundy, with his attendants, appeared in deep mourning, for the death of the late duke. The Engliſh monarch was lodged in the caſtle of the Louvre, the king of France at the palace of St. Paul. The court of the former was magnificent and numerous; the latter hardly retained the appearance of a houſehold, mean, deſpiſed, and rejected. The Engliſh troops were cantoned round all the avenues of Paris, or quartered in the very heart of that capital.

A. D. 1421. But notwithſtanding the appearance of power and grandeur, Henry found it neceſſary to paſs over to England in order to obtain ſupplies both of men and money; leaving the duke of Exeter governor of Paris during his abſence. The Engliſh parliament readily granted him a ſubſidy of a fifteenth; but this ſupply was far from being equal to Henry's wants; it was therefore fortunate for the king, that he had other reſources, beſides pecuniary ſupplies from his native ſubjects. The provinces he had already conquered, maintained his troops; and the hopes of farther advantages allured to his ſtandard all men of ambitious ſpirits in England, who were deſirous of ſignalizing themſelves by arms. Theſe circumſtances ſoon enabled Henry to raiſe a new army of twenty-four thouſand archers, and four thouſand horſemen. With theſe he marched to Dover, where he embarked for Calais. He found on his arrival that every thing had continued in quiet at Paris, under the duke of Exeter. He ſtopped ſome time at Calais, but a misfortune in another part of the kingdom called for his preſence.

The king of Scotland had been long detained a priſoner at the Engliſh court; and Henry, to avoid any inſurrection of his ſubjects in his favour during his abſence, had carried that prince with him into France. By thus detaining the king, the regent of Scotland was kept in awe, and the northern frontier of England continued in tranquillity during the whole courſe of the French war. But when intelligence arrived in Scotland, of the progreſs of his ſucceſſion to the throne of France, the nation was alarmed, and foreſaw their own inevitable ruin, if the ſubjection of their ally left them to combat without any aſſiſtance, an enemy, who was already ſo much ſuperior to them in power and riches. The regent ſaw the danger in the ſame light; and though he declined open war with England, he permitted a body of ſeven thouſand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, his ſecond ſon, to be tranſported into France, in order to be employed in the dauphin's ſervice. Henry, in order to render this reinforcement ineffectual, obliged the young king of Scotland, to ſend orders to his countrymen to quit the French ſervice. But the Scottiſh general replied, that he thought it highly unreaſonable to obey the commands of a king in captivity; and that a prince, while he continued in the hands of his enemy, was not entitled to authority.

In conſequence of this determination the Scots continued to act under the earl of Buchan; and were employed by the dauphin to oppoſe the progreſs of the duke of Clarence in Anjou. The two armies met at a village called Baugy, where the Engliſh were defeated; the duke himſelf ſlain by Sir Allan Swinton, a Scottiſh knight; and the earls of Somerſet, Dorſet, and Huntingdon were taken priſoners. This was the firſt action in which the Engliſh had experienced a reverſe of fortune; and the dauphin, that he might at once attach the Scots to his ſervice, and reward the conduct and valour of the earl of Buchan, created that nobleman conſtable of France.

A. D. 1422. This glimmering hopes of ſucceſs inſpired the dauphin's party with the hopes of being ſoon in a condition of facing the Engliſh army in the open field; but the arrival of Henry with ſo conſiderable a number of forces, was more than ſufficient to repair the loſs, and deſtroy all the flattering proſpects of the enemy. Henry was received at Paris with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and immediately conducted his army to Chartres, which had been long beſieged by the dauphin. On the approach of the Engliſh that prince thought proper to raiſe the ſiege behind the Loire, in order to avoid a battle. Henry ſoon became maſter of Dreux; and, at the requeſt of the inhabitants of Paris, laid ſiege to Meaux, the garriſon having been very troubleſome to that city. The enterprize employed the Engliſh arms during the ſpace of eight months: the baſtard of Varus, then governor of Meaux, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an obſtinate defence; but was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The cruelty of this officer was equal to his bravery: it was his conſtant cuſtom to hang up, without diſtinction, all the Engliſh and Burgundians who fell into his hands: and Henry, in revenge for his barbarity, ordered him immediately to be hanged on the ſame tree which he had ſo long made the inſtrument of his inhuman executions.

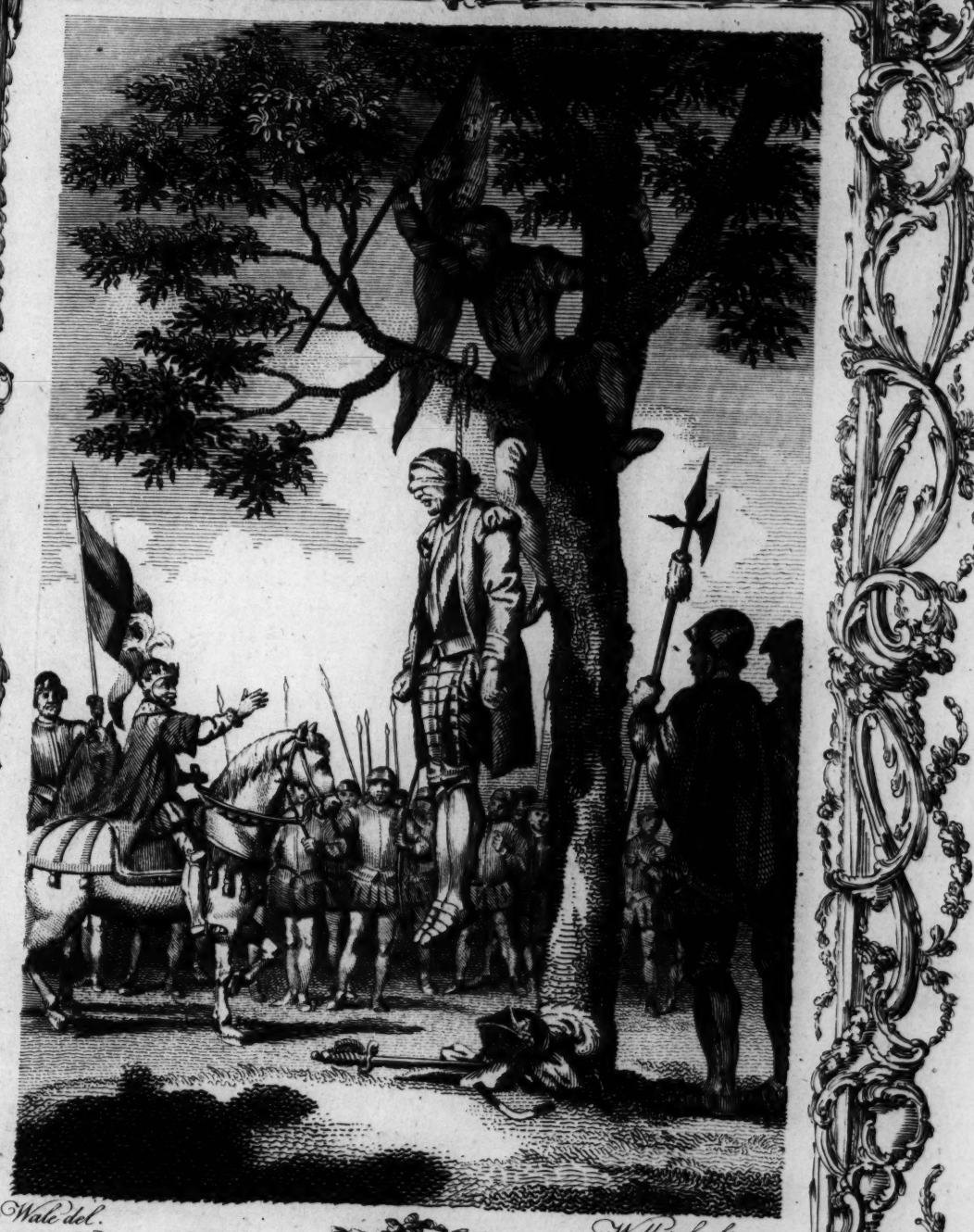
While Henry lay before Meaux he had the pleaſure of hearing that his queen was delivered in England of a ſon, afterwards the unfortunate Henry VI.

In the mean time the dauphin, finding himſelf unable to meet the enemy in the field, abandoned all the northern parts of the kingdom, and retired into the ſouth, whither he was purſued by the united armies of England and Burgundy; and threatened with inevitable deſtruction.

But in the midſt of this ſucceſs, and when the conqueſt of France ſeemed to be almoſt accompliſhed, Henry was ſeized with a fiſtula, which the ſurgeons of that time had not ſkill enough to cure. The duke of Bedford, on hearing the melancholy news of his brother's illneſs, haſtened to him. On his arrival he found the great Henry near the period of his mortal exiſtence, but poſſeſſing all the faculties of his mind. The earls of Warwick and Gloceſter, with a few other noblemen, whom the king honoured with his confidence, were alſo preſent, and to them Henry delivered, with great tranquillity, his laſt will with regard to the future government of his kingdom and family.

He conjured the duke of Bedford, by all the ties of gratitude, allegiance and fraternal piety, to be the faithful guardian of the prince's tender years, and the dutiful counſellor of his government when of age. He adviſed him never to make peace with the dauphin, unleſs that prince conſented to annex for ever to the crown of England, the dutchy of Normandy.

Engraved for Mountagues History of England.



The GOVERNOR of MEAUX

Executed on the Tree whereon he used to hang his Engliſh *Prisoners*

BRITISH MUSEUM
8 JUL 1880

Normandy. He recommended to the duke of Glouceſter, the protection and guardianſhip of England; requeſting that he would never more viſit France. He recommended a ſtrict friendſhip with the duke of Burgundy; and requeſted that the earl of Warwick ſhould be the governor of his ſon.

The noblemen promiſed faithfully to obey his dying commands: upon which Henry declared that he had now done with the things of this world; applied himſelf to his devotions; and ordered his chaplain to read the ſeven penitential pſalms. When the prieſt came to that paſſage in the 55th pſalm, "Build thou the walls of Jeruſalem," he interrupted him, and ſolemnly declared, that he fully intended, after reſtoring peace to France, to undertake a cruſade againſt the infidels, in order to reſt from them the city of Jeruſalem. After making this declaration, he ordered the prieſt to proceed, and expired about the time the ſervice was finiſhed, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his reign.

Henry certainly poſſeſſed many eminent virtues: and if we conſider ambition in a king as entitled to indulgence, we ſhall find theſe virtues without any conſiderable alloy. He was equally great in the cabinet and the field. His enterprizes were formed with as much judgment as they were executed with valour. He enjoyed the rare talent of attaching his friends to his intereſt by affability, and of gaining his enemies by clemency and addreſs. Dazzled by the luſtre of his character even more than by his victories, the Engliſh, overlooked the defect of his title: the French almoſt forgot that he was an enemy: and his care in diſtributing impartial juſtice, in his civil adminiſtration, and preſerving the ſtricteſt diſcipline in his armies, made ſome amends to both nations for the calamities inſeparable from thoſe wars, by which his ſhort reign was almoſt entirely occupied. His forgiving the earl of March, whoſe title to the crown was ſuperior to his own, is a ſufficient proof of his magnanimity; while his candour and ſincerity are abundantly eſtabliſhed by that nobleman's relying entirely upon his friendſhip.

Henry was equal in ſtrength to his great-grandfather Edward III. in the form and majeſty of his perſon, he reſembled his grandfather the duke of Lancaſter; in his agility and addreſs in arms he equalled his father Henry of Bolingbroke.

The features of his face were ſmall and feminine; but enlivened by a peculiar majeſty of countenance, and his head covered with fine, long, black hair. His perſon was graceful, his limbs genteel and ſlender, but full of vigour.

As a king of England, Henry, with regard to public liberty, and private affections, was, perhaps, the moſt unexceptionable of all the Norman race. He had no material diſputes with his parliament; he refuſed no ſalutary acts; he puſhed no unconſtitutional meaſures. It was this wiſe conduct that made the crown ſit ſo eaſy upon his own head, and ſtrengthened his ſcepter when committed to delegated power. Under his government, no corruption found excuſe, no oppreſſion obtained ſanctuary. The bench was filled with upright judges, and the biſhoprics with learned prelates. The miniſters he employed in the ſervice of the public, were perſons who had recommended themſelves to his favour by their piety and learning. He was himſelf an excellent ſcholar, and his court, even during his campaigns, was filled with learned men.

Henry married the princeſs Catherine, daughter to Charles VI. king of France, by whom he had one child, Henry prince of Wales, which ſucceeded his father in the throne. Catherine married ſoon after Henry's death, Sir Owen Tudor, a Welſh gentleman, ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient princes of that country: ſhe bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper, the firſt of whom was created earl of Richmond, and the ſecond earl of Pembroke. And the family of Tudor, raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

HENRY VI.

A. D. 1422. IN leſs than two months after the death of Henry V. Charles the ſixth of France paid the debt of nature. He had for ſeveral years, poſſeſſed only the appearance of royal authority; but even this circumſtance was of conſiderable importance to the Engliſh; as it divided the affections of the French between them and the dauphin. That prince, who now took the title of Charles VII. was no more than twenty years of age; but a perſon of great penetration, addreſs, and courage. His manners were mild and engaging; he was endowed with ſurprizing intrepidity amidſt the frowns of fortune, and a ſtill more ſurprizing moderation in ſucceſs. The manner in which he received the news of his father's death was affecting; and when he aſſumed himſelf the ſovereign power, it was performed with ſuch an air of modeſty, that the people were convinced he was leſs ſenſible of his own dignity, than of their diſtreſsful circumſtances.

On the other hand, the duke of Bedford omitted nothing that had any tendency to ſtrengthen and ſupport the intereſt of his royal nephew. Young Henry was proclaimed king of France at Paris; the arms of both nations were impreſſed on all ſeals and devices; and the whole French nobility who adhered to the Engliſh or Burgundian party ſwore allegiance to the new government.

In the mean time a parliament aſſembled at London; where John, duke of Bedford, was appointed protector and defender of the kingdom and church of England, and, while in England, chief counſellor to the king. But in his abſence the duke of Glouceſter was to ſupply his place; and the latter accordingly took upon himſelf that office in full parliament.

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To ſupport this high dignity, a yearly revenue of eight thouſand marks was granted to the duke of Glouceſter, out of the hereditary revenues of the kingdom. At the ſame time he had a grant of the office of chamberlain of England, with all its profits. The biſhop of Durham was appointed chancellor, William Rindroffe lord high treaſurer, and John Stafford keeper of the privy ſeal.

In the mean time the duke of Bedford was ſurrounded with difficulties in France. The dauphin was ſtill maſter of ſeveral provinces in that kingdom. He was extremely well ſerved both by his officers and miniſters, moſt of them being perſonally ſo obnoxious to the Engliſh and Burgundian factions, that their whole ſafety lay in ſupporting him. His very title rendered him formidable, and the Engliſh government was daily alarmed with intelligence of plots formed for ſurprizing of Paris.

Alarmed by theſe incidents, the duke of Bedford ſent over to England for a reinforcement of troops, which were accordingly ſent him by the duke of Glouceſter. He alſo took care to ſtrengthen his alliance with the dukes of Burgundy and Britany. He well knew that the former ſeemed rather intent on gratifying his paſſion for revenge, than conſulting his intereſt; and therefore gave him every proof of his friendſhip and confidence: and, in order to corroborate national connections by the ties of private intereſt, he concluded his marriage with the princeſs of Burgundy.

With regard to the latter, the duke of Britany, more art was neceſſary to attach him to the Engliſh intereſt. Though extremely ſenſible of the injuries he had received from the houſe of Penthievre, he did not chuſe to change that neutral conduct, which, during the late war, had both enriched and peopled his dominions. But his brother, the earl of Richemont, who was under the ſtrongeſt obligations to the court of England, ſoon prevailed upon the duke to join in the meaſures projected by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy. The alliance was accordingly renewed, and the regent perſuaded the duke of Burgundy to give Richemont in marriage, his eldeſt ſiſter, widow to the late dauphin of France.

A. D. 1423. But neither the dreadful ſtorm which was ready to burſt upon the young monarch of France from this alliance, nor the wretched fate of his own affairs, made any other impreſſion on the young king of France, than to make him redouble his efforts, for regaining his rights, and mounting the throne of his anceſtors. He ſurprized the towns of Ferte-Milon, and Meulan; but the latter, which was of the utmoſt conſequence to the confederates, was ſoon after retaken by the duke of Bedford.

The reduction of Meulan was followed by the defeat of a party of French royaliſts, by the duke of Burgundy, near St. Riquierre, and the ſurprizal of ſeveral forts in Picardy by that prince's general. Several other places were taken; and among the reſt the ſmall town of Cervante, ſtrongly ſituated on the river Yonne, ſix leagues above Auxerre.

In the mean time d'Autigny and the lord d'Eſtiſſac, were on their march to ſupport Charles's party in Champaigne, and were on the point of paſſing the Loire at Siene when they received orders from that prince to march to Cervante and retake it from the Engliſh. Purſuant to theſe orders, d'Aubigny immediately changed his rout, and the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, informed of his intentions, ſent a ſtrong reinforcement to the earl of Saliſbury, who commanded in Cervante. This brought on a general engagement; for Charles, being equally determined to recover the place, detached four thouſand Spaniſh mercenaries, under the command of the mareſchal de Severac, who had orders to take upon him the chief command of the forces. He had alſo orders to attempt the reduction of the place; but, if poſſible, to avoid a general engagement, and accordingly he drew up his men in ſo advantageous a manner, that the Engliſh did not think proper to attack them. The earl of Saliſbury therefore had recourſe to a ſtratagem in order to draw the French forces from their poſt. He made a feint as if he intended to paſs the river, in order to poſt himſelf between the enemy and the town. This had the deſired effect, the French quitted their advantageous ſituation, and marched to guard the bridge, which the Engliſh, who now hoped to bring the enemy to a battle, made the attempt in earneſt.

The numbers on both ſides were nearly equal; neither of the armies exceeding fourteen thouſand men. The firſt attack was made by a ſmall party of the Engliſh, upon the troops that guarded the bridge, but the French having greatly the advantage, in point of ſituation, the diſpute became obſtinate and bloody, while the remainder of the Engliſh followed by all the Burgundians, plunged into the river, and gained the oppoſite bank. The mareſchal de Severac had, by this means, an opportunity of making ſuch diſpoſitions for a retreat as ſaved his maſter's troops; but the Scots, and a few of the braveſt among the French, maintained their ground for ſome hours, with great intrepidity. The conteſt, however, was unequal; near twelve hundred of the Scots were left dead on the field of battle, and d'Aubigny was taken priſoner. This ſucceſs was followed by the ſurrender of ſeveral places of conſequence.

But however flattering theſe advantages might appear, the duke of Bedford eaſily foreſaw that the utmoſt caution would be requiſite to render them permanent. And to increaſe his uneaſineſs, he found the earl of Richemont, who had the aſcendant over his brother the duke of Britany, to be of a froward, haughty diſpoſition; imperious when inveſted with command; reſtleſs when without it; reſolved to rule or to ruin; forgetful of benefits; reſentive of injuries; but, at the ſame time, brave, intriguing, and intrepid; an important party in the alliance, becauſe well ſupplied with money, and at the head of a brave, and well diſciplined army.

During theſe tranſactions, the duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, had paid the debt of nature; and was ſucceeded in that important poſt by his ſon Murdac, a prince of a ſhallow underſtanding and indolent diſpoſition. Far from poſſeſſing the talents neceſſary for governing that fierce people, he was not able to maintain his authority in his own family, or reſtrain the inſolence of his ſons. Ardent to ſerve in France where they were treated with honour and diſtinction, the Scots broke out afreſh under his feeble adminiſtration: New ſuccours daily came over and filled the armies of the French king. The earls of Buchan and Douglas brought over a reinforcement of five thouſand men, when there were

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were actually no leſs than fifteen thouſand Scots in Charles's army. To prevent any farther aſſiſtance from that quarter, the king of the Scots, after forming an alliance with England, and marrying the daughter of the earl of Somerſet, was ſet at liberty and reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors.

But the Scots were not the only people with whom Charles negotiated with ſucceſs. The duke of Milan ſent him ſix hundred lances, and a thouſand infantry. At the ſame time he received intelligence that the earl of Richemont was diſguſted with the duke of Bedford at being refuſed the command of the Engliſh army, and reſolved, if poſſible, to turn it to his own advantage.

A. D. 1424. The war was, however, carried on with great ſucceſs by the confederate army in ſeveral parts of France; but the principal ſcene of action lay where the duke of Bedford commanded in perſon. He flattered himſelf that all the northern provinces were cleared of Charles's troops, but ſoon underſtood that Ivri, a place of conſequence on the borders of Picardy, had been ſurprized by one of that prince's partizans, on which the regent laid ſiege to the place, being determined at any rate to regain it; and Charles thought it of too much conſequence to his affairs to abandon his conqueſt, as it would enable him ſtill to carry on the war on the north ſide of the Loire. The regent, however, made ſuch excellent diſpoſitions, that Pallier, the governor, after a brave defence, agreed to ſurrender the place, if not relieved in ſix weeks. Informed of this capitulation, Charles ordered the flower of his troops to aſſemble, and advance for the relief of Ivri. This detachment conſiſted of about eight thouſand Scots, two thouſand Italians, and three thouſand French. The whole was commanded by the earl of Buchan, the two dukes of Alençon and Tourraine, the mareſchal Foyette, the earl of Aumale, the viſcount de Narbonne, and ſeveral others of Charles's beſt generals. The conſtable ordered the army to advance towards Chartres; but on their reaching Nonancourt, about twenty miles from Ivri, they heard that the place had ſurrendered. On receiving this information, the conſtable ſent to reconnoitre the Engliſh camp, but finding it would be imprudent to attack the enemy, he marched to Verneuil, a town belonging to the duke of Alençon, but then in the hands of the enemy, and ſummoned it to ſurrender: the meſſengers being directed to aſſure the inhabitants that the ſiege of Ivri had been raiſed, and the Engliſh army entirely defeated. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect, the meſſengers were believed, the town was ſurrendered, and the caſtle taken after two days ſiege.

Exaſperated to find his favourite plan thus unexpectedly impeded, the duke of Bedford wrote immediately to the earl of Saliſbury for a ſtrong reinforcement, and he was accordingly joined by that nobleman, at the head of a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand archers. This addition rendered the two armies nearly equal, the Engliſh then amounting to about thirteen thouſand; and the regent loſt no time in advancing towards the enemy, who had not yet left Verneuil. Informed of the approach of the enemy, the conſtable called a council of war, at which all the general officers aſſiſted. The queſtion was whether they ſhould give the Engliſh battle, or retire, and after ſome debate it was carried in the conſtable's opinion, which was, that they ſhould neither retire nor advance, but keep themſelves in ſuch a ſituation, that the Engliſh, if they continued to advance, muſt fight upon unequal terms. This reſolution being agreed to, the conſtable made an admirable diſpoſition of his troops, under the walls of Verneuil, and ſoon after perceived the Engliſh army advancing in one line, flanked on each ſide by the archers, with a body of reſerve of two thouſand archers for guarding the baggage, or ſupplying the battle. The regent obſerving the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, encamped within ſight, and the next morning drew out his army in line of battle.

In the mean time the conſtable did not ſeem to decline fighting, though he did not move from his ſituation. This was ſome diſappointment to the duke of Bedford, whoſe principal hopes were founded on the impetuoſity of the French. But it was not long before he was convinced they were not without foundation; for the viſcount de Narbonne, diſdaining to be braved by an enemy inferior in number, gave way to that impetuous paſſion, which had been ſo often fatal to his nation. He upbraided the conſtable with diſhonouring by his timidity the arms of France: he ſnatched up one of the ſtandards of the diviſion, and deſired all who loved the glory of France, to follow him. This temerity proved deſtructive to the French. In vain did the conſtable with reaſon, menaces, and intreaties, interpoſe his authority: in vain were the remonſtrances of thoſe officers who had felt the fatal effects of ſuch conduct at Agincourt, or heard of them at Poictiers or Creſſy. The viſcount ruſhed out of the line, and the impetuous Frenchmen followed his banner, ſo that the conſtable was reduced to the dreadful alternative of plunging into what he foreſaw muſt be inevitable deſtruction, or leaving his allies to be cut in pieces without aſſiſtance, which muſt expoſe his character to the moſt poignant invectives. Reduced to this dilemma, he was hurried headlong down the ſtream: he ſaw, in regret, the excellent diſpoſitions he had made diſregarded and deſtroyed, and had now no other concern than how to periſh like an honeſt man, and an intrepid ſoldier.

The Engliſh were that day commanded by the duke of Bedford in the center, and the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, in the wings. The regent had ordered all his cavalry to diſmount, and placed the horſes between the main body and the camp in the rear, ſurrounding them with a kind of barricade compoſed of the carriages of the army. In this diſpoſition the duke received the impetuous attack of the French, which, notwithſtanding their diſorder, was made with ſo much fury, that a body of their horſe in the right wing, broke the oppoſite wing of the Engliſh, and advanced to the barricade which ſurrounded the horſes, where they were received by a dreadful ſhower of arrows from the reſerved body of archers. Upon their wheeling round to purſue their advantage, they found the archers, who had been all provided by the duke's orders, with ſharpened ſtakes, as at the battle of Agincourt, ſo fortified within the palliſade, that they could make no impreſſion on them. In the mean time the diſpute between the main bodies was continued with ſuch equal fury, that it was impoſſible to perceive to which ſide fortune intended to give the victory. But the Italians who had been

leſs forward than the French or the Scots, in the attack, perceiving the advantage gained by the firſt charge of the French cavalry, marched round the front of the enemy, hoping to pillage the Engliſh camp without oppoſition. But they found themſelves dreadfully miſtaken; they were ſo warmly received by the archers, who had by this time repelled the French cavalry with great ſlaughter, that the Italians threw down their arms, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. This gave the body of reſerve an opportunity of forming themſelves, and advancing to ſupport the main body, where the conteſt had continued for three hours with equal obſtinacy, and equal fortune. But this ſeaſonable reinforcement fixed victory on the ſide of the Engliſh. The French cavalry were driven back by the barbed arrows upon their own foot; and the Engliſh breaking in with irreſiſtable fury, a diſmal ſcene of ſlaughter enſued. The conſtable of France, the earl of Douglas and his ſon, the earls of Aumale, Ventadour, de Tonnerre, and the viſcount of Narbonne, the lords Gaville, Manni, Gammaches, and Guitri, with many others of Charles's French and Scotch officers, beſides a vaſt number of private gentlemen, and five thouſand common ſoldiers were ſlain on the field of battle: while the duke of Alençon, the baſtard his brother, the mareſchal de Foyette, the lords of Gaucourt and Mortimer, were taken priſoners. The darkneſs of the night prevented any farther loſs on the ſide of the vanquiſhed: and even the victory itſelf would have been dearly purchaſed by the Engliſh, ſixteen hundred of their beſt troops falling in the conteſt, had it not been attended with greater conſequences than the preſent advantage.

The next day de Rambure, who commanded in Verneuil, was ſummoned to ſurrender the place, which he did in two days, marching out according to the articles of capitulation, with his arms and baggage, leaving to the victors the French military cheſt, together with the equipages of all their officers, which had been depoſited there for ſafety.

The affairs of the young monarch of France were now reduced to the loweſt ebb. His partizans in Paris were ſo confident of his obtaining the victory at Verneuil, that they had again formed a ſcheme for ſurprizing that capital: but the duke of Bedford hearing of their intentions, leaving the Engliſh army under the command of the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, he haſtened by quick marches at the head of his guards, to Paris, where he effectually deſtroyed the conſpiracy, and put the principal contrivers to death.

During the winter ſeaſon, the courts of the duke regent, and the French king, wore very different aſpects. The former, which was kept at Paris, was graced with the preſence of the queen dowager of France, the duke and dutcheſs of Burgundy, the earl and counteſs of Saliſbury, and many other princes, all richly dreſſed, and rejoicing at the amazing ſucceſs of the preceding campaign. On the other hand, the court of Charles, which was held at Poictiers, had neither the dignity of appearance, nor even the neceſſaries of ſubſiſtence. This diſtreſs was increaſed by the great numbers of gentlemen whom Charles had ordered always to reſide at his court; for he ſtill kept up the appearance of a council, a parliament, the courts of revenue and juſtice, that always graced the reſidence of the French monarchs, when ſurrounded with opulence and glory. But while the affairs of the Engliſh were ſo proſperous, that a check ſeemed beyond the power of human courage, and while thoſe of Charles were ſo depreſſed, that their ſupport ſeemed beyond the reach of human policy, fortune threw an incident in the way, which gave ſome reſpite to the latter.

Some time ſince Jacqueline, dutcheſs of Brabant, had entered into a promiſe of marriage with the duke of Glouceſter, provided a diſpenſation could be obtained from the pope, for annulling her marriage with the duke of Brabant, who was ſtill alive. The intereſt of her family was ſo powerful at Rome, that Martin the firſt readily granted the divorce, but afterwards revoked it, on the application of the emperor Sigiſmond. Tired out with the tedious forms of law, where love alone was the queſtion, the lady conſented to marry the duke of Glouceſter, and the nuptials had been already celebrated in England with great ſolemnity, though the marriage was juſtly conſidered as a triumph over juſtice and decency. But the duke, deſirous of ſharing in the ſucceſs of his brother, carried over his bride, together with five thouſand men to Calais, about the latter end of October, in order to take poſſeſſion of her hereditary eſtates.

The duke of Burgundy was diſguſted at this precipitate conduct; he reſented the injury done to his nephew, the duke of Brabant; he dreaded the conſequences which would probably reſult from the Engliſh being eſtabliſhed on all ſides of him; it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport an ally, whom they had already injured, before they were ſettled in theſe countries. In conſequence of this determination, he encouraged the duke of Brabant to reſiſt them; he encouraged many of Jacqueline's ſubjects to adhere to that prince; he himſelf marched troops to his ſupport, and as the duke of Glouceſter ſtill perſevered in his purpoſe, a ſharp war was ſuddenly kindled in the Low Countries. The quarrel ſoon became perſonal, as well as political. The Engliſh prince wrote to the duke of Burgundy, complaining of the oppoſition made to his pretenſions; and though in general uſed amicable terms in his letter, he took notice of ſome falſhoods, into which he ſaid Philip had been betrayed during the courſe of theſe tranſactions. Philip highly reſented this unguarded expreſſion. The duke inſiſted on his retracting it, which being peremptorily refuſed, mutual challenges and defiances paſſed between them.

It was not difficult for the duke of Bedford to foreſee the bad effects which muſt reſult from ſo ill-timed and imprudent a quarrel. All the ſuccours he expected from England, and which, at this time, were abſolutely neceſſary, were intercepted by his brother, and employed in Holland and Hainault. Nor was even this the greateſt misfortune; the forces of the duke of Burgundy, which he alſo depended upon, were diverted by the ſame war. It was, at the ſame time, in the utmoſt danger of alienating for ever the confederate, whoſe friendſhip was of the utmoſt importance to his intereſt, and whom, the late king, with his dying breath, had enjoined him to gratify by every mark of regard and attachment.

He did not fail to enforce all theſe reaſons with the duke of Glouceſter; he endeavoured to mitigate the reſentment of the duke of Burgundy: he interpoſed all his authority to renew the friendſhip between

between theſe two princes; but all his endeavours were in vain; and he ſaw, with regret, that the impetuoſity of his brother's temper, was the principal obſtacle to an accommodation. For this reaſon, inſtead of improving the victory gained at Verneuil, he found himſelf obliged to paſs over into England, in order to moderate, by his counſels and authority, the meaſures purſued by the duke of Glouceſter.

But the duke of Bedford had other reaſons for paſſing over into England. Some differences had aroſe between the Engliſh miniſtry, which had proceeded to ſuch prodigious lengths, that the regent's preſence became neceſſary to compoſe them. The biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom the care of the king's education had been intruſted, was a perſon of great abilities and experience, but of an intriguing and dangerous character. He had formed a deſign of making himſelf the chief perſon in government, and in conſequence of this intention had frequent quarrels with his nephew the duke of Glouceſter; and gained frequent advantages over the vehement and impolitic temper of that prince. The regent foreſaw that his own authority would be inſufficient to bring about a reconciliation, and therefore had recourſe to the authority of parliament. This power they could not pretend to oppoſe, and accordingly promiſed, before that aſſembly, that they would bury all their quarrels in oblivion. There were now ſome hopes of reconciling the duke of Burgundy to the Engliſh intereſt. That prince had credit ſufficient at the court of Rome to procure a bull from the pope, by which not only Jaqueline's contract with the duke of Glouceſter was annulled; but it was alſo declared by the ſame inſtrument, that, even in caſe of the duke of Brabant's death, it ſhould not be lawful for her to marry the Engliſh. Humphry, duke of Glouceſter, deſpairing of ſucceſs, married another lady of inferior rank, who had ſome time lived with him as his miſtreſs. Soon after this bull was procured, the duke of Brabant died; and his widow, before ſhe could acquire poſſeſſion of his dominions, was obliged to declare the duke of Burgundy her heir, in caſe ſhe died without children, and, at the ſame time, promiſe never to marry any perſon, without his conſent.

A. D. 1425. But though a period was thus put to the diſturbances in the Netherlands; the conſequences were fatal to the Engliſh intereſt. The duke of Britany, entered into a treaty with Charles, and the duke of Burgundy ſeemed inclinable to follow his example. The earl of Richemont, brother to the earl of Britany, was made conſtable of France; and every thing ſeemed to promiſe a happy turn of affairs to the diſtreſſed monarch of France.

The duke of Bedford was in England when he received an account of theſe unfortunate events. He might juſtly have reproached his brother the duke of Glouceſter, as having by his precipitate conduct, occaſioned all theſe misfortunes. But he wiſely conſidered that this could only tend to weaken the common cauſe, by encouraging and fomenting party diviſions, which had already arrived at too great a height between that prince, and the biſhop of Wincheſter. He therefore applied himſelf to reconcile all animoſities in order to unite all parties in one common effort againſt the enemy. He laid before the council, the treacherous conduct of the court of Britany; and made them thoroughly ſenſible that there was no other method to prevent the duke of Burgundy from following the example, than by immediately declaring war, and taking ſo ſignal a revenge on the Bretons, as ſhould deter others from purſuing a ſimilar conduct. This advice was readily approved of, and it was determined to declare open war againſt the duke of Britany.

A. D. 1426. In the mean time the earl of Warwick, who had been left governor of France, during the abſence of the regent duke, received orders to march a body of troops towards the frontiers of Lower Normandy. This was accordingly done, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the earl took the field in perſon.

His firſt attempt was againſt Pontorſon, which he carried. Thence he marched to the town of St. James de Beauvron, and made that place the head quarters for his army. This was a wiſe precaution; for his detachments from that place extended their incurſions into Britany, and to the very gates of Rennes; laying the whole country waſte with fire and ſword; while they were always ſecure of a retreat at their head quarters.

Theſe inroads alarmed the conſtable, who, having by indefatigable application, aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men in Britany, put himſelf at their head, and marched to oppoſe the Engliſh. This obliged the earl of Warwick, whoſe whole force did not amount to ten thouſand men, to call in all his detachments; ſo that the conſtable laid ſiege to Pontorſon, retook it, and put all the Engliſh to the ſword.

Animated by this ſucceſs, the conſtable thought of nothing leſs than giving a mortal blow to the intereſts of England, by making himſelf maſter of Beauvron, then garriſoned with eight thouſand Engliſh troops. This deſign, however, was rendered abortive by the low reſentment, and conduct of his miniſters. For, when the conſtable came before the place, he perceived that the reduction of it muſt be a work of time, as famine alone could oblige the garriſon to ſurrender. He therefore very wiſely inveſted the town, without attempting to carry any part of it by aſſault. But this method of proceeding, though it muſt in the end have been ſucceſsful, had a fatal effect upon his affairs. He was almoſt deſtitute of money, ſo that his troops ſoon deſerted in great numbers for want of pay. Reduced to this neceſſity, he wrote to his brother's treaſurer, who thought proper to refuſe him any aſſiſtance; then to de Giac, firſt miniſter of the French king, who, through a mean ſpirit of revenge, neglected him. In this uneaſy ſituation the conſtable received advice that the Engliſh were aſſembling from all quarters, in order to attack his army. This determined him to change the plan of his conduct, and riſk a general aſſault. Accordingly he ſent out a detachment, with orders to take poſt at a paſs in the road to Auvranches, and prevent the Engliſh from paſſing that way to the relief of the place. This precaution being taken, the town was attacked on both ſides with great fury. On one ſide where Sir Nicholas Burdet commanded, there was a moraſs extending itſelf parallel to a narrow road, by which only the aſſault could be made. The Bretons, however, proceeded to the charge with great alacrity, and were as warmly received by the Engliſh. During the heat of the aſſault, the party detached towards Auvranches, hearing nothing of the enemy, and deſirous of ſharing with their countrymen

countrymen in the honour of the day, returned full ſpeed to be preſent at the attack. But on their firſt appearance on the top of an hill oppoſite the bulwark where Burdet commanded, the Engliſh, who firſt diſcovered them, gave a moſt dreadful ſhout, crying out Saliſbury and Suffolk, as if theſe two noblemen were coming to their relief. The French looking about, ſaw the troops at a diſtance marching furiouſly down the hill, and their fears repreſented them as Engliſh. A panic immediately ſeized the whole detachment; they retired precipitately from the attack, and a ſeaſonable ſally from the garriſon compleated their diſorder. In the mean time the conſtable was carrying on the aſſault on the other ſide of the town, where he met with an obſtinate reſiſtance; when being informed of the misfortune of his troops on the other ſide of the place, he flew to their aſſiſtance, but could not prevent the general rout of his forces. He did every thing in the power of a brave man; his horſe was killed under him, and he was thrown down by his own men in their flight before the Engliſh, who killed five or ſix hundred Bretons on the ſpot. In a word, the rout of the French troops was ſo complete, that the conſtable was obliged to leave all his baggage, ammunition and artillery in the hands of the enemy.

During theſe tranſactions, the regent was acting the part of a great and wiſe prince in England. The delicacy of his conduct between his brother and uncle, charmed both parties; while the regard he ſhewed for the conſtitution and peace of the kingdom, made the people perfectly ſecure in his virtues. And having ſucceeded in his attempts to reconcile thoſe jarring parties, he returned to France, where his preſence was now abſolutely neceſſary.

In the mean time the earl of Warwick had formed a deſign of beſieging Montargis, which was defended by Bouſan de la Faille, a brave officer. He accordingly inveſted the place, though he found his army was reduced to three thouſand men, after making the neceſſary detachments. The conſtable immediately received orders to throw a reinforcement into Montargis; but he could collect no more than ſixteen hundred men. Theſe he put under the command of the baſtard of Orleans, afterwards the famous count de Dunois.

This celebrated officer was not at this time above three and twenty years of age: but had ſerved with great reputation during eight campaigns. He was the ſon of that duke of Orleans, who was aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy, and had been educated for the church; but the good genius of France had ſo ordered it, that he exchanged an eccleſiaſtical for a military profeſſion. He poſſeſſed every quality neceſſary to form a fortunate and brave commander: his perſon was amiable, his manners inſinuating, and his judgment ſolid. The conſtable might therefore claim ſome merit in raiſing from obſcurity this able officer, who afterwards reſtored the French reputation. He had under him the conſtable of Scotland, with the flower of the French officers, all of them eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves in this dangerous and important enterprize. But the perſon of the greateſt uſe to him was a Breton officer, who had eſcaped from Montargis, and perfectly acquainted with the ſituation and diſpoſition of the Engliſh camp. By his means the beſieged knew how to act in concert with the body under the count de Dunois, which rendered the attempt ſucceſsful. The diviſions under the earl of Suffolk and his brother were ſeparated by a river from that under the earl of Warwick; and the count arriving within half a league of the Engliſh, before the latter knew any thing of his march, immediately formed two attacks, the one commanded by himſelf upon the earl of Suffolk's quarter, and the other commanded by la Hire, upon that of John de la Pole, the earl's brother. La Hire began his attack with ſo much fury, that the Engliſh were preſently driven, with great loſs, from their entrenchments, and Pole himſelf obliged to have recourſe to a boat by which he croſſed the ſtream, and by that means ſaved himſelf from being taken priſoner. But the count had a more difficult taſk. Sir Henry Baſſet commanded that day for the earl of Suffolk, and made a noble reſiſtance; but la Hire, having entirely diſſipated the Engliſh under de la Pole, had leiſure to form his men, and fall upon the flank of Baſſet's corps; ſo that the Engliſh, being preſſed on all ſides, ſoon gave way. At this inſtant the commandant of Montargis drew the ſluices of the river, which ſwelled the waters to ſuch a height, that the bridges of communication were overflowed, and the Engliſh found it extremely difficult to retire to the quarter of the earl of Warwick, whoſe forces were ſtill entire; for they had no other reſource than either to plunge headlong into the ſtream, or fly to a bridge below the town. Some preferred the former and ſwam to the oppoſite bank; while the latter in paſſing the bridge broke it down with their weight, and many of them periſhed. The earl of Warwick beheld this rout of his troops, without having it in his power to ſave them. All he could do was, to form his little body, and retire to a riſing ground, where if attacked he ſhould be able to repel the enemy. This was the firſt ſignal action which raiſed the fame of Dunois, and opened him the road to all thoſe prodigious honours he afterwards acquired.

A. D. 1428. This ſucceſs was, however, attended with no material conſequences: the regent, ſoon after his arrival, retrieved the credit of the Engliſh arms, by an important enterprize which he happily accompliſhed. He ſecretly brought together, in ſeparate detachments, a conſiderable army, on the borders of Britany; and fell ſo unexpectedly upon that province, that the duke, unable to make any reſiſtance, ſubmitted to all the terms required of him: he renounced the French alliance; he engaged to maintain the treaty of Troye; he acknowledged the duke of Bedford as regent of France; and promiſed to do homage for his dutchy to king Henry.

Soon after the duke had accompliſhed this treaty, the earl of Saliſbury arrived with a ſtrong reinforcement from England, and the earl of Warwick paſſed over to that kingdom in order to take upon himſelf the education of the young king. On receiving this reinforcement, the regent reſolved on an undertaking, which if ſucceſsful, promiſed fair to open the way for the conqueſt of France. This was the ſiege of Orleans, a ſtrong city ſituated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and thoſe poſſeſſed by Charles, and opened an eaſy entrance to either.

The care of the ſiege was committed to the earl of Saliſbury, who accordingly inveſted the city with an army of ſixteen thouſand men. But before this could be effected, the inhabitants had time

time to demoliſh the ſuburbs, the huts, hovels, and every thing elſe capable of giving either ſhelter or ſubſiſtence to the Engliſh. They alſo marched a conſiderable body of Scots into the place; added ſeveral new fortifications; and, in a word, omitted nothing in their power, that was neceſſary for making an obſtinate defence. The lord of Gaucourt was appointed governor; many officers of diſtinction threw themſelves into the place; the troops they conducted were inured to war, and even the inhabitants, diſciplined by the long continuance of hoſtilities, were well qualified, in their own defence, to ſecond the efforts of the moſt veteran ſoldiers.

The firſt attempt of the Engliſh was againſt a bulwark, which the beſieged had raiſed for covering the little caſtle of Tourelles, which defended the head of their bridge. The Engliſh artillery ſoon demoliſhed all the parapets of the bulwark, and made a breach ſufficiently large for ſtorming the fortification. The French, ſenſible of the importance of the place, defended it with amazing courage. Scalding water, flaming combuſtibles, and heavy ſtones were inceſſantly thrown on the troops who aſſaulted the breach. The very women, ſcorning to continue behind the walls, mounted the breach with the ſoldiers, and by their activity inſpired the ſoldiers with freſh courage. The bulwark was, however, carried after the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, and the gallant defenders retired into the caſtle.

Fortunately for the Engliſh, the river which ran at the foot of the caſtle, was ſo very low, that they were able to apply ſcaling ladders to the very foot of the walls. But the beſieged, apprehenſive of this, and determined to defend every inch of ground, had already begun, and almoſt completed, another bulwark, between the caſtle of Tourelles and the city. To this bulwark they retired, when they found the caſtle was no longer tenable. But they did not conſider that Tourelles was ſo near the city, that a battery there muſt greatly affect the place. At the ſame time the ſucceſs the Engliſh had already met with rendered them maſters of all the poſts on the river, from which the beſieged expected their chief ſupply from that ſide: for after the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of Tourelles, they erected four ſtrong towers, two above, and two below the bridge, upon the banks of the Loire, and from whence they battered the city.

But notwithſtanding this amazing ſucceſs, which Engliſhmen only could have affected, againſt ſo brave and obſtinate a defence, the city was as yet only inveſted on the ſide of Sologne; all acceſs to it on the ſide of the Beauſſe continuing ſtill open. The earl of Saliſbury, who did not expect ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance, ſaw he had not a ſufficient number of troops to reduce the city. Accordingly he wrote to the regent, acquainting him with the inſurmountable difficulties he muſt meet with, unleſs he ſent the reſt of the army to inveſt it on the ſide of the Beauſſe. He received a favourable anſwer with the promiſe of an immediate ſupply. But in the mean time the baſtard of Orleans, at the head of eight hundred brave volunteers, found means to enter the city, and ſoon made ſo many deſperate ſallies, that the earl of Saliſbury was obliged to repeat his inſtances for the march of the ſuccours. He adjuſted the whole plan of operations during the ſiege; a ſervice which no great genius will ever take upon truſt. He ſurveyed the ſituation of the city itſelf, with the grounds round it; he allotted to every particular brigade its proper ſtation; and after the moſt accurate ſurvey of the whole ſervice, he found that the Engliſh, with all the expected reinforcements, were not ſufficiently numerous to form a regular ſiege. He therefore planned a number of forts to be erected, having communications with each other; and by this expedient it was hoped that the city, if not reduced by aſſault, muſt ſubmit to famine.

While this brave general was employed in forming theſe diſpoſitions, and ſurveying the ground where the different regiments were to take their poſts, a cannon ball took away half of his face, together with his right eye. In this terrible condition he was carried to his tent, where he died a few days after. The death of this great man was an irreparable loſs to the Engliſh, it damped the alacrity of the ſoldiers in the progreſs of the ſiege.

The command of the enterprize now devolved upon the earl of Suffolk, but it was the twenty-firſt of September before the Engliſh and Burgundian troops arrived for inveſting the city on the ſide of the Beauſſe. The intermediate time was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes, which happened almoſt daily. The ſallies were generally conducted by the baſtard of Orleans, and as vigorouſly repulſed by the lord Talbot, or Sir John Faſtolf, who acted as lieutenant-general to the earl of Suffolk. The beſieged had for ſome time expected the arrival of the Engliſh troops, which now conſiſted of above twenty-four thouſand men, on the ſide of the Beauſſe, and burnt all the fine ſuburbs on that quarter, containing upwards of twenty churches, and the ſeats of their moſt eminent nobility. But notwithſtanding the great increaſe of their numbers, the Engliſh found they were ſtill too inconſiderable for totally inveſting the city. They were therefore obliged to follow the plan of that conſummate general, and erect forts, each containing a certain number of ſoldiers, at ſome diſtance, but having a communication with one another. Among theſe forts, there were three principal; one at the gate of St. Prive, to which they gave the name of Paris; another at a place called the Twelve Peers, and called it London. The third principal fort was called Rouen, and was erected on a ſpot called La Preſſoir. They next ſeized a ſmall iſland formed by the river, and threw over a bridge of communication between the two parts of the Engliſh camp.

The different poſts occupied by the troops in this diſpoſition, afforded the beſieged frequent opportunities of receiving proviſions and ſtores. Nor were they wanting on their part, in collecting every neceſſary for an obſtinate defence. Their artillery was well ſupplied, and directed by an able engineer, afterwards a mareſchal of France. This gentleman having great authority both with the burgers and the army, had ſo well reconciled them to one another, that they obſerved a perfect harmony in all their operations. In ſhort from the time the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the Beauſſe till Chriſtmas, nothing paſſed but perpetual ſkirmiſhes, without the beſiegers being able to make any advances. And during the holidays there was a ſuſpenſion of arms by mutual conſent.

A. D. 1429. Soon after the holidays were over,

Gaucourt, the governor, convinced that the beſieged would be able to make a long and ſucceſsful reſiſtance if proper care was taken to furniſh them with proviſions and ammunition. He therefore ventured to ſally out of the city in order to lay the ſtate of the city before Charles, who was then encamped at Chinon. He ſucceeded in his attempt, and Charles, who was very ſenſible of the neceſſity of following the commandant's advice, prepared large quantities of neceſſaries, and Gaucourt undertook by the aſſiſtance of a thouſand freſh troops, to carry the whole ſafely into the city. This detachment was commanded by one William Stuart a Scotch officer, and divided into ſeveral bodies, and all marched with great ſilence until they came within a certain diſtance of the Engliſh camp, where they waited till a ſally, which had been previouſly concerted, ſhould be made from the city. This enterprize was attended with all the ſucceſs that could be expected. The Engliſh quarters were attacked in ſeveral places at once, by the beſieged, while the convoy, perceiving a favourable opportunity, reached the city in ſafety, when the retreat for the beſieged was immediately ſounded.

But the prodigious number of people within the walls of the city occaſioned ſo great a conſumption, that Charles found the utmoſt difficulty to procure the neceſſary ſupplies. He therefore determined to do all in his power to diſtreſs at once the beſiegers, and ſupply the city at the expence of the enemy. He underſtood that the Engliſh troops were in great want of proviſions, and that Sir John Faſtolf had been detached to eſcort a large convoy then on the road to the beſiegers camp. It was about the beginning of February when he received this intelligence, when the count de Clermont had aſſembled a large quantity of proviſions and ammunition for the relief of Orleans. After ſome conſultation it was reſolved that the count ſhould abandon his firſt enterprize, and endeavour to ſurprize the detachment under Faſtolf, The count's troops being little better than militia, it was thought neceſſary to inform the baſtard of Orleans of this intention, and order him to join the count, with a detachment of the beſt troops in the city, at Jenville. Dunois had met with very little difficulty in executing this order, as the Engliſh did not think proper to leave their forts in order to oppoſe him. He reached Jenville with very little loſs, attended by ſome of the beſt officers of the garriſon, and his detachment, when joined with that under the count de Clermont, amounted to about five thouſand men; while that under Faſtolf amounted to no more than two thouſand five hundred.

It was the twelfth of February before the French knew with certainty the rout of the Engliſh, and on that day both parties came within ſight of each other at Rouvrai St. Denis. Faſtolf ſoon perceived that he was not able to fight an enemy in the open field, who were not only double his number, but well provided with artillery, of which he was entirely deſtitute. He, however, acted like a brave experienced general. He formed a kind of barricade with his carriages, behind which he drew up his men, who all appeared determined to fight the enemy. The French officers perceiving the enemy wholly deſtitute of cannon, reſolved to ply them warmly with their artillery, and after making a breach in their carriages, to enter ſword in hand, and attack the Engliſh during their diſorder.

This cannonade continued for ſome time with conſiderable effect againſt the Engliſh, and a ſmall breach was made in the barricade; but the diſpoſition of the troops which Faſtolf had made, was yet unbroken. Stuart thought the breach ſufficient, and accordingly led up the diviſion of his countrymen to attack it. The count de Dunois, either of the ſame opinion, or willing to ſupport theſe brave men, though againſt his better judgment, marched immediately to ſecond them, while the count de Clermont, with his own diviſion, remained on horſe-back, to favour the attempt, and to break in upon the Engliſh as ſoon as the breach was ſtormed.

But Faſtolf had taken his meaſures with admirable foreſight. He had lined the breach with his archers, who received the aſſailants with the moſt dreadful ſhower of arrows. This putting them into prodigious diſorder, he commanded his other battalions, who were armed with ſwords and battle-axes, to fall upon the enemy; this was done with ſo much bravery and execution, that they were driven back upon their body of horſe. But the latter, inſtead of ſupporting, abandoned their own troops, and the Engliſh, improving the advantage they had already gained, acquired a compleat victory. The loſs fell chiefly on the Scots, five hundred of whom were killed with their leaders; four hundred of the French together with ſome of their beſt officers, alſo fell on the field of battle.

Faſtolf ſoon after arrived ſafely with his whole convoy, and entered the Engliſh camp in a triumphant manner. Among other proviſions brought by this convoy, were a great number of barrels of herrings, the proper food for ſoldiers in theſe days, during the lent, then approaching; and from this circumſtance the late action was called the battle of herrings. The Engliſh who had frequent conferences from their towers with the beſieged, did not fail to paint the defeat in the moſt gloomy colours; ſo that the latter did not recover from their conſternation till the arrival of the counts Clermont and Dunois, who had been both wounded in the conflict.

In the mean time this important defeat had ſo great an effect on the court of Charles, that it was actually propoſed in the cabinet to abandon the Orleanois, Berry, and Torraine, and to retreat towards the extremities of the kingdom, in order to cover Auvergne, Languedoc, the Gonnois, and Dauphiny, with all the troops they could draw together. But there ſeemed one expedient ſtill remaining for ſaving Orleans, and it was thought neceſſary to attempt it, before the city was abandoned to the enemy.

The duke of Orleans, who was ſtill a priſoner in England, prevailed on the protector and the council to conſent, that all his eſtates ſhould be allowed to preſerve an nutrality during the war, and for the greater ſecurity, ſhould be ſequeſtered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. Purſuant to this agreement, that prince, who was much leſs attached to the Engliſh intereſt than formerly, repaired to Paris, and laid the propoſal before the duke of Bedford; who replied very coldly, that he was not in a humour to beat the buſhes, while others ran away with the game. This anſwer, ſo highly offended the duke of Burgundy, that he recalled all his troops from the ſiege of Orleans. This defection gave the court of Charles ſome glimmering of hope,

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Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

The Maid of Orleans receiving the Sword of

St. Catherine.

and was the ſole reaſon that prevailed in the council to ſuſpend the determination of the queſtion relating to the city of Orleans.

But notwithſtanding the loſs of the Burgundian forces, the place was every day more and more cloſely inveſted by the Engliſh: great ſcarcity began to be felt by the garriſon and inhabitants; while Charles, deſpairing of ſucceſs, gave up the city for loſt, and was even affected with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions with regard to the melancholy ſtate of his affairs. He ſaw that the country, in which he had hitherto ſubſiſted, tho' not without great difficulty, muſt ſoon be laid entirely open to the inroads of a powerful and victorious army; and therefore had once more recourſe to his former propoſal, that of retiring into the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, and defending the provinces ſtill under his government, to the laſt extremity. But he was fortunately deterred from carrying this deſign into execution, by the prevailing arguments of the ſofter ſex. Mary of Anjou his queen, a princeſs of great merit and prudence, vehemently oppoſed this meaſure, which ſhe eaſily foreſaw muſt diſcourage all his partizans, and ſerve as a general ſignal for deſerting a prince, who himſelf deſpaired of ſucceſs. But the remonſtrances of his miſtreſs the fair Agnes Sorel, had ſtill more weight with this unfortunate prince, than even thoſe of his conſort. This lady, who lived in entire amity with the queen, ſeconded all her arguments, and even threatened, that if he thus puſillanimouſly threw away the ſcepter of France, ſhe would ſeek at the Engliſh court a fortune more correſpondent to her wiſhes. Love was able to rouſe in the breaſt of Charles that courage which ambition wanted power to excite: he reſolved to diſpute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy; and rather to periſh with honour ſurrounded by his friends, than ſubmit ingloriouſly to his wayward fortune. But when relief ſeemed at the greateſt diſtance, and the reſtoration of his affairs almoſt impoſſible, aſſiſtance was unexpectedly brought him by a woman of a very different character, and who laid the foundation of one of the moſt memorable revolutions mentioned in hiſtory.

Joan d'Arc, the heroine whoſe exploits we are going to recite, was the daughter of James d'Arc, a peaſant in the village of Dompre, or Damremy, near the borders of Lorrain. In her younger years ſhe aſſiſted in attending her father's little farm; but her diſpoſitions even then appeared of ſuch a military turn, that the old man was under perpetual apprehenſions leſt Joan ſhould follow the camp. When Joan arrived at the age of eighteen, ſhe became no deſpicable figure. Her mien was graceful, her ſhape ſtrait and comely, and her agility and vigour very uncommon in her ſex. Soon after ſhe eloped from her father, and hired herſelf to a female innkeeper, who let out horſes, at Neufchaſtel in Lorrain. Here ſhe followed, in the quality of a ſervant, the buſineſs ſhe thought moſt ſuitable to her diſpoſition, as it gave her an opportunity of taking journies, riding the horſes to water, and knowing how to manage them. In this ſtation ſhe continued for five years, and then returned to her father, where ſhe lived about four years. The old man being fond of his daughter, did not perhaps chuſe to hazard a ſecond elopement, and therefore during that time, indulged her in a more quiet life than ſhe had hitherto known. As Joan was remarkable both for wit and genius, this new life of inactivity, brought her to indulge reflection; and though diſtant from the ſcenes of the miſery of her country, ſhe heard of its diſtreſs, and was penetrated with its calamities. She figured Charles in her own mind as the moſt deſerving prince ever formed by the hand of nature; his followers as ſo many heroes, undeſervedly miſerable for preſerving their loyalty. She thought there was no toil too great for her to endure, no danger too great for her to undertake, to ſerve the men ſo highly revered; and ſhe had doubtleſs already within the walls of a cottage, triumphed over the Engliſh battalions, and humbled the pride of the ambitious regent.

Filled with ſentiments like theſe, a deſire of undertaking the greateſt difficulties, and a ſpirit to ſupport the greateſt dangers, a great mind, deſtitute of the opportunity of putting its deſigns into execution, naturally labours on the ſame ſubject, till it at laſt believes to be real, what was only the object of its own imagination. This was the caſe of Joan; her impatience for action ſo inflamed her mind that ſhe miſtook the impulſes of her paſſion for heavenly inſpirations. She fancied ſhe ſaw viſions, and heard voices, exhorting her to eſtabliſh her favourite prince on the throne of his anceſtors, and repel the foreign invaders of her country. Thinking herſelf therefore deſtined by heaven to perform this ſervice, ſhe abandoned that baſhfulneſs and timidity which would otherwiſe have naturally adhered to her ſex, her years, and her mean ſtation. She repaired to Vaucouleurs, procured admiſſion to Baudricourt the governor, informed him of her inſpirations, her viſions, and her intentions; and conjured him not to neglect the voice of heaven, who ſpoke by her mouth, but to ſecond thoſe celeſtial revelations which irreſiſtably impelled her to undertake this glorious work. Baudricourt, who conſidered her as a mere viſioniſt, treated her application at firſt with ſome neglect, but on her frequent returns to him, and importunate ſollicitations, he began to remark ſomething extraordinary in the maid, and was inclined at all hazards, to try ſo eaſy an experiment. It is uncertain, whether this general had diſcernment ſufficient to perceive that great uſe might be made with the vulgar, of ſo uncommon an engine; or whether, what is ſtill more likely in that credulous age, he became himſelf a convert to this enthuſiaſt. But however this be, he adopted at laſt the ſcheme of Joan, and gave her a few attendants, who conducted her to the French court, then reſiding at Chinon.

Every hiſtorian ſhould endeavour to diſtinguiſh between the miraculous and the marvelous, to reject the former in all tranſactions merely human, to ſcruple the latter, and when obliged by the concurrent teſtimony of all cotemporary writers, as in the preſent caſe, to admit of ſomething extraordinary; but at the ſame time to receive as little of it as is conſiſtent with the known facts and circumſtances. It is pretended by ſome viſionary writers of theſe times, though ſhe had never ſeen his face before, that ſhe diſcovered the king, notwithſtanding he purpoſely kept himſelf in the croud of courtiers, and had even laid aſide every thing in his dreſs and apparel, that might diſtinguiſh him. It is added, that ſhe offered

ed that prince, in the name of the ſupreme creator, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed. And on his expreſſing ſome doubts of her miſſion, revealed to him before ſome ſworn confidents, a ſecret unknown to all the world except himſelf, and which it was impoſſible for her to know but by a heavenly inſpiration; demanding, at the ſame time, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword carefully kept in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, though ſhe had never ſeen, ſhe deſcribed with all its marks, and by mentioning the place in which it had long laid neglected and forgotten. It is very certain that all theſe miraculous ſtories were ſpread abroad in order to catch the attention of the vulgar. The more the king and his miniſters were determined to make uſe of this religious viſionary, the more ſcruples they pretended to raiſe againſt her miſſion. An aſſembly of grave doctors and divines cautiouſly examined Joan's pretenſions, and pronounced them undoubted and ſupernatural. She was therefore ſent to the parliament, then aſſembled at Poictiers, where ſhe was cloſely interrogated. The preſident and counſellors who came thither, fully perſuaded of her impoſture, returned convinced of her inſpiration. A ray of hope now began to break through that cloud of deſpair, which had for ſome time ſurrounded the court of Charles. Heaven, they ſaid, had now declared in favour of France, and had laid bare its almighty arm to take vengeance on her invaders. Few were able to diſtinguiſh between the impulſe of inclination, and the force of conviction: and ſtill fewer willing to undergo the trouble of making a ſcrutiny ſo diſagreeable to their wiſhes.

In the mean time the ſiege of Orleans was puſhed with the utmoſt vigour, and the beſieged ſtill continued to make a noble reſiſtance; but the want of proviſions increaſing every day, it became abſolutely neceſſary to ſend the garriſon a ſupply, and Charles determined that this ſervice ſhould be Joan's firſt eſſay in war, and a proof of the truth or falſity of her miſſion. Accordingly he ordered her to be dreſſed in a complete ſuit of armour, and conducted into the council. She was well acquainted with the ſituation of the Engliſh camp, and of all the paſſes leading to the city of Orleans, ſo that ſhe ſpoke with great perſpicuity on the methods proper to be obſerved for introducing the convoy. Having ſatisfied the council, ſhe was carried to Blois, the place intended for the general rendezvous of the troops deſigned for the convoy. She immediately, on her arrival, ordered a white ſtandard, in the center of which was embroidered a picture of the Divine Being, ſurrounded by fleur-de-lis, to be conſecrated, and diſplayed upon the ramparts.

In the mean time the Engliſh officers looked upon Charles's affairs as truly deſperate, ſince he was obliged to have recourſe to a viſioniſt for relief. But the expedient had already, in ſome meaſure, anſwered that prince's intentions: inſtead of a convoy, an army of twelve thouſand men aſſembled at Blois, and Joan marched immediately at the head of theſe forces, for the relief of Orleans. Her firſt deſign was to enter the city on the ſide of the Beauſſe, but met with a meſſenger from Dunois, who commanded in Orleans during the abſence of the governor, adviſing the attempt to be made on the Salogne ſide; the Engliſh having ſtrongly fortified that of the Beauſſe; adding, that he had already made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a ſally on the Engliſh, on the ſide of the latter.

In the mean time Florentine d'Illiers had been detached by Joan's particular directions, at the head of four hundred horſe. This gallant officer paſſed the river in boats, and threw himſelf with his detachment into the city. The garriſon and inhabitants were greatly rejoiced at the diſpoſitions made for their relief, and expreſſed the higheſt confidence in the ſupernatural abilities of the intrepid leader.

As ſoon as the convoy reached the bank of the river below the firſt intrenchment of the Engliſh, they found boats ready to receive the ammunition and proviſions. And while theſe were embarking Joan drew up her troops with ſuch a ſhew of reſolution, that the Engliſh did not think it prudent to attack her. They even abandoned one of their towers called St. John le Blanc; which ſhe immediately took poſſeſſion of, and the convoy got ſafe into Orleans.

This ſucceſs fully anſwered all the ideas the French had conceived of their heroine's miſſion and virtues. The next morning the count de Dunois himſelf paſſed over to the tower of St. John, where Joan ſtill continued. He was attended by ſome of the principal inhabitants, and all joined to invite her to croſs the river, and take upon herſelf the defence of the city. Joan received their offers with as much ſtate and dignity as if ſhe had been always uſed to command the moſt powerful armies. She, however, yielded to their intreaties; though her firſt reſolution was to have attacked the Engliſh quarters, and brought on a general engagement. When ſhe entered Orleans the people gazed at her as a divinity, and from that moment conſidered themſelves invincible. She lodged in the houſe of one Bouchier, the treaſurer to the duke of Orleans, whoſe wife and daughter ſhe kept conſtantly about her perſon, to prevent any ſuſpicion of her chaſtity.

The garriſon and citizens of Orleans thinking they had an army in the perſon of their female commander, ſuffered the troops who had guarded the convoy to return to Blois, under the conduct of St. Severe, who engaged in two or three days to introduce another convoy on the ſide of Beauſſe, by which they would be free from the inconveniency of embarking the proviſion in boats. But as they expected a very ſtrong oppoſition on this quarter, the detachment that guarded the convoy was ſtrengthened by forces from all the neighbouring garriſons belonging to Charles.

When the French firſt preſented themſelves before the Engliſh towers, which happened early in the morning, Joan, aſſiſted by the count de Dunois, made ſo vigorous a ſally from the city, that the Engliſh turned their whole force to oppoſe them, and ſuffered the convoy to paſs unmoleſted into Orleans.

This ſucceſs aſtoniſhed the Engliſh; they appeared like men diſconcerted and infatuated; the common ſoldiers began to believe all the ſtories propagated by the French, concerning the ſupernatural power of Joan; while their officers were ſtruck with the maſterly manner in which every thing was diſpoſed and executed on the ſide of the beſieged. The latter had now even the boldneſs to think of inveſting the forts of the beſiegers. Accordingly, a body

body of volunteers more hardy than wiſe, agreed to ſally out of the city, the ſame day the convoy entered, and attack the tower of St. Loup, on the ſide of the Beauſſe. Joan, fatigued with the ſervice of the morning, was retired to reſt; but when ſhe awaked ſhe received the diſagreeable news, that the volunteers had been repulſed, and were then making a precipitate retreat back into the city. Alarmed at this defeat, ſhe inſtantly ſallied out to ſtop their ſhameful flight, while the count de Dunois poſted himſelf at the head of another party, to cut off all communication between the fort that had been attacked, and the lord Talbot's quarters. Joan no ſooner appeared, than the fugitives recovered their ſtrength, their ſpirits and their courage. The fortune of the day was changed; the Engliſh were driven back to their tower, which Joan, with her party, entered almoſt at the ſame time. Scarce a man of them eſcaped from being put to the ſword, and the tower was immediately razed to the foundation, while the lord Talbot was obliged to remain an idle ſpectator.

This amazing ſucceſs rouzed Joan's enthuſiaſtic partizans to the higheſt point of fury. Nothing was now conſidered as impoſſible. She even urged the generals to attack the main body of the Engliſh in their entrenchments: but Dunois, unwilling to hazard the fate of France by too great temerity, and ſenſible that the leaſt reverſe of fortune would be ſufficient to diſpel all the miſts of enthuſiaſm, and reſtore every thing to its former condition, checked her vehemence, and propoſed an attempt to expel the enemy from their forts on the other ſide of the river; and open a communication with the country, before ſhe attempted the more dangerous enterprize. It was with ſome difficulty that Joan could be brought to agree with this diſpoſition; and the next day Sir William Gladdeſdale, who commanded an important poſt of the beſiegers, drew all his men into the tower of St. Auguſtine, ſtrengthened the garriſon which had been left in the tower of Tourelles, and the bulwark erected at the head of the bridge. By this means the beſieged had a free communication with the river, and great part of the garriſon immediately paſſed over in boats to the other ſide, in order to attack the bulwark erected upon the Portereau.

Joan, who commanded the attack in perſon, advanced with her conſecrated ſtandard before her at the head of her men. But the Engliſh being ſupplied with freſh troops from the next tower, made ſo brave a defence, that Joan ſoon found herſelf abandoned by her ſoldiers, and almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy. Brave as ſhe was, ſhe had no other reſource than that of a retreat; but it was only to re-animate her troops, whom ſhe inſtantly rallied, and led back with ſo much fury to the aſſault, that the bulwark was carried by ſtorm, and all the Engliſh that defended it put to the ſword. On this occaſion Joan ſhewed at once her prudence and her bravery. The place ſhe had juſt taken was filled with proviſions, and the baggage of the Engliſh officers. She was afraid leſt her ſoldiers by employing themſelves in ſecuring the booty ſhould give the enemy an opportunity of retaking the bulwark: ſhe therefore ordered the whole to be ſet on fire, and commanded all her men to take their ſeveral poſts, as if ſhe expected every moment to be attacked by the Engliſh. She had herſelf been wounded in the foot, and was therefore obliged to return that night to Orleans.

She, however, continued no longer in the city than was abſolutely neceſſary. She roſe early in the morning and croſſed the river to her troops. On her arrival ſhe found that the Engliſh had not only declined all attempts to regain what they had loſt, but had alſo abandoned ſeveral other conſiderable poſts, and drawn all their troops on that ſide of the city within the Tourelles, and the bulwark that defended it. Joan, after reconnoitring the works, propoſed immediately to attack both places, but was oppoſed by the joint voice of all the French generals. They remembered at how dear a rate the Engliſh had purchaſed theſe works: they repreſented that the Engliſh could never have carried theſe fortreſſes, had not their attempts been favoured by the lowneſs of the river when they made the attack: that there were but two ways of approaching it, one by the bridge, the arches of which were broken down; the other by the river, which was now too high to be forded. Joan, however, ſlighted all theſe reaſons and remonſtrances with an air of authority, and the ſoldiers, who thought themſelves invincible under her ſtandard, calling aloud to be led on by their brave deliverer, the council was obliged to ſubmit, and it was accordingly agreed to make the attack immediately.

On a nearer and more accurate ſurvey, Joan thought the attempt both difficult and dangerous, though far from being impracticable, and ordered the cannon to be placed on that part of the bridge which had not been broken down. Some of her archers were ſo deſirous of beginning the attack that they ſwam acroſs the river, and climbed to the top of the ruined arch, in order to diſcharge their arrows with greater effect. Theſe precautions being taken, Joan ordered a violent cannonade to be made on both ſides of the river, under which ſhe attacked the bulwark at the head of her troops. The Engliſh made a noble defence. Joan was wounded in the neck with an arrow at the beginning of the action; retreated for a moment behind the aſſailants; pulled out the arrow with her own hands, and returned in a few moments to the attack. The Engliſh ſtill made a gallant defence, and the count de Dunois propoſed to give over the aſſault. But Joan was determined to carry the place; ſhe flew again to the aſſault, mounted the walls of the bulwark ſword in hand, and planted her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy.

The walls of Tourelles were by this time totally ruined by the artillery on the bridge, ſo that the place was immediately ſtormed, and the greater part of the garriſon put to the ſword. The Engliſh had now loſt above ſix thouſand men in theſe different actions; and what was ſtill of more importance to the enemy, their wonted courage and confidence had forſook them, and given place to aſtoniſhment and deſpair.

Joan returned triumphant over the bridge, and was again received as the guardian angel of the city. She had now convinced the moſt obdurate incredulity of her divine miſſion: perſons felt themſelves animated as by a ſuperior energy, and thought nothing impoſſible to that divine hand which ſo viſibly conducted all their undertakings. It was

in vain even for the Engliſh generals to oppoſe with their ſoldiers the prevailing opinion of ſupernatural influence: they themſelves were probably infected with the ſame ſuperſtitious ſentiments. The utmoſt they dared to advance was, that Joan was not an inſtrument of God, but an implement of the devil. The Engliſh, however, having felt by ſad experience, that the devil had ſometimes power ſufficient to prevail, they derived very little conſolation from this opinion, however well founded.

Suffolk ſaw the danger that muſt attend his army, if he ſuffered his intimidated troops to remain any longer before Orleans, in preſence of ſuch a courageous and victorious enemy, and therefore he raiſed the ſiege, and retreated with all the precaution neceſſary in ſo critical a conjuncture. In the mean time the French, who wiſely determined to puſh their advantages, without giving the Engliſh time to recover from their conſternation; a body of ſix thouſand men were detached to attack Jergeau, whither the earl of Suffolk had retired with a part of his army. But the ſpiritleſs condition of his ſoldiers, rendered all attempts to defend it vain and uſeleſs. Joan, who ſerved as a volunteer in this detachment, diſplayed her uſual intrepidity. She deſcended into the ditch in leading the attack, and there received a blow with a ſtone upon the head, by which ſhe was felled to the ground. But ſhe ſoon recovered herſelf, and at laſt rendered the attempt effectual. Suffolk was obliged to yield himſelf a priſoner to one Renaud, a Frenchman; but before he ſubmitted he aſked his adverſay whether he was a gentleman. On receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, he demanded whether he was a knight. Renaud replied, he had not yet obtained that honour. "Then I make you one," replied Suffolk, and immediately gave him the blow with his ſword and ſurrendered himſelf his priſoner. John Pole, the earl's brother was alſo taken priſoner, together with five hundred of the garriſon.

The lord Talbot now ſucceeded to the command of the army. He retired on raiſing the ſiege of Orleans to Meun, which he fortified, ſeized the town of Laval, and threw a reinforcement into Beaugenci. The French, who now conſidered the over-taking of the Engliſh equivalent to a victory, immediately determined to fall down the Loire in boats, and attack thoſe places, particularly Meun and Beaugenci. This reſolution was no ſooner taken, than every loyal Frenchman ſeemed to be in arms; even the conſtable of France, who had long continued at Parthenay, came to the camp, attended with a great train of noblemen, and twelve hundred ſoldiers, in expreſs diſobedience to the orders of Charles, who had diſmiſſed him from his ſervice. The maid of Orleans was for arreſting him as a traitor; but the other officers ſoon made her ſenſible that the preſent conjuncture was improper for taking any ſtep of that nature; they even engaged to procure Charles's conſent that the conſtable ſhould ſerve. Orleans was appointed for the general rendezvous, and the conſtable, who ſtill retained great authority in the army, promiſed Joan, that he would merit his maſter's forgiveneſs by his future conduct.

Every thing being now ready for the intended expedition, the army fell down the Loire, and after taking Meun by aſſault, they inveſted the important town of Beaugenci. The Engliſh, who had foreſeen this, were extremely ſollicitous to defend the place, and had therefore ſtrengthened it with the garriſon of Forté Hubert. But the ſiege was no ſooner formed, than they abandoned the town, and prepared to defend the caſtle, together with the bridge. The French ſoon aſſaulted both with great fury, and the bailiff Devereux, who commanded in the caſtle, hung out a flag of truce, and demanded a capitulation. The French readily agreed to the offer, having learned that the lords Talbot and Scales, with Sir John Faſtolf, had taken the field, with a view of raiſing the ſiege of Beaugenci; but finding that to be impracticable, they were marched to ſurprize the French troops left at Meun. The capitulation of Beaugenci was therefore no ſooner ſigned, than the French troops marched back towards Meun, the bridge of which the Engliſh had already attempted to take, but being repulſed, were again returning to the aſſault, when the van of the French appeared in ſight. Upon this the Engliſh drew off towards Jenville, where they joined a body of five or ſix thouſand of their countrymen, ſent by the duke of Bedford to ſupport them againſt the enemy. The French, deſirous of improving the panic of the Engliſh, ſent out a detachment to obſerve their motions, and to harraſs them in their retreat, while the main body of the army followed by forced marches, and at laſt overtook them at the village of Patay.

The French army greatly exceeded that of the Engliſh in number; but this was a conſideration of ſo very little moment that it had never before affected the ſucceſs of the latter. On this occaſion however, their native courage yielded to their fears. The prepoſſeſſion of the maid's infernal alliance, now damped their ſpirits, unbraced their nerves, and gave wings to their terror. Even the brave Sir John Faſtolf himſelf was affected with the epidemical panic; for being placed in the firſt diviſion, he fled as ſoon as attacked; and the order of the garter was afterwards taken from him for this inſtance of cowardice. The flight of Sir John, left the lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, together with Sir Thomas Rampſton, to ſuſtain the whole fury of the French attack. Theſe indeed made a noble defence, becauſe they were above the weakneſſes of their countrymen; but all their efforts could only ſuſpend for a few minutes, the total rout of their countrymen, which was ſoon completed with great ſlaughter. Near two thouſand of the Engliſh were killed upon the ſpot; and among the priſoners were the lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, with all the general officers who behaved like Engliſhmen. The French immediately after the battle, made themſelves maſters of the ſtrong fortreſs of Jenville, where the Engliſh magazines both of proviſions and ammunition were depoſited.

The loſs of the battle of Patay ſtruck the Engliſh with ſuch conſternation that they abandoned all the ſtrong places and paſſes they poſſeſſed near Orleans, and retired towards Paris; and Charles took the field in perſon, after ordering a general rendezvous of his troops at Giac.

The maid had now performed one part of her promiſe to Charles; the ſiege of Orleans was raiſed; but the other, that of his being crowned at Rheims, was not yet accompliſhed. She appeared very uneaſy at this, and ſtrenuouſly requeſted, that he would immediately ſet out on that enter-

prize.

prize. A few months before, a propoſal of this kind would have appeared the height of madneſs. The city where the ceremony was to be performed, lay in a very diſtant quarter of the kingdom, and then in the hands of a powerful, and, till very lately, a victorious enemy. Beſides, the roads leading to Rheims were occupied by the Engliſh troops, ſo that no imagination, not filled with the extravagant notions of ſupernatural aſſiſtance, could think the attempt could be executed in the preſent conjuncture. But it was the intereſt of Charles to maintain the belief, ſo happily propagated, of ſomething extraordinary and divine in thoſe events, and to avail himſelf of the preſent conſternation of the Engliſh. He therefore reſolved to follow the dictates of this enthuſiaſt, and to lead his army on this romantic adventure. He accordingly ſet out at the head of twelve thouſand of his beſt troops towards Auxerre, in his way to Rheims. He proceeded to Troye, where there was a garriſon of ſix hundred Engliſh and Burgundian ſoldiers. The place was ſtrongly fortified, the garriſon reſolute, and Charles's army but ill furniſhed with proviſions, and ſtill worſe with artillery. Theſe circumſtances had ſuch weight in the council of war, that the greater part were for abandoning the enterprize. They repreſented that the diſtance to Rheims was yet thirty leagues, through a country in poſſeſſion of the enemy; that Giac was the only place from whence they could draw any ſupport, and that it would be plunging into inevitable deſtruction to purſue their march any farther. But the maid with invincible ſpirit maintained the contrary, requeſting they would leave the whole management to her, adding, that if ſhe did not reduce Troye in three or four days ſhe would very readily abandon the undertaking. This being agreed to, detachments were ſent out to all the neighbouring places to procure proviſions for the army. This neceſſary precaution being taken, Joan flew from corps to corps, to animate the troops; and at the ſame time ordered a large quantity of faſcines to be immediately procured for filling up the ditches. The ſoldiers, animated by her preſence, flew to the charge; filled up the ditches, and mounted the walls, under the diſcharge of a few field pieces. The garriſon and inhabitants were amazed at this alacrity; ſome conſidered the maid as divinely commiſſioned; others as aided by infernal ſpirits; both equally contributing to increaſe the firſt panic which had ſeized them when the French firſt mounted the walls. Reduced to this extremity, the governor demanded a capitulation, which was readily granted on his own terms. The inhabitants were pardoned for the defection from their lawful prince, and they willingly returned to their obedience.

This deciſive advantage removed every difficulty that attended the march of the French army. Chalons, the next place of importance, made no reſiſtance; and the city of Rheims ſent him a deputation, with the keys of the town, before the French approached the walls: ſo that Charles ſcarcely perceived, as he paſſed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country.

Soon after his arrival in this city the ceremony of his coronation was performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon had brought to king Clovis from heaven, on the firſt eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy. The maid of Orleans ſtood by the king's ſide dreſſed in complete armour, and diſplaying her ſacred banner which had ſo often confounded and diſſipated her fierceſt enemies: while the people ſhouted with unfeigned joy on beholding ſuch a complication of wonders. As ſoon as the ceremony was completed, the maid threw herſelf at the king's feet, embraced his knees, and, with a flood of tears, extorted by tenderneſs and pleaſure, congratulated him on the ſingular and wonderful event, which ſhe had foretold. This ceremony, tho' not eſſential to the rights of royalty, had a prodigious effect on the common people, that they joined his ſtandard in crouds: while Loon, Soiſſons, Chateau, Thierri, Provins, and ſeveral other towns and fortreſſes in that neighbourhood, opened their gates, and received him as their king.

In the mean time the duke of Bedford loſt neither time nor ſpirit in facing this ſtorm. He had received a conſiderable reinforcement from the duke of Burgundy, under the baſtard of St. Paul. He exacted from the Pariſians a new oath of allegiance to the Engliſh government; he revived in their minds all their former indignation to Charles's perſon, for the murder of the duke of Burgundy: and after receiving a freſh reinforcement of Engliſh troops, together with his forces from Normandy and Picardy, he found himſelf in a condition of leaving a ſufficient garriſon in Paris, and marching againſt the enemy at the head of twelve thouſand men.

Charles was then at Provins, and after leaving garriſons in the ſeveral places that had ſubmitted to him, he marched at the head of his army to obſerve the motions of the duke of Bedford; who had found means, at this dangerous criſis, to form an alliance with the duke of Burgundy, who had for ſome time been wavering in his fidelity.

About the ſame time the biſhop of Winchеſter, who had been lately created a cardinal, landed at Calais, with a body of five thouſand men. This army he was conducting into Bohemia on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites; but was perſuaded to lend theſe troops to his nephew, the regent, during the preſent troubles in France. This ſeaſonable ſupply enabled the regent to keep the field againſt the king of France, who was making great advances in the reduction of the kingdom.

The duke of Bedford took poſſeſſion of a very advantageous poſt between Melun and Montereau, having the river in his front. Charles advanced to Mothnangi, where he held a council of war to determine whether it would be prudent for him to venture a general engagement with the enemy. The maid of Orleans joined with moſt of the general officers for attacking the Engliſh; but the king himſelf, with all the nobility who ſerved at their own expence, were for ſecuring the conqueſts they had already made upon the Loire. The two armies however, faced each other for ſome days, and a battle was every moment expected by the Engliſh. The country being plain and open, Charles had greatly the advantage of the duke on account of his ſuperiority in horſe; but he knew the genius of the Engliſh too well to think of attacking them. He therefore prudently declined a battle, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of Brai, in order to ſecure his retreat over the Seine. He, however, found himſelf miſtaken; the Engliſh having thrown a ſtrong reinforcement into the place.

Nothing can impreſs us with an higher idea of the duke of Bedford's capacity, than his conduct in

in this critical conjuncture of affairs. He well knew it was neceſſary for him to reſtore the courage and confidence of his troops, before he could hope to gain the leaſt advantage over the enemy. He therefore boldly advanced, and attended Charles in all his motions, covered his own towns and garriſons, and kept himſelf in a proper poſture for reaping every advantage poſſible, from any imprudent or falſe ſtep of the enemy; at the ſame time he took care to chooſe his poſts with ſo much caution, as rendered it impoſſible for Charles to attack him, without ruſhing on inevitable deſtruction. In this manner he watched the motions of the French army, which conſiſted chiefly of volunteers ſerving at their own expence, till the winter approached, when they retired from the field, and returned to the ordinary places of reſidence.

A. D. 1430. During the interval of inaction in the field, the duke of Bedford did every thing in his power to retrieve the affairs of the government in France. In order to this he determined to bring over the young king of England, in order to his being crowned and acknowledged king of France at Paris. This was accordingly performed, with all the magnificence poſſible in the preſent circumſtances. All the vaſſals of the crown, who reſided within the limits of the provinces poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, took once more the oath of allegiance, and did him homage.

In the mean time the war was carried on with various ſucceſs. Many places were taken, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the detachments of the two armies, but too minute to be recited in a general hiſtory. About this time the maid of Orleans declared to the count de Dunois, that having relieved Orleans, and ſeen the coronation of Charles at Rheims, her wiſhes were ſatisfied, and was now deſirous of returning to her former domeſtic tranquillity, and ſpending the remainder of her days with her aged father, in employments more proper for her ſex and condition. But the count, ſenſible of the great advantages that might yet be reaped from her preſence in the army, exhorted her ſtill to perſevere, and not abandon the cauſe ſhe had undertaken, till the Engliſh were driven entirely out of the kingdom.

Theſe expoſtulations had the deſired effect. The maid of Orleans agreed to continue in the army; and immediately threw herſelf into the town of Compeigne, then inveſted by the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. At her appearance the garriſon thought themſelves invincible, and determined to make a deſperate ſally on the enemy, in order to open a communication with the adjacent country. Accordingly Joan put herſelf at the head of five or ſix hundred men, and made ſo furious a ſally on the quarters of Luxemburg, the Burgundian general, that ſhe drove him from his poſt. But purſuing her advantage too far, a large party of the enemy advanced, and cut off her retreat. Reduced to this extremity, ſhe did every thing in her power to favour the eſcape of her men, many of whom retired back to the city. Had the officers of the garriſon made a briſk ſally, this imprudent ſtep might perhaps have been rectified. But the French commanders, finding every advantage they gained over the enemy, aſcribed wholly to her, remained within the walls, and ſuffered her to be taken priſoner, by Lionel de Vendoſme, a Burgundian officer.

This acquiſition was conſidered by the Engliſh as a deciſive advantage. Te Deum was ſung publicly at Paris. The duke of Bedford was perſuaded, that by the captivity of this extraordinary perſon, who had blaſted all his hopes, and laid his conqueſts in the duſt, he ſhould again recover his former aſcendence over France. He therefore purchaſed the priſoner from Lionel, in order to carry on a proſecution againſt her. In the mean time the duke of Burgundy being obliged to repel an invaſion in Brabant, left the ſiege of Compeigne, with the greater part of his forces, and the Engliſh not being ſufficiently numerous to inveſt the place, were forced to raiſe the ſiege with conſiderable loſs.

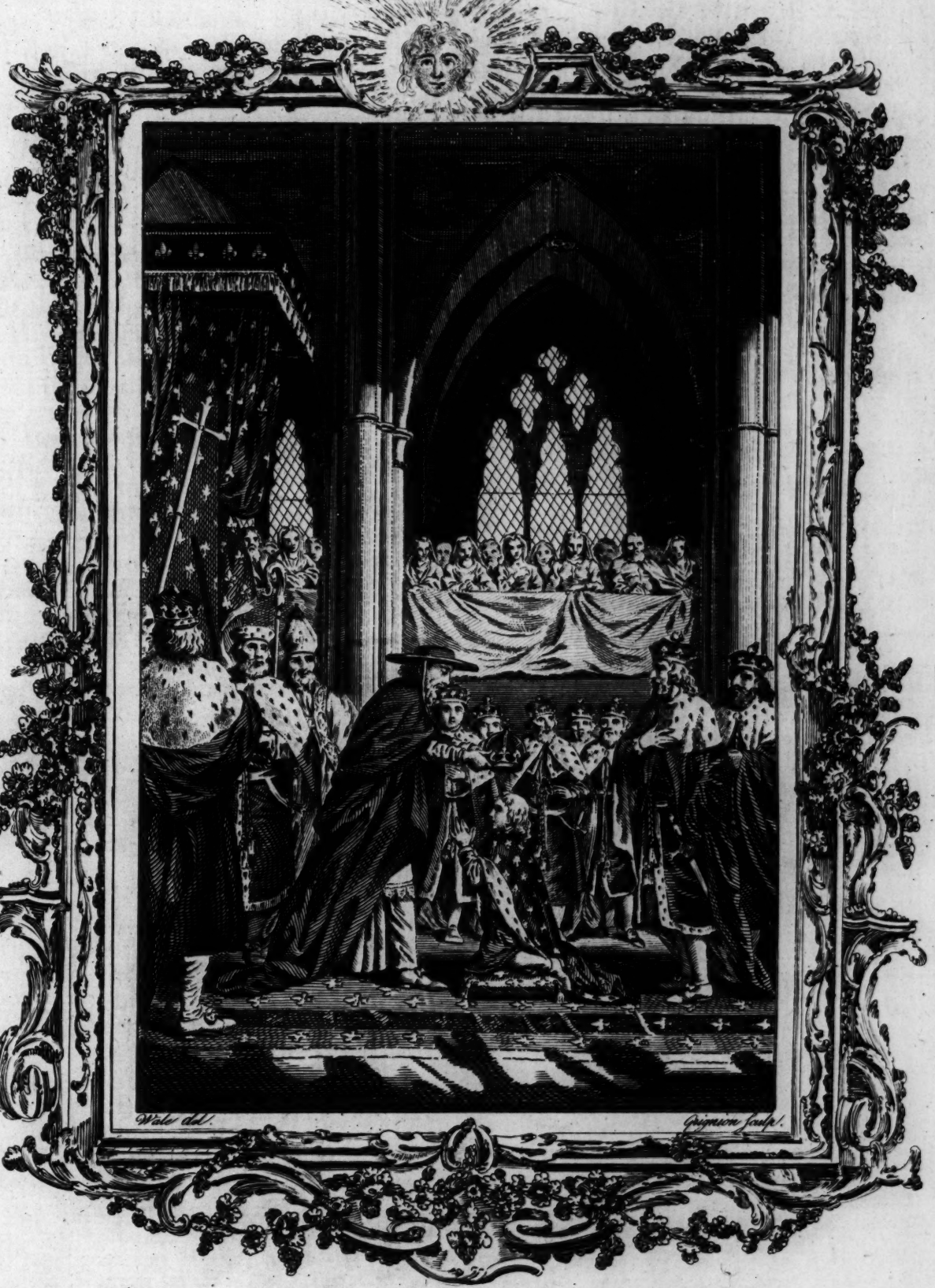
A. D. 1431. While Joan continued a priſoner under Luxemburg, ſhe conſidered herſelf as in a place of ſafety, and might be either ranſomed or exchanged: but ſhe no ſooner heard of his having treated with the Engliſh for the delivery of her perſon, than ſhe gave herſelf over for loſt, and therefore endeavoured to make her eſcape from the tower where ſhe was confined, by jumping from the very top to the ground. But the effect of the fall was ſo great, that ſhe was unable to walk, and therefore eaſily retaken. Soon after this attempt ſhe was delivered up to the Engliſh, who ſent her to Rouen, where ſhe was loaded with chains, and confined in the caſtle.

The Engliſh council thought it abſolutely neceſſary that the very idea of her virtue and divine commiſſion ſhould, as much as poſſible, be erazed from the minds of the people, and that the moſt proper method of doing this was to have recourſe to ſome religious proſecution. Accordingly the biſhop of Beauvois, in whoſe dioceſe ſhe was taken, preſented a petition againſt Joan, deſiring ſhe might be tried before an eccleſiaſtical tribunal for ſorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. The univerſity of Paris alſo were mean enough to join in the ſame requeſt. Joan was accordingly brought in her military habit before the eccleſiaſtical court at Rouen; but though the trial laſted two months, and ſhe was examined twice every week, they were not able to fix upon her any crime that merited either chains or death.

During all her examinations, ſhe owned her firm attachment to the French intereſt. Being charged with her averſeneſs to a peace between France and England, ſhe owned the fact, and boldly defended her conduct, by obſerving, that it was impoſſible for any ſuch peace to take place, unleſs the Engliſh would agree to evacuate France, and on that condition peace was actually offered, when ſhe firſt appeared in arms. It was urged againſt her, that ſhe had taken upon herſelf a military command. This ſhe did not deny, but ſaid, her ſole motive for taking that ſtep, was to deliver France from its foreign enemies. Being charged with a deſign to deſtroy herſelf when ſhe leaped from the top of the tower, ſhe ſaid that ſhe did it in order to make her eſcape; adding, that ſhe would willingly repeat the dangerous experiment, if ſhe had the ſame opportunity.

But the point which her judges puſhed with moſt vehemence, was her viſions, revelations, and intercourſe with the ſpirits of departed ſaints; and accordingly aſked her, whether ſhe would ſubmit the truth of theſe inſpirations to the church. She replied, that ſhe would readily ſubmit them to God, the

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.



Coronation of HENRY VI^th. *at Paris*

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the fountain of truth. They told her that all theſe things were known to God; but that he had left the deciſion to his church, and that if ſhe denied the authority of the church ſhe muſt be a heretic. They aſked her why ſhe put her confidence in her ſtandard, which had been conſecrated by magical incantations. She anſwered, that ſhe did not place her confidence in her ſtandard, but in the Supreme Being, whoſe image was impreſſed upon it. They demanded why ſhe carried that ſtandard in her hand, at the coronation of Charles at Rheims. She anſwered, that the perſon who had ſhared the danger, was entitled to ſhare the glory.

But notwithſtanding all this calm, this preſence of mind, her breaſt was ſtill filled with her enthuſiaſtic notions. She perſiſted in the ſtory of her heavenly viſitations, and was even extravagant enough to believe that it was unlawful for her to reaſſume the habit of her ſex, becauſe ſhe had been commanded by her ſaints to lay it aſide. She was therefore condemned as guilty of all the crimes of which ſhe had been accuſed, aggravated by that of hereſy; her revelations were declared to be the inventions of the devil to deceive the people; and accordingly ſentenced to be delivered over to the ſeculiar arm, in order to be puniſhed.

This ſentence pronounced by men inveſted with the enſigns of a ſacred character, which Joan had been long accuſtomed to revere, baniſhed all thoſe ideal inſpirations which had ſo long ſupported her ſpirits, and her viſionary dreams of celeſtial intercourſe gave way to the terrors of that puniſhment ſhe was ſentenced to endure. She therefore declared herſelf willing to make a public recantation, to acknowledge the illuſion of thoſe revelations which the church had rejected, and never more to pretend to be inſpired by heaven. This recantation changed her ſentence into perpetual impriſonment.

The people were now no longer deceived, they ſaw all the pretended revelations and intercourſes with the ſpirits of departed ſaints, were nothing more than the extravagant imaginations of an enthuſiaſtic brain. But the inveterate malice of Joan's enemies was not yet ſatisfied; nothing leſs than her death could atone for her faults; but this could not be accompliſhed, unleſs ſhe relapſed into ſome, at leaſt, of her former errors. There was great reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſhe ſtill thought it a crime to lay aſide the habit ſhe had worn purſuant to her revelations. Her enemies therefore artfully conveyed a ſuit of men's clothes into her room, and ſhe was found dreſſed in them the next morning. The court therefore declared her a relapſed heretic, and delivered her over to the ſecular arm, where ſhe was condemned to the flames. Joan, who had fearleſsly braved death in the field, could not ſupport the thought of meeting him at the ſtake. It ſhook her whole frame, and baniſhed that enthuſiaſm which had hitherto poſſeſſed her brain. She ſent for her confeſſor; ſhe prepared herſelf for death with a becoming piety, and ſuffered her infamous ſentence in the old market-place at Rouen.

A. D. 1432. But this execution was not attended with the expected ſucceſs. The great abilities of the regent were not ſufficient to reſiſt the ſtrong inclination of the French, for returning to the obedience of their native ſovereign, and which the above act of cruelty was ill adapted to remove. In the mean time the mareſchal Bouſac, and Xaintrailles, at the head of a conſiderable party fell into an ambuſcade commanded by the earl of Arundel, where moſt of the French ſoldiers were killed, and Xaintrailles, together with ſeveral other officers, were taken priſoners.

During theſe tranſactions, the young king had continued at Rouen, where the duke of Bedford thought him in greater ſafety than at Paris. He, however, narrowly eſcaped being ſurprized in that city; for the mareſchal Bouſac, who had eſcaped from the late defeat, formed a ſcheme in conjunction with one Ricarville, a French gentleman, to make himſelf maſter both of the city of Rouen and of Henry's perſon. Ricarville had a correſpondence with one Audebœuf, a Swiſs, who ſerved in the garriſon, and who upon a concerted ſignal, admitted Ricarville, with a hundred and twenty ſoldiers, during the night, into the great tower. The mareſchal Bouſac was to ſupport them in the morning with a large body of troops, who flocked to his ſtandard through the hopes of ſharing in the plunder of the city. On hearing of Ricarville's ſucceſs, they thought themſelves ſo ſure of conquering the place, that they quarrelled about the plunder; and the diſpute was carried to ſuch a height that both the officers and private men refuſed to march a ſtep further. The few Frenchmen in the caſtle were dreadfully diſappointed, on finding no troops were come to their relief, eſpecially as the garriſon and citizens had now cloſely inveſted the tower. They, however, defended themſelves, for ſome time, with great intrepidity, but were obliged at laſt to ſurrender at diſcretion.

A. D. 1433. This incident, however, haſtened Henry's departure. He landed about the middle of February at Dover, where he was received with great marks of affection by his Engliſh ſubjects. In the mean time the duke of Bedford found it more difficult than ever to hold the reins of the French government. The city of Chartres had been near fifteen years in the hands of the Burgundian party, and was conſidered as one of the moſt important poſts the Engliſh held in France. Two of the burghers having been taken priſoners by the French, were offered very conſiderable rewards, if they would agree to deliver up the city. This being agreed to they were diſmiſſed with a conſiderable ſum of money, to enable them to carry the deſign into execution. On their return they engaged one Sarozin, a Dominican, in their intereſt. This eccleſiaſtic was a celebrated preacher, and engaged, on the day appointed, to give an extraordinary ſermon in a remote church of the city, where they were ſure moſt of the burghers would attend. This being concerted, the counts Dunois and Illiers, with la Hire, Gaucourt, and ſeveral others of their beſt officers, marched very ſecretly at the head of three or four thouſand men, into the neighbourhood of the city, while de Illiers, with about a hundred and twenty veteran ſoldiers, crept almoſt cloſe to the walls. Early in the morning the two burghers appeared before the principal gate of the city, with ſeveral large waggons loaded with wine, driven by ſome of the moſt enterprizing ſoldiers diſguiſed like waggoners. The burghers who guarded the gate, having no ſuſpicion of the conſpiracy, ſuffered the waggons to enter the city; but the waggoners immediately drew their ſwords, ſeized the gate, and made the ſignal to Illiers, who ruſhing in, was

ſoon followed by Dunois at the head of the infantry, and the whole body marched up the principal ſtreet to the chief market place without reſiſtance, being the very hour that the Dominican was preaching to the inhabitants. The biſhop, however, who was a zealous Burgundian, put himſelf at the head of the garriſon with as many of the inhabitants as he could collect together, to oppoſe the French, but being killed in the firſt attack, together with about an hundred of his beſt ſoldiers, the reſt ſubmitted, and the Engliſh commandant, and all his garriſon were made priſoners of war.

This irreparable misfortune was followed by a train of other loſſes to the Engliſh: a body of their troops under lord Willoughby was defeated at St. Celerin upon the Sarte: the fair held in the ſuburbs of Caen, ſituated in the midſt of the Engliſh territories was pillaged by de Lore, a French officer of reputation: the duke of Bedford himſelf was obliged by Dunois to raiſe the ſiege of Lagni. Theſe misfortunes following cloſe upon one another, diſcredited the Engliſh, and threatened them with an approaching loſs of all their conqueſts. But the greateſt loſs the regent ſuſtained, was by the death of the dutcheſs, who had hitherto preſerved ſome appearance of friendſhip between him and her brother, the duke of Burgundy. And his marriage ſoon after with Jaqueline of Luxembourg, paved the way for a breach between them. Philip complained that the duke had never had the civility to inform him of his intentions, and that ſo ſudden a marriage was a ſlight on the memory of his ſiſter. The violent averſion he had to Charles on account of the murder of his father, began now to give way to pity. He was deeply affected at the miſeries he had brought upon France, by introducing foreign troops into the kingdom, and placing a foreign prince on the throne, even to the excluſion of himſelf and family. At the ſame time he perceived that the Engliſh would prove but indifferent maſters, nor could he expect to enjoy the ſame rank and diſtinction under them, as under the family of Valois. It is therefore no wonder if every diſguſt he received from the Engliſh made a double impreſſion upon his mind, and he at laſt determined to unite himſelf with the royal family of France, from which his own was deſcended.

A. D. 1435. In order to this a congreſs was appointed to be held at Arras, under the mediation of the cardinal of St. Croix, who repreſented the pope, and the cardinal of Cyprus, who appeared on the part of the council of Baſil. The duke of Bourbon came thither in perſon: the duke of Bourbon, the count de Richemont, and other perſons of high rank, appeared as ambaſſadors for France; while the cardinal of Wincheſter, the archbiſhop of York, and ſeveral civilians, received a commiſſion from the protector of England for the ſame purpoſe.

The conferences which were held in the abbey of St. Vaaſt, were opened by a pathetic ſpeech from the cardinal of St. Croix, full of pacific ſentiments; and the aſſembly began with diſcuſſing the propoſals of the two crowns. The Engliſh offered to leave both parties in the peaceable poſſeſſion of all the places and territories they at preſent enjoyed, after making ſome equal exchanges for mutual convenience, and that their king ſhould marry one of Charles's daughters, in order to cement a harmony between the two crowns. The French offered to cede both Guienne and Normandy, but on condition of their being held as fiefs of the crown of France, and of Henry's renouncing all pretenſions to that kingdom.

It is eaſy to foreſee that no peace could be expected, where the preliminaries preſented by the contending powers were ſo irreconcileable. The Engliſh plenipotentaries therefore left Arras, with all their retinue, and returned to Calais.

Henry's ambaſſadors being retired, nothing remained but to diſcuſs the mutual pretenſions of Charles and Philip. Theſe were eaſily adjuſted; the vaſſal was in a condition of giving law to his ſuperior, and therefore his demands, however exorbitant, were to be admitted. Charles, after making repeated atonements and acknowledgements for the murder of the duke of Burgundy, was obliged to cede all the towns in Picardy, lying between the Somme and the Low Countries, beſides ſeveral other territories: he alſo agreed that theſe, and all the other dominions of Philip, ſhould be held by him, during his life, without doing homage or ſwearing fealty to the preſent king. At the ſame time he freed his ſubjects from all obligations to allegiance, if ever he infringed any of the articles of this treaty. Such mortifying conditions were ſubmitted to by the French court, in order to purchaſe the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy.

Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, the duke of Bedford paid the debt of nature. He was a prince, who by his conduct, juſtified the high opinion his elder brother and the Engliſh nation, had conceived of his virtue and great abilities. His zeal and affection for his native country, animated him to ſurmount many difficulties under which he laboured during his regency. The aſſiſtance he received, during the laſt years of his life, was inconſiderable, and he found by melancholy experience, that there was no truſting the French, even of the Engliſh party, when left to themſelves. But notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, he had effected, by his admirable prudence, the two things he thought of the utmoſt importance, the retaining the city of Paris and the dutchy of Normandy.

About the ſame time died Iſabella, queen dowager of France, deſpiſed by the Engliſh, deteſted by the French, and reduced in her latter years to regard with an unnatural horror, the progreſs and ſucceſſes of her own ſon, in the recovery of his dominions. Her death was, however, of great advantage to Charles, as many of the French, who had been under engagements to her as queen regent, thought themſelves now at liberty to return to their allegiance, and ſupport their native prince in recovering his kingdom.

Soon after the concluſion of the peace of Arras, Philip ſent over Toiſſon d'Or, his chief herald, with a letter to the government of England, notifying the concluſion of the late treaty, and apologizing for his abandoning the engagements he had entered into by that of Troye. The herald was received with great coldneſs by the Engliſh council. They even inſulted his character by aſſigning him his lodgings in the houſe of a ſhoe-maker, and the populace were ſo incenſed at the conduct of his maſter, that had not the duke of Glouceſter aſſigned him guards for his ſecurity, it is more than probable he would have been torn in pieces, when he appeared in the ſtreets. The Flemings and other

ſubjects

ſubjects of Philip were inſulted, and ſome of them murdered. This was the more natural to an incenſed and diſappointed multitude, becauſe the Engliſh government, had, even to the prejudice of its own ſubjects, granted great advantages to thoſe of the duke of Burgundy, in order to keep him firm to their intereſt. Every thing tended towards an open rupture between the two powers; and the duke of Burgundy made the uſuage his herald had received in England, a pretence for uniting himſelf cloſer with Charles, in order to diſtreſs the Engliſh, whom he now regarded as dangerous and implacable enemies.

A. D. 1436. In the mean time the violent factions that prevailed in the Engliſh councils, between the haughty cardinal and the duke of Glouceſter, diſappointed every effort made for recovering the territories they had loſt in France, and retrieving their natural character. The duke's popularity and his near relation to the crown, gave him great advantages in the conteſt; but theſe he often loſt by his open and unguarded temper, and the immenſe power the cardinal had, by his money, acquired in the council. In conſequence of theſe quarrels the buſineſs of the nation was neglected; and it was ſeven months before the commiſſion of the duke of York paſſed the ſeals, after he had been appointed ſucceſſor to the duke of Bedford.

Deſtitute of a leader in the midſt of an enemy's country, it is no wonder the Engliſh loſt every day ſome part of the territories they ſtill poſſeſſed. So that when the duke of York arrived, the capital was loſt, together with ſeveral places in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants of Paris, in the intereſt of Charles, had found means to introduce the conſtable with a body of ſelect ſoldiers, into the city during the night. The lord Willoughby, who commanded only a ſmall garriſon of fifteen hundred men, was obliged to retire into the Baſtile, where he was at laſt obliged to capitulate, and was allowed to retire unmoleſted with his garriſon into Normandy.

The duke of Burgundy, who now acted openly againſt England, collected an army of fifty thouſand men, and laid ſiege to Calais. The Engliſh council was greatly alarmed when they received intelligence of the duke's deſign. Orders were immediately iſſued for equipping a fleet and raiſing an army for rendering the duke's attempt abortive. The earl of Huntingdon commanded the ſquadron, and the duke of Glouceſter the land forces. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, ſo much time was ſpent before the fleet and army could be got ready, that Calais had, in all probability, been taken, had not the opportunity been loſt by the preſumption and folly of the Flemings. The duke had but few regular troops in his numerous army, beſides thoſe drawn from Picardy; and the Flemings were ſo deſirous of acquiring the whole honour themſelves, that they prevailed upon the duke to ſend band back all his French troops, while they continued their march to Calais as to an eaſy conqueſt. The garriſon was commanded by Sir John Radcliff, an experienced general, and provided with every thing neceſſary for making a noble defence; ſo that the Flemings ſoon found themſelves deceived in their expectations: for before the duke could inveſt the place, the garriſon made a deſperate ſally, and killed fifteen hundred men. The ſiege was, however, at laſt formed, but with very little ſucceſs; for the ſea being open, proviſions, ammunition, and troops were daily poured into the town from England. The garriſon being continually reinforced, they made frequent ſallies upon the enemy, and had ruined all the Flemiſh works when the duke of Glouceſter arrived with fifteen thouſand men. He found the garriſon ſo elated with their ſucceſs, and the beſiegers betraying ſuch evident ſymptons of fear, that he immediately ſent an herald to the duke of Burgundy offering him battle.

The duke, who had now no chance for ſucceſs, accepted the challenge; but unwilling to depend upon unexperienced Flemings, ſent for the troops he had diſmiſſed at the beginning of the ſiege to reinforce his army. He alſo recalled ſome troops, that were employed in the ſiege of Giſors; and was preparing every thing, with great alacrity, for a general engagement. But the boaſting Flemings had experienced too much of the Engliſh valour to ſtand the ſhock of a battle, even with ſuch ſuperior numbers. They accordingly broke up their camp, and made a moſt precipitate retreat, leaving all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition in the hands of the Engliſh.

The duke, perceiving it impoſſible to ſtop their flight, drew up his regular troops to ſecure their retreat; but could not prevent many of them from falling a ſacrifice to their timidity, by a ſally made by the garriſon upon their rear, The duke followed the Flemings, and greatly harraſſed them in their retreat; after which he fell into the country of Artois, which he laid waſte with fire and ſword. On his return he took the moſt prudent meaſures for the defence of Calais, and then paſſed over to England, where his preſence was become abſolutely neceſſary.

In the mean time, the duke of York was employed in covering Normandy, and the county of Caux. The earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, with ſeveral other officers of great reputation, ſerved under him. The duke himſelf laboured inceſſant- to conciliate the affections of the people, by the mildneſs and juſtice of his government. He held an aſſembly of the ſtates of Normandy at Rouen, where he acquired very great applauſe.

The continuance of hoſtilities had ſo greatly exhauſted both the French and Engliſh, that the efforts made by each were faint and feeble. The appearance of an army could hardly be brought into the field by either of the contending parties; and all their operations conſiſted in the ſurprize of places, in the rencounters of detached parties, and in incurſions upon the open country. Charles had greatly the advantage in conducting this ſpecies of war. The affections of the people were entirely on his ſide: early intelligence was brought him of the ſtate and motions of the enemy: the inhabitants were ready to join in any attempt againſt the garriſons: and thus the French gained ground, tho' very ſlowly, againſt the Engliſh. The duke of York, who was a prince of great abilities, long ſtruggled with theſe difficulties; and being aſſiſted by the valour of lord Talbot, ſoon after created earl of Shrewſbury, he performed actions which acquired him great honour, but are too trifling to be re-enumerated in a general hiſtory.

A. D. 1440. Both parties wearied out with hoſtilities which decided nothing, had, at laſt, recourſe to negotiation. But the propoſals offered

both

both by France and England were ſo widely different, that all hopes of accommodation vaniſhed immediately. The Engliſh ambaſſadors demanded reſtitution of all the provinces which had once been enjoyed by England, together with a final ceſſion of Calais and its diſtrict; without the prince being obliged to pay homage to the French king. On the other hand, the French plenipotentiaries offered part of Guienne, part of Normandy, and Calais, loaded with the uſual burdens of homage and fealty. It would have been madneſs to have continued the negotiation with ſo little proſpect of ſucceſs. The conferences were therefore diſcontinued, and each had again recourſe to arms for a deciſion of their pretenſions.

Soon after the negotiation was terminated, the duke of York reſigned his government to the earl of Warwick, a young nobleman of great reputation; but death prevented him from a long enjoyment of his dignity. Upon his deceaſe the duke reaſſumed his government; and the war continued in as languid a ſtate as before.

In the mean time the court of Charles was diſtracted by civil jealouſies. Some of his great men, who had ſerved him faithfully, thought themſelves neglected, and began to form a party, under the young dauphin, againſt the government. That prince had acquired a taſte for popularity, and his father's diſſatisfied officers took care to improve it. Charles knew mankind too well not to read his ſons ambitious ſentiments in his behaviour; and accordingly treated him with ſome ſeverity. But the dauphin enjoyed the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his party every day increaſe; and the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, with the earls of Vendoſme and Dunois joined their counſels. Charles foreſaw the ſtorm, and in order to illude its effects, redoubled his endeavours to ranſom the duke of Orleans, the only perſon whoſe merits and rank could balance the credit of this growing oppoſition. Accordingly the duke offered fifty-four thouſand nobles, about thirty-ſix thouſand pounds, for his ranſom. This offer being laid before the Engliſh council, where every queſtion became an object of faction, the party of the duke of Glouceſter, and that of the cardinal of Wincheſter, were divided in their ſentiments. The former were for refuſing and the latter for accepting the offer. The duke reminded the council of the dying advice of the late king, that none of the French princes taken at the battle of Agincourt ſhould on any account, be releaſed, till his ſon was of ſufficient age to hold himſelf the reins of government. On the contrary the cardinal expatiated of the largeneſs of the offered ſum, which was, in reality, equal to two thirds of all the extraordinary ſupplies, which the parliament, during the courſe of ſeven years, had granted for the ſupport of the war; adding, that the releaſe of this prince was more likely to be advantageous than prejudicial to the Engliſh intereſt, by filling the court of France with faction, and giving a head to that numerous party of male-contents, who Charles could hardly at preſent reſtrain. The cardinal party, as uſual prevailed: the duke of Orleans was releaſed, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years; and the duke of Burgundy, as a proof of his entire reconciliation with the family of Orleans, aſſiſted the duke in diſcharging the ſtipulated ſum.

The faction of the dauphin ſtill continued to increaſe; though the great men who compoſed it, had not yet broken out into any overt acts of treaſon againſt Charles; but about the cloſe of the year that monarch having undertaken to reform ſome abuſes that had crept into his army, their diſcontents could be no longer concealed. He had long obſerved, with great uneaſineſs, the diſſolute manners of his troops, who generally ſubſiſted upon plunder, during the winter ſeaſon. At the ſame time he remarked that the great number of footmen, grooms, women, and other uſeleſs ſervants, kept by his officers, his men at arms, and even his archers, increaſed the hardſhips of the people, on whom they were quartered. He determined to regulate theſe inconveniences, but his attempts were ſo alarming to his officers, who could not think of reducing the number of their dependents, that they held a meeting at Blois, where it was reſolved to take the field, with the dauphin at their head, and at the ſame time, to publiſh their reſolution of not laying down their arms till ſome obnoxious perſons in the adminiſtration were diſmiſſed from the council. Charles little imagined that the dauphin was at the head of this conſpiracy, till he learned the ſecret from his governor, the earl of Marche, who alſo informed him, that the malcontents intended to ſet up their ſtandard of rebellion in Sologne and Berry. Charles, alarmed at this intelligence, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the conſtable, with orders for meeting him at Amboiſe, where the king propoſed to ſhut himſelf up in ſome ſtrong place till ſome method could be found to diſperſe the inſurgents. The conſtable, however, diſſuaded him from this reſolution, by reminding him of the fate of Richard II. of England. It was then determined that the king ſhould order a general rendezvous of his troops at Poictiers, and to keep the field during the winter ſeaſon.

This ſeaſonable reſolution had a ſurprizing effect in favour of Charles. The malcontents, notwithſtanding all their efforts, could not prevail on any place of conſequence to declare in their favour; and the count de Dunois, aſhamed of having ſtained his loyalty, threw himſelf at the king's feet, and readily obtained his pardon. Deprived of this able general, and deſtitute of ſupport from the country, the dauphin and his party were obliged to take refuge in the eſtates of the duke of Bourbon, the moſt powerful of his aſſociates. The dauphin had next applied to the duke of Burgundy for aſſiſtance; but that prince informed him, that he muſt expect nothing from him, except his good offices to obtain pardon from his king and father. This threw the malcontents into deſpair; they were obliged to accept of the duke of Burgundy's offer, and that prince accordingly obtained a promiſe of mercy from Charles, provided the inſurgents ſhould put themſelves in a condition of deſerving it. Reduced to extremity, without any hope of aſſiſtance, the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon repaired to the king at Cauſet, threw themſelves at his feet, and obtained their pardon.

A. D. 1443. The great power which the duke of York had acquired, both in the field and the cabinet, was ſo well improved by his numerous friends, who were no ſtrangers to his ambitious ſentiments, that the foundations of the two parties, who afterwards ſo cruelly bathed their ſwords in the vitals of England, were laid at this juncture. Their malice firſt broke out in little party-quarrels at elections and other public meetings, but without any

any thing being expreſsly declared. So artfully did the duke of York conceal his deſigns, that he appeared the moſt placable perſon in the government. He ſuffered the cardinal to direct the council, though that prelate could not have ſupported his power, had the duke of York joined the party of the duke of Glouceſter. The intereſt of his family was now ſtrengthened by the birth of a ſon, afterwards Edward IV. He foreſaw that the duke of Glouceſter could never be prevailed upon to favour the ſchemes of his ambition, however diſguſted at the cardinal, he made uſe of every method in his power to weaken that prince's credit with the people, and rival him in the cabinet. Senſible of his dangerous ſituation, the cardinal omitted nothing in his power to keep the aſcendency he had gained in the council. The whole body of the clergy were in his intereſt, he maintained a good underſtanding with the duke of Burgundy, and a truce had been concluded between him and the Engliſh for all the dominions of both powers.

But the common people could by no means approve of the cardinal's politics. They ſaw the cardinal archbiſhop of York, joined in the adminiſtration with the cardinal biſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhop of Bath and Wells, a profeſſed friend of the cardinal, was, on the death of Chichely, a prelate of great abilities and integrity, placed in the archiepiſcopal chair of Canterbury. They could not bear the thought of having any connection with the duke of Burgundy, who had ſo infamouſly betrayed them.

In this dangerous ſituation, the cardinal thought a peace with France was abſolutely neceſſary. He had indeed always encouraged every propoſal of accommodation with France, and had often repreſented the utter impoſſibility of puſhing farther in the preſent circumſtances, the conqueſts in that kingdom, or even of maintaining thoſe already acquired. He now inſiſted on the extreme reluctance of the parliament to grant ſupplies; the perplexity in which the Engliſh affairs in Normandy were involved; the daily progreſs made by the French king, and the advantage that muſt reſult to the Engliſh, by even a temporary accommodation. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the duke of Glouceſter and his party, but the cardinal carried the queſtion, and the earl of Suffolk was diſpatched to Tours, in order to open a negotiation with the French miniſters. The offers, however, were ſo very oppoſite that it was found impoſſible to conclude a definitive treaty of peace; all that could be effected was a truce for two and twenty months; and which was afterwards prolonged.

The character of Henry as he advanced in years, became fully known. His ſlender capacity, his ſimple and inoffenſive manners, his weak underſtanding, and his pliable temper, jointly conſpired to render him perpetually ſubject to the perſons who ſurrounded him; ſo that it was eaſy to ſee that his whole reign would, in reality, be nothing more than a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the twenty-third year of his age, it was natural to think of chuſing him a queen, and each party was ambitious of his receiving a conſort from their hands, it being probable that this ſingle circumſtance would abſolutely decide the victory between them. The duke of Glouceſter propoſed the daughter of the count d'Armagnac, but had not credit ſufficient to carry his deſign into execution. On the other hand, the cardinal of Wincheſter and his party had caſt their eyes on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jeruſalem, deſcended from the count of Anjou, brother of Charles V. who had left theſe magnificent titles, but without any real power or poſſeſſions to his poſterity. The princeſs herſelf was the moſt accompliſhed of her age both in body and mind, and ſeemed to poſſeſs thoſe qualities, which would equally enable her to acquire the aſcendent over Henry, and to ſupply all the defects and weakneſſes of her huſband. Full of a maſculine courageous ſpirit, an enterprizing temper; endowed with ſolidity as well as vivacity of underſtanding, ſhe had not been able to conceal theſe ſhining talents, even in the privacy of her father's family. It was therefore reaſonable to expect, that when ſhe mounted the throne, they would break out with ſuperior luſtre. Theſe valuable acquiſitions induced the Engliſh council to ſend by the earl of Suffolk propoſals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted. She was married by proxy, and conducted to Henry's court, where the nuptials were celebrated with amazing magnificence.

A. D. 1445. It was not long before her genius awakened all the attention of both parties; it was evident that ſhe determined to be miſtreſs of her huſband's conduct as well as his affections. The oppoſition made by the duke of Glouceſter to her marriage, fixed her averſion to that nobleman, and attached her cloſely to the intereſt of the cardinal, and the marquis of Suffolk. They ſoon perceived her bold intriguing ſpirit, and thought themſelves ſafe only in her inability of doing any thing in the parliament without their concurrence and intereſt.

On the other hand, the duke of Glouceſter, affected great complaiſance for the queen, hoping ſhe might be brought over to his party, and by her authority balance the great power of the miniſtry. But though the duke's party were deceived in their expectations, they were not diſpleaſed to ſee their enemies dread the intrigues of this aſpiring princeſs. They truſted to accidents for dividing the court intereſt, and to their credit with the parliament for ſupporting it. The ſolemnity of the coronation of the queen was performed on the thirtieth of May, and exceeded any thing of that kind ever before ſeen in England.

A. D. 1447. As the duke of Glouceſter poſſeſſed in a very remarkable degree, the favour of the people, the cardinal, fortified by the powerful friendſhip of the queen, reſolved to ruin that favourite nobleman. In order to this, they took every opportunity to mortify him, in hopes that his great ſpirit would carry him into ſome extravagances which would enable the miniſtry to cruſh a rival whom the favour of the people rendered formidable to their intereſt. His dutcheſs, the daughter of Reginald, lord Cobham, had been accuſed of the crime of witchcraft, and it was pretended that a waxen figure of the king was found in her poſſeſſion, which ſhe and her aſſociates, Sir Roger Bollingbrook, a prieſt, and one Margery Jordon of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a ſlow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waſte away in the ſame inſenſible

manner. The accuſation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an age of ignorance and error. The dutcheſs was accordingly brought to trial with her confederates, and the nature of this crime ſo repugnant to common ſenſe, ſeems to have exempted her accuſers from paying any regard to the common notions of mankind in their evidence. The court heard the accuſation, examined the witneſſes, and pronounced the priſoners guilty. The dutcheſs was condemned to do public penance, and ſuffer perpetual impriſonment: the others had ſtill a more cruel ſentence, being condemned to death, and ſuffered accordingly. Theſe violent proceedings, however, did not produce the deſired effect: they were aſcribed ſolely to the duke's enemies, and the people, contrary to their general practice on ſimilar occaſions, acquitted the unhappy victims, and increaſed their eſteem and affection towards a prince, who was thus expoſed, without protection, to injuries of ſo cruel a nature.

The cardinal of Wincheſter and his party, alarmed at theſe proceedings, perceived it was abſolutely neceſſary to deſtroy a man, whoſe popularity might become dangerous, and whoſe reſentment they had ſo much reaſon to fear. But this could not be affected without ſome appearance of juſtice. A parliament was therefore ſummoned to meet at St. Edmondſbury, where they knew the duke had not many friends. On his appearing before that aſſembly, he was accuſed of high treaſon, and thrown into priſon, and ſoon after found dead in his bed. It was indeed pretended that his death was natural, and his body when expoſed to public inſpection, exhibited no marks of external injury, yet no one doubted of his having fallen a ſacrifice to the malice of his enemies. The cruel fate of Edward the ſecond, Richard the ſecond, and Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, was well known, and it was natural to ſuppoſe that this nobleman had fallen by the ſame deteſtible meaſures. His enemies had, perhaps, no reaſon to fear his being acquitted in parliament, as innocence had little power to ſupport the accuſed in theſe times of party and diſtraction; but they muſt have dreaded the conſequence of a public trial and execution. The people would hardly have ſuffered the latter; they would have marked out the perpetrators as victims deſtined to deſtruction, and dear bought experience had taught the miniſtry what they had to fear from popular fury. Whereas by proceeding in this ſecret manner, they pretended to deny their having any concern in the duke's death, and endeavoured to perſuade the people that the whole was natural.

The duke of Glouceſter was conſidered as the moſt learned man of the age, and a great encourager of literature. He ſpared no expence for maintaining in his family men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the republic of letters. He was the founder of the public library at Oxford, afterwards ſo nobly improved by Sir Thomas Bodley.

The triumph of the cardinal of Wincheſter over the unfortunate duke of Glouceſter was of no long continuance; for he died within ſix weeks after his nephew, whoſe murder was univerſally aſcribed to him, and is ſaid to have given him more remorſe in his laſt moments, than could naturally be expected from a man hardened, during the courſe of a long life, in falſehood and politics.

If the death of this prelate left the queen an her favourite, the marquis of Suffolk, more at liberty to direct the government, it left them alſo deſtitute of that ſupport which reſulted from his experience, his birth, his riches, and his profeſſion. The marquis was ſoon ſenſible of this, and ſought to ſhelter himſelf behind the throne. But this was but a feeble ſecurity againſt a parliamentary impeachment, and none at all againſt the reſentment of the people.

A. D. 1448. The duke of York obſerved with a ſecret ſatisfaction, the embarraſments of the queen and her favourite, and dropped ſome dark hints among his partizans, concerning his family pretenſions to the crown. Theſe however, were intruſted to none but perſons of diſtinction under the promiſe of inviolable ſecrecy; while in public, nothing was heard of but encomiums upon his virtues, integrity, and great abilities. The queen and the marquis began to perceive the fatal conſequences that might reſult from the duke's increaſing popularity, and therefore laboured very aſſiduouſly to conclude a definitive treaty of peace with France.

But the ſecret was now divulged, which increaſed the clamours of the people. By one of the articles of the marriage treaty, the province of Maine was ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle. This article had hitherto been carefully concealed; but the court of France inſiſting ſtrenuouſly on its being executed, orders were now diſpatched to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, commanding him to ſurrender that place to Charles of Anjou. Surienne, either queſtioning the authenticity of the order, or regarding his government as his only fortune, refuſed compliance, and it became neceſſary for a French army, under the command of Dunois, to beſiege the city. The governor made as good a defence as was poſſible in his ſituation, but receiving no relief from Edmund duke of Somerſet, then governor of Normandy, he was at laſt obliged to capitulate, and to ſurrender not only Mans, but all the other fortreſſes of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the Engliſh crown.

But other alarming effects reſulted from this proceeding. Surienne, with all his garriſons, amounting to two thouſand five hundred men, retired into Normandy, expecting to be taken into pay, and quartered in ſome of the towns of that province. But Somerſet who had no means of ſubſiſting ſuch a numerous detachment, and who was probably incenſed at Surienne's diſobedience, refuſed to admit him, and this adventurer not daring to commit depredations on the French or Engliſh territories, marched into Britany, ſeized the town of Fougeres, repaired the fortifications of Pontorſon, and St. James de Beauvron, ſubſiſting his troops on the ravages he committed on the adjacent country. The duke of Britany complained of this violence to the king of France his liege lord: Charles remonſtrated with the duke of Somerſet, and demanded that the duke of Britany ſhould be indemnified for the injuries he had ſuſtained. That nobleman replied, that the violences had been committed without his privity, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his companions. Charles, though he well knew the licentious and independent ſpirit of mercenary ſoldiers, refuſed the apology, and applied to the court of England for redreſs.

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He repeated his demands of having Fougeres evacuated, and the duke of Britany indemnified for all the depredations committed by the Engliſh; but receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, he made great preparations for doing himſelf juſtice.

The throne of Scotland was now filled by James II. a youth of eighteen years of age, and under the tuition of the earl of Douglas. The family alliances between the courts of France and Scotland had been lately renewed, and embaſſadors had been ſent to Charles's court for contracting James with the princeſs of Guelder, daughter to the duke of Britany, and grandaughter to the duke of Burgundy. This alliance being conſidered by the Engliſh nobility, as tending to ſtrengthen the intereſt of France, then upon the point of breaking the truce with Henry, it was reſolved in the council to attack the Scots in order to force them to make a ſeparate peace with the Engliſh. Accordingly the earls of Saliſbury and Northumberland, entered Scotland at the head of an army, and laid the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries in aſhes. The Scots had recourſe to their old method of reprizal, they made an irruption into England, where they burned Alnwick, and ravaged part of the county of Cumberland. At laſt both armies, having received conſiderable reinforcements, met in their return to their reſpective countries, and a battle enſued. The Engliſh were commanded by the earl of Northumberland and Sir John Pennington; and the Scots by Douglas, earl of Ormond, and Sir Thomas Wallace. The Engliſh depended chiefly upon their archers, but had forgot the wiſe precaution of Henry V. of incloſing themſelves within a palliſade of ſharpened ſpikes. The Scots therefore, after bearing their firſt diſcharge, broke in upon the wing, where Sir John Pennington commanded, with ſo much fury, that the Engliſh were entirely routed, leaving about two thouſand men dead on the field of battle. The lord Piercy, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Northumberland, Sir John Pennington, and Sir Robert Hemington, after exerting themſelves in vain to rally the Engliſh, were taken priſoners.

This advantage, the newly cemented alliance between France and Scotland, the univerſal diſcontent of the Normans with the Engliſh government, and their connections with France, determined Charles to ſeize ſo favourable an opportunity of driving the enemy out of his dominions, and accordingly made great preparations for carrying his deſigns into execution.

A. D. 1449. Charles had eſtabliſhed an excellent reform in his military forces; the purſes of his ſubjects were open to aſſiſt him: he had concluded an alliance with the king of Caſtile, who furniſhed him with ſhips, which at once diſtreſſed the Engliſh trade, and rendered him maſter of the ſea-coaſts: he was in perfect friendſhip with Scotland, and had juſt concluded an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the court of Britany. On the other hand, the Engliſh court was divided into parties enraged againſt each other: the people were diſcontented with the government: conqueſts in France, which were rather objects of glory than intereſt, were overlooked among domeſtic incidents, which engroſſed the whole attention of the kingdom: the governor of Normandy, ill ſupplied with money, was obliged to diſmiſs the greater part of his forces, and to ſuffer the fortifications of the towns and caſtles to decay for want of the neceſſary repairs.

The truce being now expired between France and England, Charles publiſhed a kind of manifeſto, expreſſing his earneſt deſire of peace, and enumerating his conſtant endeavours to preſerve its continuance, with all the advances he had made to produce ſo happy an effect. This manifeſto was followed by a declaration of war againſt England, and immediately entered the province of Normandy.

As he met with no oppoſition from the Engliſh forces, the conqueſts became at once both rapid and eaſy. Vernueil, one of the ſtrongeſt places in all France, Pont Audomer, and Beauvron, Luſieux, Mantes, Vernon, and ſeveral other fortreſſes on the confines of Normandy, either opened their gates to Charles, or ſurrendered as ſoon as the ſiege was undertaken. The brave earl of Shrewſbury, who had taken the field at the head of a ſmall body of forces, was obliged to retire to Rouen, in order, if poſſible, to defend the capital of Normandy.

The barrier being thus laid open, Charles determined, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of the whole province in one campaign. Accordingly he ſummoned all his general officers, and the great vaſſals of the crown, to a general meeting, where it was determined to exert the whole force of the kingdom to free their country from thoſe evils, which had ſo long rendered it a ſcene of blood and confuſion.

The army was divided into four bodies, one was led by the count of Dunois, another by the earls of Eu and St. Paul, the third by the duke of Alençon, and the fourth, conſiſting wholly of Bretons, by the conſtable of France. Their ſucceſſes were rapid beyond imagination. The count of Dunois laid ſiege to the caſtle of Harcourt, ſituated in the plain of Neubourg; but the place made ſo brave a defence that the count loſt a great many men before the garriſon would agree to ſurrender. He alſo ſpent eight days before the caſtle of Chambray, when that fortreſs was obliged to capitulate. The mareſchal de Jalognes, at the head of a detachment from the main army, took the ſtrong caſtle of Roche Guyon, upon the Seine. The earls of Eu and St. Paul, beſieged Neufchaſtle d'Elicourt, and took the town by aſſault, and the caſtle by capitulation. The earl of St. Paul commanded alone the body which obliged Gournay to capitulate. The caſtle of Dangu, near Giſors, was taken by Chenu, governor of Pontoiſe. The garriſon of Dieppe took Feſchamp in one aſſault, and the duke of Alençon made himſelf maſter of the caſtle d'Eſſai.

Nor were the armies of Charles leſs ſucceſsful in other parts: the city of Conſtance held out but two days againſt the conſtable. St. Loe was defended by a ſtrong garriſon, but opened its gates to the conqueror without reſiſtance. Carenton held out only three days, and the ſmaller fortreſſes in the neighbourhood, intimidated by that example, ſurrendered immediately upon the beſt terms they could obtain. Gaurai indeed, being a ſtrong place, was not taken till a mine was formed, burying the place in its own ruins, but the garriſon obtained an honourable capitulation.

The diviſion commanded by the duke of Alençon, formed the ſiege of Alençon, the capital of that

that nobleman, and took it after a ſhort reſiſtance. He next made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong caſtle of Touques, as the count of Dunois did thoſe of Hyemas and Argentan, places of great importance. All theſe places might have coſt Charles more blood and time than he could ſpare, had not the Engliſh found, in the breaſts of the inhabitants, a more dangerous enemy than the armies of France.

Charles now aſſembled his whole army in order to form the ſiege of the famous Caſtle Galliard; where he commanded in perſon. This caſtle had been long conſidered as impracticable. Charles found indeed a reſiſtance worthy of his arms, though not ſo great as he expected. He was, however, obliged to change the ſiege into a blockade; which continued during the winter ſeaſon.

The reduction of all theſe places was made with ſuch facility, that no circumſtance worthy of a general hiſtory occurred during the whole tranſaction. Charles had a ſecret correſpondence with moſt of theſe places; the inhabitants loved his perſon, and the garriſons his gold: moſt of their commanders made private bargains for themſelves, and therefore the reſiſtance they made was merely colluſive. Nor are we to imagine that all theſe places were garriſoned by Engliſh troops, but by the natives of Normandy and Gaſcony in Engliſh pay, and many of them commanded by French officers.

The conſequence of this fatal ſtep in politics, were well known to the earl of Shrewſbury, who had therefore adviſed the duke of Somerſet to make his greateſt efforts at Rouen, and had accordingly drawn the greater part of the Engliſh troops to that city. He was indeed perſuaded that the ſiege of Caſtle-Galliard, together with the approaching ſeaſon, would prevent Charles from attacking that city before the next ſeaſon; and in the mean time ſuccours might arrive from England to his aſſiſtance. In this he was deceived. Charles knew the conſequence of taking this city before his army returned into winter quarters; and that the inhabitants were well affected to his cauſe, and deteſted the Engliſh government.

The whole French army now advanced in four columns againſt Rouen; that commanded by the count de Dunois, on the other ſide of the Seine, by the plain of Neubourg; two others on the oppoſite ſide of the city; and the fourth, commanded by Charles in perſon, along the road leading from Pont l'Arch. On their arrival within twenty miles of Rouen, Charles ordered one of his heralds to ſummon the city to ſurrender. But the garriſon ſent out a party, who meeting this herald, obliged him to return without delivering his meſſage.

Upon this Charles ſummoned a council of war, where it was reſolved to advance near enough to reconnoitre the city. It was now near the middle of October, the ſeaſon inclement, and the army greatly fatigued. But Charles, who depended chiefly on the affections of the inhabitants, ordered the count de Dunois, to draw up his whole army, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand men, and at the head of this powerful body, the king preſented himſelf before the gates of the city. He encamped his army in this poſition, but no tumult happened in the city during three days, though the Engliſh made continual ſallies on his troops. Diſappointed in this expedient, Charles drew his troops off to their cantonments about Pont de l'Arch, and the neighbouring villages, that they might be at hand to ſupport any effort made by the inhabitants in his favour. His army was ſcarcely drawn off, before he received intelligence, that if an attack was made on the tower of St. Hillary, a poſt guarded entirely by the citizens, his troops would find admittance. He immediately marched his army again before the city; and every thing being prepared for the attack, the count de Dunois made a falſe attack towards the gates Beauvoſine and le Monfortin, while Charles ordered a body of ſelect troops to take a large compaſs behind a riſing ground towards the tower of St. Hillary. This attempt had doubtleſs ſucceeded, had the city been commanded by a general leſs vigilant and active than the earl of Shrewſbury. But that nobleman, ſuſpecting that the attack made by Dunois was only a feint to draw his attention to a different quarter, kept ſo watchful an eye on the other poſts, that he ſoon perceived ſomething more than common was tranſacting at the tower of St. Hillary. He flew thither at the head of three hundred men, and found that fifty of the French had already mounted the walls, and were joined by the inhabitants who were intruſted with the defence of that important poſt. He inſtantly attacked them with ſo much fury, that only two eſcaped the ſword, and even theſe ſaved themſelves by leaping into the ditch. The count de Dunois, informed of this diſappointment, ſounded a retreat, and endeavoured to perſuade Charles to lay aſide his deſign, as, in his opinion, all attempts upon the place during the winter would be rendered abortive. Charles ſeemed determined to take his advice, when he received freſh intelligence from the city of a new and ſudden change of circumſtances in his favour.

The inhabitants having reflected upon their dangerous ſituation if Charles ſucceeded in his deſigns; and, at the ſame time, began to feel the effects of famine, from the different avenues being cut off, by which the city received ſubſiſtence. They were alſo extremely exaſperated againſt the earl of Shrewſbury, for having killed ſo many of their fellow-citizens in the late attempt upon St. Hillary. The citizens therefore determined to deliver up the city, and accordingly ſent a formal deputation to their archbiſhop, and perſuaded him to join them in declaring their ſentiments to the duke of Somerſet. The duke uſed every argument in his power to divert the inhabitants from ſurrendering the city. He repreſented to them the advanced ſeaſon of the year, the ſtrength of the city, and the number of the garriſon, and that he was in daily expectations of receiving ſuccours from England. But all his endeavours were fruitleſs; the univerſal cry was Peace: and the duke of Somerſet, unable to reſiſt at once both the enemies within and without the walls, retired with his garriſon into the palace and caſtle; neither of which being tenable, he was obliged to ſurrender, and purchaſe a retreat to Harfleur by the payment of fifty-ſix thouſand crowns, engaging to ſurrender Arques, Toncarville, Caudebec, Honfleur, with other places in the higher Normandy, and delivering hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles.

A. D. 1450. But notwithſtanding theſe engagements, the governor of Honfleur refuſed to obey; and the earl of Shrewſbury, one of the hoſtages, was detained a priſoner, and the Engliſh, deprived of the only general capable of recovering them from their preſent diſtreſſed ſituation. Honfleur, however, made a good defence, under Sir Thomas Curſon

Curſon the governor; but was at laſt obliged to open its gates to the count de Dunois. Succours at laſt appeared from England under the command of Sir Thomas Kyriel, and landed at Cherburgh; but theſe came ſo very late, and amounted only to four thouſand men, that they were ſoon routed at Fourmigni, by the count de Clermont. This battle, or rather ſkirmiſh, was the only action fought by the Engliſh in defence of their French dominions.

In the mean time, Somerſet, ſhut up in Caen without any proſpect of relief, found it neceſſary to capitulate: Falaiſe opened its gates, on condition that the earl of Shrewſbury ſhould be reſtored to his liberty: and Cherburg, the laſt place in Normandy, which remained in the hands of the Engliſh, being delivered up, the conqueſt of that important province was finiſhed by Charles, in ſomething leſs than a twelvemonth, to the great joy of the whole kingdom of France.

It was not much above twenty years ſince Henry V. had ſpread fire, deſolation, ſlaughter and conqueſt to the very gates of Paris. But where were now the generals, where the troops that followed that hero? Where were the effects of his policy, where the force of his example? One campaign gave to the French, what had coſt the Edward's and the Henry's of England, whole ages to conquer. But alas! the miſery of civil diſſenſion began now to operate ſtrongly in England. Authority and power were not united in the ſame perſons. The ſyſtem of corruption, introduced by the queen and her miniſters, employed all the public money to private purpoſes. Places were made for men, and all preferments in the gift of the government venally diſpoſed of; thoſe in the field for ſervices done in the cabinet, or parliament, and thoſe in the ſtate, for a tame, timid, perhaps treacherous, behaviour in the field.

While the Engliſh were covered with confuſion at their precipitate fall from all their glory in France, the party of the duke of York, and other enemies of the adminiſtration, inſtead of contributing to retrieve the national diſgraces, were employed in diſtreſſing the government, and oppoſing its meaſures. They ſucceeded ſo well, that the whole nation ſeemed to be divided into two factions, and one of them to conſiſt of the queen and her favourite only; but thoſe two being poſſeſſed of the perſon of the king, were alſo poſſeſſed of the executive power, and this, though they could not carry any meaſure in the parliament, enabled them to continue at the head of the government. They were not indeed unacquainted with the ambitious views of the duke of York, but did not think it prudent to publiſh them. They, however, determined to remove him from court, and accordingly appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland. The duke eaſily comprehended the meaning of this honourable exile: but foreſeeing it might prove of infinite advantage to his party, he accepted the commiſſion.

The duke was very careful not to enter on any unpopular meaſures in Ireland: he gained entirely the affections of the people, and was removed from the great ſcene of political confuſion which this year opened in England. At the ſame time the great character he was acquiring in Ireland, had ſo great an effect on the Engliſh, that his party daily increaſed, while his abſence ſcreened him from the imputation of ſupporting the exceſſes of either party, and conſequently deprived the government of all pretence for proceeding capitally againſt him, however they might be perſuaded of his ſecret inclinations.

A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter; but the diſcontents of the people at the proceedings of the government were now become ſo loud, that the wiſer part of the nation expected nothing from this aſſembly, but diſſenſions and confuſion. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, then chancellor of England, was under ſuch conſternation, that he made no ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion. The duke of Suffolk was unable to ſtem the torrent of national reſentment: his name was become a ſynonimous appellation for a public traitor, but he had hitherto employed the royal perſon and authority as a defence againſt his enemies. He even flattered himſelf that it would prove a ſufficient defence againſt the reſentment of the parliament. He had another ſource of confidence: all his meaſures had been approved of in council: a very fallacious refuge, the conſtant, though miſtaken defence of guilty miniſters!

Filled with preſumptuous hopes from theſe deceitful principles, the duke appeared in parliament, where he made a long ſpeech, recapitulating all his ſervices for the ſtate. He concluded with obſerving how public report had traduced his character; complained of the impoſſibility of anſwering to general accuſations and nameleſs accuſers; and deſired that, if his enemies thought proper to lay any thing to his charge, they would act with ſo much juſtice as to ſpecify his crimes.

The commons in anſwer to the duke replied, that they apprehended his own ſpeech, in which he had judicially confeſſed himſelf obnoxious to public report, was a ſufficient reaſon for his being committed to ſafe cuſtody; but this the lords thought proper to refuſe. Exaſperated at this denial, and ſtill more by the miniſter's ſpeech, they ſent up to the houſe of peers an accuſation of high treaſon againſt the duke of Suffolk. They inſiſted that he had perſuaded the French king to invade England with an armed force, in order to depoſe the king, and place his own ſon John de la Pole, on the throne, after marrying him to Margaret, only daughter to the late John duke of Somerſet, in order by that means to obtain a title to the crown: that he had contributed to the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, in order to prevail on that prince to aſſiſt Charles in driving the Engliſh out of France, and recovering full poſſeſſion of his kingdom: that he afterwards encouraged that king to make war upon Normandy and Guienne, and had promoted his conqueſts by betraying the ſecrets of England, and obſtructing the ſuccours propoſed to be ſent over to theſe provinces: and that he had, without any powers or commiſſion, promiſed by treaty to deliver up the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou; and had accordingly delivered it up; a conceſſion which, in the iſſue, proved the chief cauſe of the loſs of Normandy.

The duke put in proper anſwers to all theſe articles; they were indeed of that nature, that none but the vulgar could ſeriouſly think him guilty. The commons themſelves were extremely ſenſible that they could not prove the truth of the charge exhibited againſt him; and accordingly framed a

new one which they divided, like the former, into ſeveral articles. Among other imputations, they affirmed, that he had procured exorbitant grants from the crown; had embezzled the public money; had conferred offices on improper perſons; had perverted juſtice by maintaining iniquitous cauſes; and had procured pardons for notorious offenders.

Alarmed at the proſecution of a favourite miniſter, and ſenſible that ſome dreadful conſequence muſt follow from the reſentment of the commons, unleſs ſome method was taken to prevent it, the king ſent for all the lords both ſpiritual and temporal to his apartment, where the priſoner was produced before them On his being aſked what he could ſay in his own defence, he denied the charge; but ſubmitted himſelf entirely to the king's mercy. Henry, upon the duke's making this ſubmiſſion, declared that he was far from being ſatisfied with regard to the articles of treaſon: but in order to gratify the requeſt of his people, he thought proper to baniſh him from the kingdom for five years.

This was carrying the prerogative to a pitch unknown to the Engliſh conſtitution. It was, in effect taking from the parliament all future power of that birth right of the peerage, by by which their own order was to be judged. Every miniſter might eaſily elude the ſtroke of national juſtice, by producing a pardon previous to any ſentence. The lords were ſufficiently aware of the conſequences, and, accordingly, at their return to their houſe entered a very ſtrong proteſt, in which they declared, that the ſentence paſſed on the earl was by the king's own authority, and not by their conſent: that this example ſhould never be brought as a precedent to debar themſelves or their heirs of their peerage.

This remarkable tranſaction muſt afford matter for pleaſing ſpeculation to every curious reader, when he reflects how early the voice of public jealouſy guarded againſt the abuſe of prerogative. Henry and his courtiers did not ſufficiently conſider that they were ſtretching the moſt tender nerve of government; they adopted the perſonal for the political character of the king, and held it up as a ſhield to protect a dangerous miniſter. But the nation was far from being ſatisfied with the method of proceeding. They conſidered the duke as more criminal than he really was, from the manner of his acquittal; and conſidered his eſcape, as a triumph over the laws. National poverty and diſgrace had rendered many perſons of deſperate fortune, ready to embrace every opportunity of public commotion. Theſe joined againſt the court, under pretence of forming a virtuous oppoſition, till the chariot of government was overturned.

The people were convinced that theſe irregular proceedings were intended only to ſcreen the duke of Suffolk from juſtice, and that as he ſtill poſſeſſed the queen's confidence, he would, on the firſt favourable opportunity, be recalled from his exile, and reinſtated in his former credit. Accordingly a ſhip was provided by his enemies for intercepting him in his paſſage to France. The ſcheme ſucceeded, the duke's veſſel was taken and brought back into Dover road, where his head was ſtruck off on the ſide of a long boat, by the hand of a common ſailor, and his body thrown into the ſea. Thus fell the duke of Suffolk by a barbarous enemy. All England approved of this act, however contrary to public juſtice; and taught the court how unavailing every meaſure to ſcreen the object of public reſentment muſt prove, when the people were exaſperated by a long train of inglorious or unſucceſsful meaſures.

A. D. 1450. Theſe convulſions ſhook the whole frame of Henry's government; eſpecially as the people were no ſtrangers to the duke of York's pretenſions to the crown. This prince was deſcended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward the third; and therefore ſtood in the order of ſucceſſion before the king, who derived his deſcent from the duke of Lancaſter, third ſon to Henry the third. The duke of York was a perſon of great valour and abilities; prudent in his conduct, and mild in his diſpoſition. In right of his father he bore the rank of firſt prince of the blood; and by this ſtation he gave a luſtre to the family of Mortimer, which, though of great nobility, was equalled by other families in the kingdom, and had been eclipſed by the royal deſcent of the houſe of Lancaſter.

The partizans of the duke of York took advantage of the national ferment, to recommend their patron to the favour of the public. Every corner of the kingdom reſounded with complaints againſt the government. The duke's partizans upbraided the inactivity of the king, the ambition of the queen, and the ignorance of the miniſtry. They even mentioned the duke of York, as the moſt proper perſon to hold the reins of government; adding that no other expedient could ſave the nation and retrieve her former credit and conſequence.

Theſe diſcourſes were only a prelude to a greater ſcene of national calamity, which was now going to open. One John Cade, a perſon of mean circumſtances, and a native of Ireland, took upon himſelf the name of John Mortimer, probably with a deſign of paſſing himſelf on the people, for a ſon of Sir John Mortimer, who had been ſentenced to death by parliament, and executed in the beginning of the preſent reign, without any trial. The inhabitants of Kent, on the firſt mention of that popular name, aſſembled in crowds, and twenty thouſand of them repaired to Cade's ſtandard. Elated with this aſtoniſhing ſucceſs, Cade uſed every method in his power to inflame their zeal, by publiſhing complaints againſt the numerous abuſes of government, and demanding redreſs of their grievances.

The miniſtry ſaw theſe tumultuous proceedings, without being ſufficiently ſenſible of their conſequences; and therefore thought it ſufficient to ſend a few troops againſt them under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford. But they were ſoon convinced of their error: Stafford was defeated and ſlain in an action with the rebels, near Sevenoak; and Cade, advancing with his followers, towards London, encamped on Blackheath. The inſurgents, however elated by their late victory ſtill maintained the appearance of moderation. Cade ſent to the miniſtry a very plauſible liſt of grievances, promiſing that when theſe were redreſſed, and lord Say the treaſurer, and Cromer high ſheriff of the county of Kent were puniſhed for their crimes, he would immediately lay down his arms. The council who could not object to the reaſonableneſs of theſe pretenſions, removed the king, for the greater ſafety to Kenilworth caſtle.

In the mean time Cade received advice that the people in Eſſex were in arms, and ready to enter London at Mile-end, provided Cade would alſo enter

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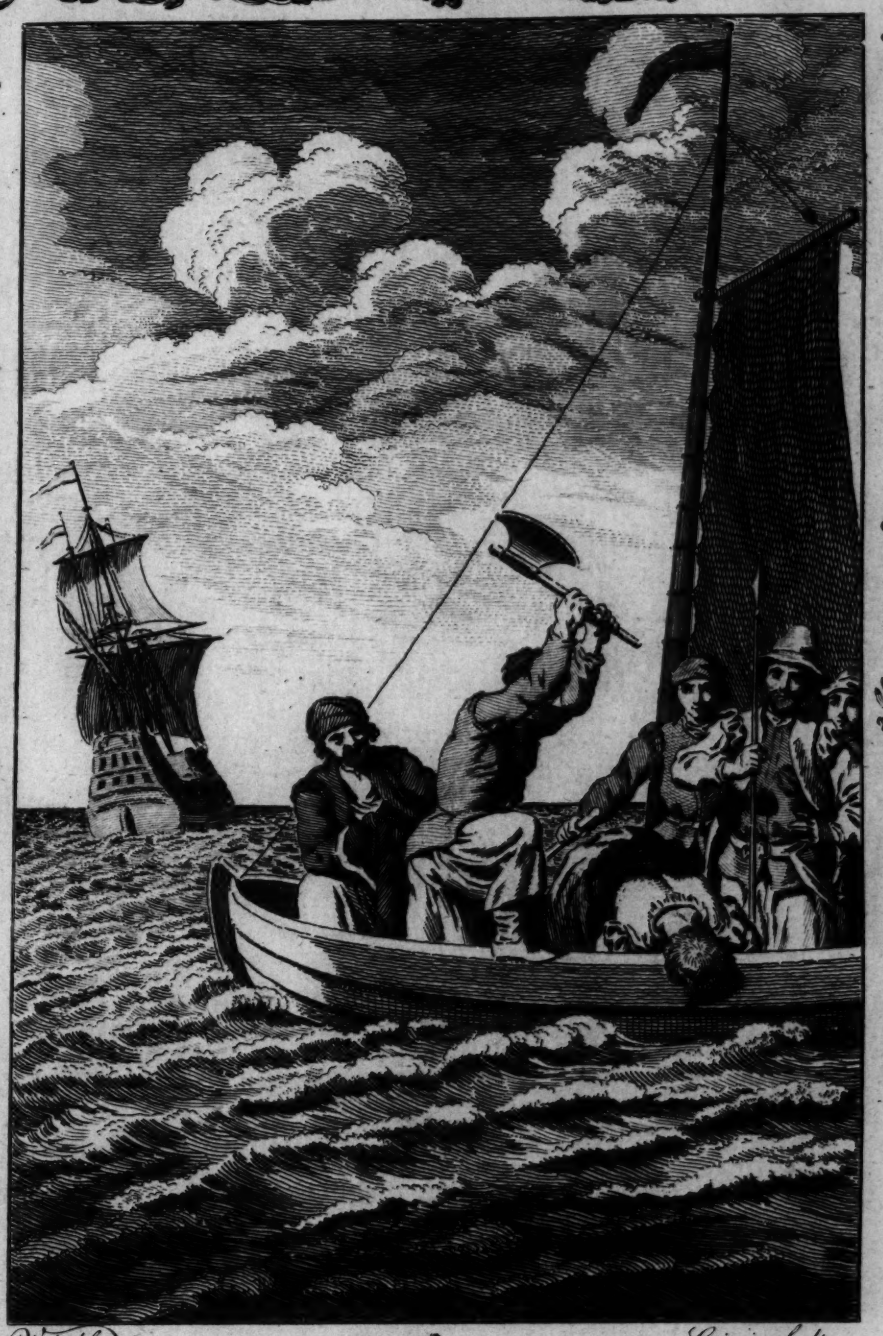
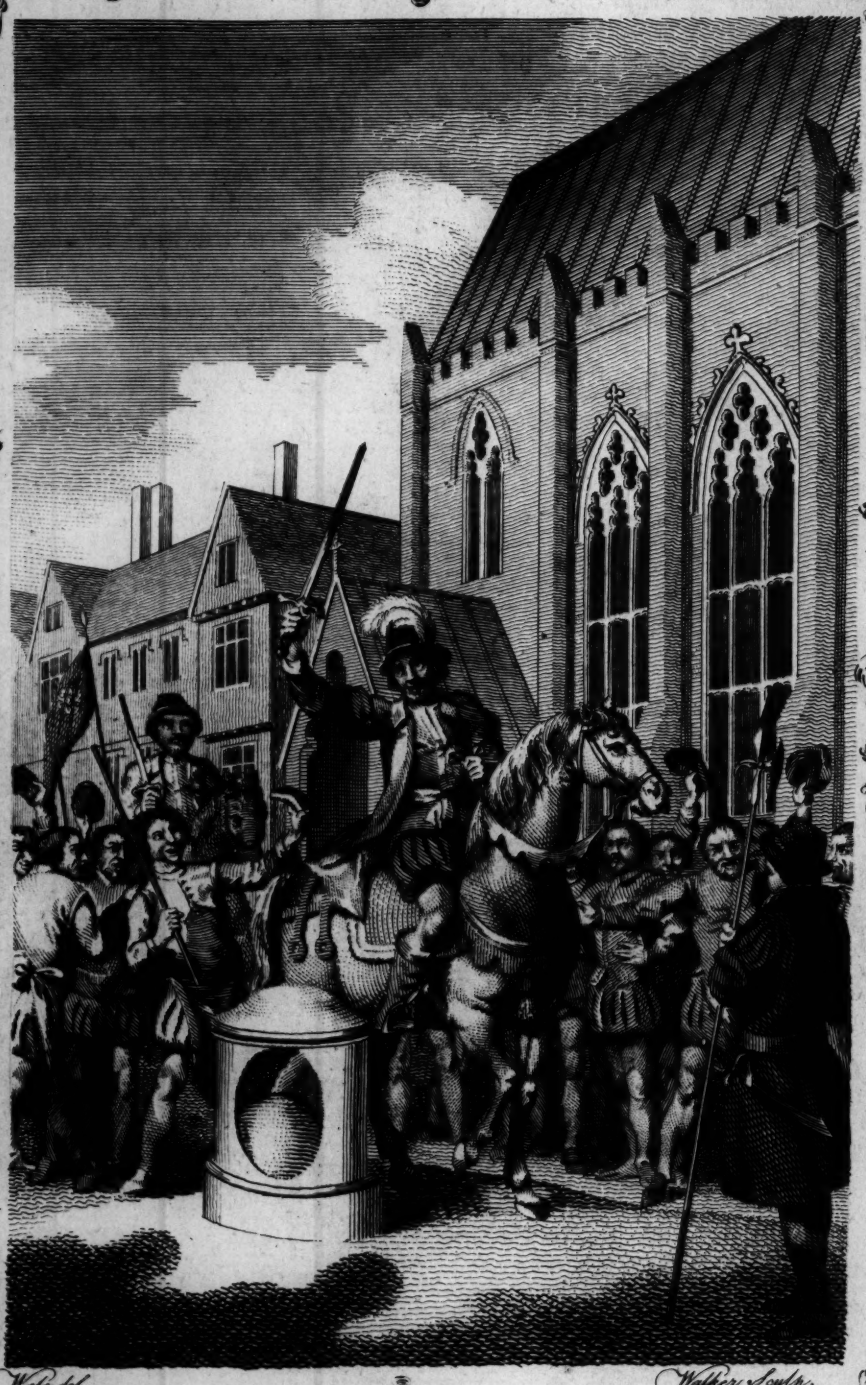


The Duke *of* Suffolk *beheaded in a long Boat near* Dover

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.



Wale del. *Walker Sculp.*

JACK CADE *Declaring himself* LORD *of the City of* LONDON

ter the city, from Southwark. This plan being agreed to, Cade advanced to the foot of the bridge, and diſpatched a meſſenger to the Lord-mayor, demanding admittance into the city; and the conſent of the magiſtrates being obtained, Cade, after making a ſolemn proclamation, commanding his men under pain of death not to commit the leaſt violence in the city, and ordering them to return in the evening to their camp in St. George's-fields, entered London at the head of his undiſciplined army.

Hitherto the conſpiracy had the appearance of a deep-concerted, and well-conducted attempt. But Cade was unequal to the taſk he had undertaken. Poverty had procured him many followers, who, under ſpecious pretences, endeavoured to ſupply their own neceſſities, by taking advantage of the public calamities. The ſecret managers of the rebellion, therefore, ſoon found themſelves unable to ſtiffle the deſire of plunder; and the friends of the duke of York, reſiding in the city, perceived with horror, when too late, that rapine, not reformation, was the true purpoſe of the rebels. When Cade entered the city, he had the inſolence to ſtrike his ſtaff againſt London-ſtone, ſaying, "Now is Mortimer "lord of London." The rebels, however, obeyed the orders of Cade, and returned peaceably to the camp in St. George's-fields.

But the next morning on their returning into the city, they demanded that the lord Say ſhould be brought from the tower, and take his trial before the Lord-mayor and the other magiſtrates of London. The lieutenant of the tower was mean enough to comply with the demand of the rebels; and lord Say was brought before their lawleſs tribunal. He, however, behaved with great dignity; and, like an Engliſh nobleman, demanded to be tried by his peers. This appeal ſo exaſperated the inſurgents, that, deſpiſing all formality of judgment, hurried him from Guildhall to their ſtandard in Cheapſide, where he loſt his head with becoming conſtancy.

Cromer, ſheriff of Kent, and ſon-in law to lord Say, was alſo dragged to Mile-end, where his head was ſtruck off without the leaſt appearance of trial. The bodies of both theſe victims to popular fury, were treated with all the ignominy that vulgar madneſs could ſuggeſt; and the rebels beginning now to be conſcious of their own ſtrength, grew every hour more intractable. They ſeparated into different quarters; they marked out for plunder, the richeſt houſes in the city, without the leaſt regard to the conduct or principles of the owners. The houſe of alderman Malpas, and one Chroſtis, two wealthy citizens, were plundered, after having entertained Cade himſelf, in the moſt hoſpitable manner. Murder and rapine became common; and the citizens ſaw the neceſſity of joining the king's troops in the tower, for their common ſafety. Accordingly they took the opportunity of Cade's return to St. George's fields, when the Lord-mayor and aldermen ſent a meſſage to lord Scales, offering to arm the citizens, and guard the bridge againſt the return of the rebels, provided they were ſupported by a detachment from the tower. This offer being accepted, the citizens ſeized upon the bridge, after cutting off the party left to guard the paſſage.

This action, however, alarmed the rebels; and when the regular troops marched to purſue the advantage, they found the rebels drawn up in excellent order, and were obliged to retreat with great precipitation to the barriers of the bridge, where the diſpute was renewed with the moſt bloody obſtinancy. The commander of the regulars, together with the aldermen, Sutton and Hazard were ſlain, and the citizens preſſed ſo cloſely by the rebels, that the latter ſet fire to the houſes on the bridge. A moſt dreadful ſcene of ſlaughter and conflagration enſued. At laſt the rebels paſſed the draw-bridge, and drove the citizens to the corner of the church of St. Magnus. And here the aged, the weak, and the infant periſhed indiſcriminately by the hands of barbarous ruffians. They who eſcaped the flames either fell by the ſword or periſhed in the river. The dreadful blaze from the flames of houſes gave light to the contending parties, and the rebels were again driven back; but the cruſh of falling roofs, and the wrecks of ruined walls upon the bridge, ſoon rendered any further engagement there impracticable, and both parties accepted of a ceſſation of arms. During this interval Cade ordered the doors of the Marſhalſea and King's-Bench priſons to be ſet open, and enliſted all the priſoners fit for his purpoſe.

In the mean time the friends of the government were much better employed: for Stafford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, reſolved to offer a general pardon to the rebels, provided they would conſent to lay down their arms. This wiſe and critical meaſure was attended with amazing ſucceſs. It ſoon appeared that Cade's army was compoſed of two different ſorts of perſons. The one was compoſed of ignorant country people who meant well, but deſpairing of a pardon for their treaſons, which they ſaw too late, now fought for ſafety: the other part conſiſted of robbers and ruffians who fought only to preſerve the ſpoils they had taken. The pardon therefore was acceptable to both, and Cade, to the aſtoniſhment of the public, found his numerous army reduced to a mere handful of men, who ſtill determined to ſtand or fall with their leader. The pardon was ſoon after annulled, as being extorted by violence, and a price ſet upon Cade's head, who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Suſſex, and many of his followers were capitally puniſhed for their rebellion.

A. D. 1451. While affairs continued in this diſtracted ſituation at home, it could not be expected that they ſhould continue in a proſperous ſituation abroad. Normandy being entirely reduced under the French government by Charles, he now ordered his troops to march into Guienne, in order to recover that province alſo from the Engliſh. This was, however, attended with more difficulty than that of Normandy. The Gaſcons who had lived ſo long under the Engliſh government, were better affected to it than the Normans, and the country itſelf was ſituated at a greater diſtance from the ſeat of Charles's power. The mareſchal de Jalognes, the count de Penthievre, and Xaintrailles, were intruſted with the command of the French army. Their firſt attempt was againſt Bergerac, which ſurrendered upon capitulation; Jouſac was carried by aſſault, and Montſerand ſurrendered after a ſlight reſiſtance. The lord Chamois, Sir George Seymour, and Sir John Arundel, were the principal officers the Engliſh had in that country. They were, however, ſo active, that they brought a party of ſeven or eight thouſand men into the field, to oppoſe d'Orval, who was on his march at the

the head of five thouſand regular troops to reinforce the French army. A ſevere action enſued, in which the Engliſh, who were almoſt entirely compoſed of militia, were defeated, with the loſs of about two thouſand men. But this victory was purchaſed dearly by the French, who loſt eight hundred of their beſt troops, and were ſo diſabled that they could only reduce Sante-foi and Chalois, before their troops were obliged to retire into winter quarters.

In the mean time the friends of the duke of York, having diſcovered the diſpoſitions of the people by Cade's rebellion, were informed that the duke himſelf was determined to return from Ireland. The miniſtry, alarmed at this circumſtance, and fearing he intended to bring with him an armed force, they iſſued orders in the king's name, for oppoſing him, and refuſing him acceſs into England. But the duke diſappointed his enemies by coming attended by no more than his ordinary retinue. The precautions of the miniſtry therefore, had no other effect than that of ſhewing their jealouſy and malignity againſt that popular nobleman, who was now ſenſible that his title to the crown, by being dangerous to the king, was alſo become dangerous to himſelf. He therefore ſaw the impoſſibility of remaining in his preſent ſituation, and the neceſſity of proceeding forward in ſupport of his claim. His partizans therefore were inſtructed to maintain, in all companies, his right to the crown by ſucceſſion, and by the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitution of the kingdom.

The chief noblemen who were diſcontented with the government, and therefore joined the party of the duke of York, were John Mowbray duke of Norfolk, Richard Nevil earl of Saliſbury, the lord Richard Neville, afterwards earl of Warwick, Thomas Courtney earl of Devonſhire, and Edward Brook, lord Cobham. On the other hand, the government was ſupported by many powerful barons. The earl of Northumberland embraced the royal party, and the earl of Weſtmorland was eaſily brought over to the ſame intereſt, and the whole north of England, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom, was, by means of theſe two powerful noblemen, engaged heartily in ſupport of the houſe of Lancaſter. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, and his brother Henry, were of the greateſt ſervice to that cauſe, as were alſo Henry Holland, earl of Exeter, Stafford duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and other barons of great power and fortune.

A. D. 1452. Early in the ſpring, the friends of the duke of York, who was then in Wales, were in motion. They now made no ſecret of their intention to reform the abuſes of government, but found themſelves diſappointed in the methods they intended to purſue. The ſuppreſſion of Cade's rebellion which had once ſo promiſing an appearance, the deaths of the ring-leaders, and the violence with which it muſt have been attended had it been more ſucceſsful, made deep impreſſions on the wiſer and more thinking part of the nation, though otherwiſe highly diſſatisfied with the government. The duke of Somerſet, who now directed the adminiſtration under the queen, eaſily perceived the advantages which might be drawn from the preſent conjuncture, He adviſed Henry to cruſh the rebellion, before the inſurgents could collect their forces; adding, that now the chief fomenter of theſe diſorders was weak, and therefore might be attacked with ſucceſs.

Henry followed this advice, and marched immediately at the head of a very conſiderable army towards Wales. The duke of York, though in condition of meeting Henry in the field, ſeemed determined to maintain his poſt; and by this ſtratagem drew the king to a great diſtance from his capital. Having ſuceeded in this deſign, he left his camp privately in the night, and by ſilent marches paſſed the king's army; and advanced with great expedition towards London, where he hoped to be joined by the citizens, and the principal barons of his party. As ſoon as Henry had authentic intelligence of the rout the duke had taken, he immediately returned with his army towards the capital, where the duke met with a ſevere mortification. For on his approaching the city gates he found them ſhut; nor could the inhabitants notwithſtanding all the ſpecious pretences of reformation, be prevailed upon to give him admittance. The recent veſtiges of Cade's rebellion, marked in blood; the powerful army of the royal party, and the reverence of the people for the virtues of their king, guarded his throne at this critical juncture; and while the duke of York was pleading with the citizens, he received intelligence that Henry was in full march againſt him at the head of his troops.

Convinced that no aſſiſtance could be expected from the citizens, and in no condition of facing the royal army, the duke croſſed the Thames over Kingſton-bridge and encamped at Burnt-heath, about twelve miles from London. The duke of Somerſet adviſed the king to march immediately and attack the rebels; but Henry was weak enough to neglect this ſalutary counſel. He could not prevail upon himſelf to ſhed the blood of his ſubjects; and his ſcruples were increaſed by ſome fearful, perhaps treacherous churchmen, who adviſed him to open a negotiation with the oppoſite party. This ridiculous advice was much better ſuited to Henry's narrow genius than that of the duke of Somerſet. Accordingly the biſhops of Wincheſter and Ely, and the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, were ſent to the duke of York, to know the reaſon for his having recourſe to arms, and upon what conditions he was willing to lay them down.

This negotiation prevented the duke's deſtruction. The two earls were his moſt intimate friends, though they had not yet declared for his party, and the two prelates had no other intention than that of gratifying the deſire of Henry, and preventing the effuſion of human blood. Senſible that the whole party muſt have been ruined had the king attacked them, the duke of York received the commiſſioners with great reſpect; and declared he was ready to lay down his arms whenever the cauſe that induced him to take them up was removed, namely the wicked counſellors who had abuſed the confidence of the king, and oppreſſed the people. He concluded with all the inſidious declarations of reſpect, generally uſed by diſguſted and diſappointed treaſon. The commiſſioners were very deſirous of putting an end to theſe civil commotions; and it was accordingly agreed that the duke of York ſhould diſmiſs his army, and the duke of Somerſet be put under arreſt, in order to take his trial before the enſuing parliament. The duke of York accordingly diſmiſſed his army, and repaired to the royal tent, in order

to

to pay his reſpects to the king. Upon his being admitted into Henry's preſence, he repeated his charge againſt the duke of Somerſet, but was ſurprized, in the middle of his harangue, to ſee that miniſter ſtep from behind the curtain, and offer to juſtify his innocence. Richard now perceived he was betrayed; that he was in the hands of his enemies, and that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to be more moderate in his pretenſions. No violence was, however, attempted againſt his perſon: he was diſmiſſed from the royal preſence, and retired to his ſeat at Wigmore on the borders of Wales.

During theſe tranſactions the king of France had made himſelf maſter of Guienne; and the whole province, which had remained united to England ſince the acceſſion of Henry II. was ſwallowed up by the French monarchy. But the Gaſcons were ſoon weary of their new governors, and ſeveral noblemen of that country were ſent into England, with an offer of returning to their allegiance under Henry, provided they were properly ſupported. This offer was accepted by the Engliſh council, and the earl of Shrewſbury, with eight thouſand men, were ſent over to their aſſiſtance. On the earl's arrival, the city of Bourdeaux opened its gates to him: he made himſelf maſter of Fronſac, Caſtillon, with ſome other places, and his affairs had, for ſome time, a proſperous appearance: but Charles, haſtening to reſiſt this dangerous invaſion, the fortunes of the Engliſh were reverſed: Shrewſbury, a veteran general, above eighty years of age, was ſlain in battle, and all his conqueſts were loſt: Bourdeaux was again obliged to ſubmit to the French king, and all hopes of ever more recovering that province loſt for ever.

A. D. 1453. This unfortunate turn of affairs on the continent, gave the duke of York great advantages over the miniſtry. He ſtill continued to reſide at Wigmore; but the capital, the court, and every part of the country were filled with his friends, from whom he received early and authentic intelligence of every particular worth his notice. Henry had been lately ſeized with a violent diſeaſe, and during his indiſpoſition, the queen and the duke of Somerſet governed the kingdom in a more deſpotic manner than ever.

At the ſame time the miſapplication of the public money ſo liberally beſtowed by the parliament for the reduction of Guienne, increaſed the odium already thrown on the duke's adminiſtration. But the birth of a ſon to Henry, and who was baptized by the name of Edward, was conſidered as a joyful incident by the royal party, as it removed their fears of the duke of York's ſucceeding peaceably to the crown, to which he would otherwiſe have been the undoubted heir.

But the duke of York knew too much of the hiſtory of his country, not to be ſenſible that the ſentiments of parliament generally followed the ſucceſs of the field. He knew that their acts had eſtabliſhed the Lancaſter family on the throne, but he alſo knew that his right being prior to theirs, ſucceſs would ſoon change the ſcene, and he ſhould ſoon be acknowledged the true and undoubted heir to the Engliſh throne.

Satisfied that this would certainly be the conſequence provided the aſcendency over the Lancaſtrian party could be obtained, he applied himſelf cloſely to conſider the moſt probable methods of rendering his attempt ſucceſsful. His two principal friends were now the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick; the former was father to the latter, both poſſeſſed great eſtates, were perſons of vaſt abilities, and highly eſteemed by the people. The earl of Saliſbury, brother-in-law to the duke of York, was, for his experience, his coolneſs, his moderation, and his regard for the laws and conſtitutions of his country, almoſt idolized by the public, who thought they could never err, if they followed the footſteps of ſo great a man. He had hitherto carefully avoided declaring himſelf for either party, which greatly increaſed his credit with both. But even this neutrality, in a perſon of ſo much virtue and diſtinction, carried with it a tacit acknowledgement in favour of the oppoſition; ſince nothing can deter a worthy man from declaring in favour of the government, when he ſees it unjuſtly attacked. His eldeſt ſon Richard, had married Anne, the daughter and heireſs of Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who died governor of France, and by that alliance he enjoyed the poſſeſſions, and had now acquired the title of that powerful family, one of the moſt opulent, ancient, and illuſtrious in the kingdom. At the ſame time his perſonal qualities enhanced the ſplendor of his nobility, and increaſed his influence over the people. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery in the field, by the hoſpitality of his table, by the magnificence, and ſtill more by the generoſity of his expences, and by the bold and ſpirited manner which attended him in all his actions. The undeſigning frankneſs and openneſs of his character rendered more certain and infallible, his conqueſt over the affections of the people: his preſents were regarded as ſure teſtimonies of his friendſhip and regard, and his profeſſions of eſteem as the overflowings of his genuine ſentiments. Thirty thouſand perſons are ſaid to have lived daily at his table in the different manors and caſtles he poſſeſſed in England: the military men allured at once by his magnificence, hoſpitality, and bravery, were zealouſly attached to his intereſts: the people in general bore him an unlimited affection: his numerous retainers were more devoted to his will, than to the prince or the laws, and he was the greateſt, as well as the laſt, of thoſe mighty barons, who formerly overawed the crown, and rendered the people incapable of any regular ſyſtem of civil government. In a word, without having any ſhare in the government, he was conſidered as the dictator of the people, and whoever enjoyed the ſmiles of royalty, or were inveſted with the power of the crown, authority remained with him and his father.

Such were the characters of thoſe two great aſſiſtants to the duke of York, in the mighty revolution he now projected. They were both ſatisfied of his claim, but thought it not yet a proper time for aſſerting his title. In the mean time the king's illneſs arrived to ſuch a height, that it rendered him abſolutely incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. Deſtitute of this ſupport, the queen and the council found themſelves unable to reſiſt the party of the duke of York, and were therefore reduced to the neceſſity of yeilding to the current. They ſent Somerſet to the tower, and appointed Richard lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a ſeſſion of parliament.

A. D. 1455. Furniſhed with this power, he opened the ſeſſion in the name of Henry, and was

ſoon after declared by parliament protector of the kingdom. He was alſo made governor of Calais, and the earl of Saliſbury chancellor of England. But notwithſtanding the duke enjoyed this plenitude of power, he exerciſed it with great moderation. He even requeſted when this power was firſt offered him, that it might be recorded in parliament, that this authority was conferred upon him by their own free motion, without the leaſt application from him. At the ſame time he deſired that they, as well as the lords of the council would aſſiſt him in the exerciſe of it. Had he reſolutely ſeized the crown when the parliament, who were no ſtrangers to his claim, conſtituted him protector of the kingdom, he had probably mounted the throne without any effuſion of human blood, or throwing the nation into confuſion: but his moderation, however aimable, afforded time for forming very powerful factions, and proved the ſource of thoſe furious wars which deluged the fields of England with the blood of its inhabitants.

In the mean time the king was ſo far recovered from his diſtemper, that he again reſumed the appearance of royal authority; the duke of Somerſet was releaſed from his confinement, and declared by the king a true and faithful ſubject. The king alſo took from the duke of York the command of Calais, and reſtored it to the duke of Somerſet, and once more intruſted the adminiſtration to the hands of that nobleman. The regency of the duke of York was alſo annulled, and the affairs of the kingdom put upon the ſame footing as before the king's illneſs.

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, and ſenſible of the dangers that threatened his having accepted the commiſſion of regency from the parliament, ſhould it ſuffer it to be annulled, the duke of York had once more recourſe to arms, but without advancing any pretenſions to the crown. He had again recourſe to his pretence for reforming the government, which ſoon brought together a body of three thouſand men. He immediately marched towards London, hoping to ſurprize the king before he could make neceſſary preparations for defence. He was, however, miſtaken, for though Henry could not collect a powerful army, he had a body of two thouſand brave and veteran ſoldiers, determined to ſerve under Henry, who did not want courage, to defend his authority to the utmoſt of their power.

As ſoon as intelligence arrived of the duke of York's approach, the king marched at the head of his army to St. Alban's; while the duke of York encamped in the adjacent fields. In the evening after his arrival at St. Albans, the king ſent a meſſage to the duke of York, demanding a reaſon for his appearing in arms. The duke repeated the grievances of the people, and the diſgrace the nation had ſuffered under the duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration; and that England, which was formerly conſidered as a queen among the nations, was now become their ſcorn; and concluded with declaring he would never lay down his arms, till that nobleman was delivered up to juſtice; when he would readily diſmiſs his followers, and return to his duty. The king refuſed theſe conditions, peremtorily declaring that he would as ſoon ſurrender his crown, as deliver up the duke of Somerſet; and that he would treat every man as a traitor, who ſhould dare to oppoſe his army.

By this time the troops of both parties were drawn up in order of battle; the van-guard of the Yorkiſts were commanded by the earl of Warwick, who, on being informed of Henry's refuſal, ſuddenly attacked the town, by breaking down a garden wall, which oppoſed his paſſage. The royal party, however, were not ſurprized, and a very bloody diſpute enſued. In the mean time the duke of York, marching up at the head of his diviſion, attacked the van-guard of Henry's army under lord Clifford. The action continued for ſome time with equal reſolution; but the royal army being ſtraitened for want of room, and alſo inferior in number to that of the enemy, was at laſt totally routed. The duke of Somerſet, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, ſon to the duke of Buckingham, the lord Clifford, and many other perſons of diſtinction, together with about eight hundred common ſoldiers fell in the action. The king himſelf was wounded in the neck with an arrow, and took refuge in an adjacent cottage, and fell into the hands of the victorious party.

This fatal accident almoſt reduced the royaliſts to deſpair. The queen, with an infant in the cradle, was unpopular, and deprived of her beſt ſupports; the victorious army in the neighbourhood of the capital; the citizens well affected to their cauſe, and no parliament ſetting to oppoſe the duke of York, ſhould he aſſert his undoubted right of blood to the crown. But the innocence of Henry's manners, and the ſanctity of his perſon, proved a ſufficient defence againſt his enemies in the hour of battle. The people in general, whatever their leaders might be, were not ſufficiently diſſatisfied to make them break the oaths which had bound the duke of York as well as the whole nation, to the houſe of Lancaſter, and tear the crown from the head of their ſovereign. The duke of York himſelf was ſufficiently ſenſible of this; and was therefore very watchful to prevent every riſing jealouſy of his ambition, and every ſuſpicion of his intending any thing more than a reformation of the government. The death of the duke of Somerſet had removed one of the principal difficulties, while his own ſafety was ſecure by having the king's perſon in his own cuſtody. Affairs did not, however, proceed to the laſt extremities between the two parties: the nation was, for ſome time kept in ſuſpence: the vigour and ſpirit of queen Margaret, in ſupporting her own power, ſtill proved a balance to the great authority of Richard, which was checked by his irreſolute temper.

The duke of York's firſt act of government was his ſettling the houſhold of the king's eldeſt ſon, who was, on this occaſion, created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, with the uſual ceremonies. This generous action ſeemed to remove all ſuſpicion of his entertaining any thoughts of ſeizing the crown. But the ſtrong attachments which men of the ſame family then bore to each other and the vindictive ſpirit, which was at that time conſidered as a point of honour, rendered the great families implacable in their reſentments, and widened every moment the breach between the parties. So that the peaceable ſentiments of Richard, even ſuppoſing them ſincere, could have little effect in healing the wounds, and allaying the furious diſſenſions of his country.

Soon after the duke's arrival at London, a parliament was ſummoned; but the oppoſite ſentiments of

of the members were ſufficiently evident from their oppoſite proceedings. They granted the Yorkiſts a general indemnity, and confirmed the duke in the regency: but at the ſame time they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and limited the time of the majority of the prince of Wales. They alſo paſſed an act of reſumption of all the grants made ſince the death of Henry V. This meaſure was indeed become abſolutely neceſſary, the large grants made to different favourites having reduced the crown to the moſt ſhameful degree of poverty.

During theſe tranſactions the queen was entirely paſſive, and ſhe waited with a patient compoſure, the recovery of her huſband. But in the mean time her party was ſtrengthened by many powerful noblemen, who joined her friends through reſentment at being denied a ſhare in the new government.

Many of the peers were alſo diſguſted at the act of reſumption, as ſome of them loſt by that law, a very conſiderable part of their revenues. The queen obſerved this diſſenſion; and her huſband having now recovered his health ſo far as to act his part with ſome degree of decency, ſhe took the opportunity of the duke of York's abſence, and produced the king before the houſe of lords, where he declared his intentions of reſuming the government, and putting an end to the duke's regency. The houſe of peers gave their aſſent to this reſumption, and the king was declared to be reinſtated in his ſovereign authority.

A. D. 1457. The duke of York made no attempt to oppoſe this reſolution in favour of Henry, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe an interval of tranquillity. The court retired to Coventry, and invited the duke of York, and the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick to attend the king, and aſſiſt in the council. They readily obeyed the ſummons, and ſet out for Coventry; but received authentic intelligence that a ſcheme was formed for arreſting their perſons. Alarmed at this information, they immediately ſeparated; the duke of York retired to his caſtle of Wigmore on the borders of Wales; the earl of Saliſbury to the caſtle of Middleham in Yorkſhire, and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been given him after the battle of St. Albans. The queen, though greatly diſappointed by this retreat of the perſons ſhe intended to ſecure, concealed her mortification ſo artfully, that the public entertained no ſuſpicion of her deſign, nor had the duke of York and his party any pretence for having recourſe to arms.

This appearance of moderation in both parties was conſidered by Bouchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as an happy omen of the return of peace and tranquillity. He therefore had recourſe to negotiation, and ſincerely laboured to prevent that effuſion of blood with which the kingdom was threatened by theſe powerful parties. Henry joined the archbiſhop, and urged, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pathetic manner, the calamities that threatened the kingdom from theſe violent diſſenſions. He proteſted, upon the word of a chriſtian and a king, that none of the diſcontented lords ſhould ſuffer the leaſt inconveniency from what had already happened; and earneſtly requeſted that all animoſities might be buried in mutual forgiveneſs. Theſe invitations of Henry were made public, and the nation entertained ſo high an opinion of his candour, that the duke of York and his party could no longer refuſe to comply.

A. D. 1458. Both parties accordingly met at London to complete the deſirable work of ſincere reconciliation; but the many precautions uſed on both ſides afforded but an unfavourable proſpect of ſucceſs. The partizans of the duke of York came to the capital, with numerous retinues, and took up their quarters near each other, for mutual ſecurity. While the chiefs of the Lancaſtrian party uſed the ſame precautions. The mayor of London raiſed five thouſand citizens, who were diſpoſed of in proper places, and kept a ſtrict watch, night and day, to prevent any diſturbance.

By theſe precautions the peace of the city was preſerved, and the conferences were carried on with ſome temper and ſhew of friendſhip, and terms of agreement were adjuſted; but ſuch as did not remove the foundation of their differences; a ſeeming reconciliation therefore only took place, the parties ſtill maintained the ſame rancour at their hearts, though the exterior demonſtrations of friendſhip and amity were diſplayed in the moſt magnificent manner. A ſolemn proceſſion of all parties was made to St. Pauls; the king dreſſed in his robes of ſtate, and with his diadem on his head, aſſiſted at this ſolemnity; queen Margaret was led by the duke of York, and a chief walked hand in hand with a chief of the other. Nothing was omitted to give the whole every appearance of cordial reconciliation and undiſguiſed confidence.

But inſtead of labouring chearfully in the pleaſing work of reconciliation, inſtead of taking their places at the council-board, and aſſiſting with their advice, they ſuddenly retired to the ſeveral places where their principal intereſt lay; the duke of York to the marches of Wales, the earl of Saliſbury into the north, and the earl of Warwick to his command in the navy. During his cruiſe he fell in with a large fleet of ſhips belonging to different powers, particularly the French and Spaniards, who were then in open war with England. This fleet was very richly laden, but their convoy much ſtronger than Warwick's ſquadron. This diſparity, however, had no effect upon the admiral, he attacked the fleet, diſperſed the convoy, took ſix of the largeſt ſhips, worth above ten thouſand pounds, killed a thouſand of their men, and deſtroyed, or drove on ſhore, ſix and twenty of their ſhips, beſides thoſe he had taken. The Lubeckers who then made a very conſiderable figure in the commerce of Europe, made heavy complaints of this capture, part of the fleet being their property. The action was, however, far from being diſagreeable to the Engliſh; but this rather exaſperated the queen's party, than tended to heal the animoſities that ſtill ſubſiſted between them, and the earl of Warwick perceiving that a proſecution was intended to be carried on againſt him, came to London.

A. D. 1459. When parties are exaſperated againſt each other, the ſmalleſt accident, without any formed deſign, is ſufficient to blow the ſmothered embers into a flame; and had the intentions of the leaders been ever ſo amicable, they would have found it very difficult to reſtrain the animoſity of their followers. An accident that happened while the earl of Warwick continued in London ſufficiently proved the truth of this obſervation. A perſon in the king's retinue inſulted one of the earl of Warwick's

Warwick's ſervants: their companions on each ſide took part in the quarrel: a fierce combat enſued: and the earl, apprehending his life to be in danger, fled over to his government at Calais; and both parties, in every part of England made great preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword.

The earl of Saliſbury, was ſoon at the head of four thouſand men, and marched from his caſtle at Middleham, in order to join the duke of York, who was exerting all his intereſt in the marches of Wales. The royaliſts well knew the conſequences of this junction, and therefore determined if poſſible to prevent it. Accordingly the lord Audley, at the head of ten thouſand men, marched to meet the earl of Saliſbury, and encamped on Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordſhire. Saliſbury not knowing the force or ſituation of the royaliſts, continued his march, and found the banks of a ſmall rivulet lined with lord Audley's forces. The earl, perceiving the ſuperiority of the enemy, had recourſe to a ſtratagem in order to ſupply his want of numbers. He ordered a large detachment of his beſt archers to advance to the oppoſite bank, and pour a ſhower of arrows upon the royaliſts. The latter, after receiving the diſcharge, advanced in their turn, when the earl of Saliſbury ordered his men to retreat, which they did with the appearance of confuſion. This allured the lord Audley to follow them with precipitation: but when part of the royal army had paſſed the brook, Saliſbury ſuddenly turned upon them; and partly by the ſurprize, and partly by the diviſion of the enemy's forces, put them to the rout. The example of flight was followed by the reſt of the army: and Saliſbury obtained a cheap and compleat victory. Lord Audley with moſt of his principal officers, and two thouſand of his ſoldiers were killed on the ſpot, and the earl of Saliſbury purſued his march to Ludlow, where he joined the duke of York.

Soon after junction the earl of Warwick came to the rendezvous with a choice body of veterans from Calais, under the command of Sir Andrew Trollop and John Blunt, two officers of great experience and courage. The party had indeed occaſion for all their reſources. The nation was far from approving of their late conduct: their pretences for taking up arms were too perſonal and too particular to warrant the effuſion of ſo much Engliſh blood; and the duke of York was now obliged to avow his intentions of claiming the crown. This attack upon Henry's perſon and dignity, rouzed all the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, who now ſaw the neceſſity of exerting all their power and intereſt to defeat the deſigns of their enemies. In a few days Henry ſaw himſelf at the head of an army far ſuperior to that of the duke of York; and it was reſolved to march immediately towards Ludlow, where the Yorkiſts were encamped.

As the royal army advanced, the duke of York found his ſoldiers very unwilling to ſheath their ſwords in the bowels of their countrymen. They imagined that the ſole intention of their leaders was to reſcue the king out of the hands of a wicked miniſtry: but when they ſaw Henry marching in perſon at the head of his troops; and perceived the tide of natural affections turning in his favour, they abſolutely refuſed to draw their ſwords; and ſoon after Sir Andrew Trollop, deſerted at the head of his veterans to the king. This ſo diſmayed the reſt of the army, that they ſeparated the next day without ſtriking a blow. The duke of York fled to Ireland; the earl of Warwick, attended by many of the leaders, eſcaped to his government of Calais, where his great popularity among all the orders of men in the kingdom, ſoon rendered him a very formidable enemy.

A. D. 1460. He did not continue idle at Calais, he made ſeveral cruiſes at ſea, and met with the greateſt ſucceſs; for he was ſo beloved by the ſeamen, that they refuſed to fight againſt him. He ſoon after landed in England, with the earl of Saliſbury and the earl of March, eldeſt ſon to the duke of York; and being met by the primate, the lord Cobham, and other perſons of diſtinction, he marched amidſt the acclamations of the people to London. On his arrival his army increaſed ſo rapidly, that he was ſoon in a condition of facing the royal army, then at Northampton.

The news of their march quickened the queen's motions; ſhe croſſed the river Ner, and took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp between Harſington and Sandyford, having the river in her rear, and ſtrong entrenchments in her front. In this ſituation, which was extremely convenient for receiving reinforcements, it was reſolved to wait for the enemy.

In a few days the confederate army appeared marching in three diviſions; the firſt led by the earl of Warwick, the ſecond, which was the main body, by the earl of March, and the rear by the lord Falconbridge. The earl of March propoſed their immediately attacking the camp of the royaliſts; but the primate and other prelates were of a different opinion, and propoſed to try the effect of negotiation, before they had recourſe to the ſword. This being agreed to, the biſhop of Saliſbury was ſent with propoſals for a treaty of peace, but the royal party, perſuaded that this embaſſy was merely the effect of fear, rejected the propoſals, and both armies prepared for a general action. The conteſt was ſoon decided in favour of the confederates, by the treachery of lord Grey of Ruthin, who commanding Henry's vanguard, deſerted to the enemy during the heat of the action, and ſpread a general conſternation through the whole army. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Beaumont and Egremont, and Sir William Lacy, with near ten thouſand men were killed in the action. The queen, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Somerſet eſcaped, and fled to the northward. Henry himſelf, the mere ſhadow of royalty, was again taken priſoner, and was treated with the utmoſt reſpect.

A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, where the duke of York appeared. He advanced towards the throne, and being met by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who aſked him whether he had yet paid his reſpects to the king, anſwered, that he knew of none to whom he owed that title. After making this anſwer, he addreſſed himſelf to the houſe of peers, gave them a deduction of his title by deſcent, enumerated the cruelties by which the houſe of Lancaſter had at firſt paved their way to the throne, and exhorted them to do juſtice to the lineal ſucceſſor of Edward the third. The coldneſs with which this ſpeech was received greatly diſappointed Richard, who expected they would have requeſted him to take poſſeſſion of the throne.

But

But no perſon venturing to utter a word on this occaſion, Richard deſired them to reflect on what he had propoſed, and then left the houſe.

After very long debates, it was at laſt determined, that the title of the duke of York to the crown was indefeaſible; but as Henry had enjoyed it without any diſpute or controverſy, during the courſe of thirty-eight years, they agreed that he ſhould continue to poſſeſs the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the adminiſtration of the government, ſhould, in the mean time, continue with Richard; that he ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy; that every one ſhould ſwear to maintain his ſucceſſion; that it ſhould be treaſon to attempt his life, and that all former ſettlements of the crown in this, and the two laſt reigns, ſhould be abrogated and reſcinded. The duke of York acquieſced in this deciſion, and Henry being himſelf a priſoner could not oppoſe it. Perhaps he would not have felt any violent reluctance againſt it, had he even enjoyed his liberty. The act therefore paſſed with the unanimous conſent of the whole legiſlative body. Though the mildneſs of this compromiſe is chiefly to be aſcribed to the duke of York; it is impoſſible not to obſerve in thoſe tranſactions a higher regard to law, and a more fixed authority enjoyed by parliament, than had before appeared in any period of Engliſh hiſtory.

It was the firſt of November before theſe acts were paſſed, and king Henry, the duke of York, his two ſons, and the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, went in ſolemn proceſſion, and aſſiſted at divine ſervice at St. Paul's, by way of thankſgiving for this happy accommodation. Henry did not ſeem to think he had received the leaſt injury: he was perhaps impreſſed with the duke of York's title to the crown, and that his family were bound in duty to reſign it, and that he was under the higheſt obligations to the oppoſite party for leaving him, during his life, in the poſſeſſion of royalty.

But the ſentiments of his queen Margaret, were very different, who had continued during theſe tranſactions on the borders of Scotland, levying troops to ſupport the right of the houſe of Lancaſter, and had found means to collect a conſiderable army to ſupport her own dignity and that of her family.

Senſible of this impending ſtorm, the duke of York prevailed on Henry to ſend letters requiring the queen and her eldeſt ſon to repair to London. But the queen paying no regard to this ſummons, the duke of York, leaving the king under the care of the earl of Warwick, marched to the northward at the head of his army, in order to fight the queen's forces, before they could be joined by the reſt of the royal party. He ordered the earl of March to follow him with all the forces he could collect, and named Sandal caſtle near Wakefield in Yorkſhire as the place of rendezvous.

A. D. 1461. The queen received early and authentic intelligence of all the duke's motions; and having her army ready under the command of the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, marched to the ſouthward to fight the duke's army before the expected reinforcements arrived. Many circumſtances proved favourable to her wiſhes. The rains which had fallen in the ſouthern parts, had rendered it impracticable for the earl of March to advance any farther than Glouceſter; the duke of York's army did not amount to more than ſix thouſand men. The lord Neville having a commiſſion from the duke of York as regent of England, raiſed about eight thouſand men, but carried the whole corps to the queen, whoſe army by that reinforcement amounted to about eighteen thouſand men. The duke of York, from the former defeats of the royal party, had acquired a contempt for his enemy, which afterwards proved his ruin; while the queen had learned caution from paſt misfortune. And had not the ill deſtiny of Henry deſtroyed all her acquiſitions, he might have been once more placed on the throne of England.

The queen ſoon preſented herſelf before the caſtle of Sandal, at the head of part of her army, the reſt being concealed in two hollow ways, at a ſmall diſtance from the fortreſs. York conſidered this approach of the queen as a mere artifice; but his friend, Sir David Hall, was of opinion, that more troops were in reſerve, than thoſe drawn up before the caſtle; and therefore ought to continue to act only on the defenſive, till the earl of March arrived with the expected reinforcements. The earl of Saliſbury was of the ſame opinion, and their conjecture was ſtrongly enforced by the queen's being deſtitute of artillery. But the duke was deaf to this ſalutary advice, and he drew out his army, leaving his poſt, which perhaps could not have been taken, in order to give battle to the royal party. He marched towards Wakefield green, on each ſide of which the queen's ambuſhes were placed; one of them commanded by the earl of Wilts, and the other by the earl of Devonſhire, while the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter led the main body; leaving ſufficient room at the foot of the hill for the duke to draw up his troops in what order he pleaſed.

It is highly probable that the duke of York, and his friends, actually imagined that there had been ſo great a deſertion among the queen's troops as to reduce them to the number they ſaw drawn up in order of battle. Prepoſſeſſed with this opinion, the duke of York, recollecting all the glorious actions of his life, and filled with the idea of the illuſtrious contention, which that day was totally to decide, advanced, in excellent order upon the plain, towards the queen's army, which immediately on his paſſing the line of the ambuſh, ſounded the attack. The fury of the battle was adequate to the prize for which it was fought. The duke of York ſeemed to collect all his own and his family's ſpirit, for the deciſive blow, but while the victory continued doubtful, he perceived both his flank and rear to be at once attacked by the ambuſcade. This ſurprize ſerved only to increaſe the duke's courage. But no probability of eſcape, much leſs of victory, appearing, his intrepidity was changed into deſpair, in which he was imitated by all his followers. The diſpute did not laſt above half an hour; and in that ſhort interval of time, two thouſand eight hundred of the duke's army were cut in pieces. But of all the perſons who ſignalized themſelves that day in the queen's party, the lord Clifford was the moſt conſpicuous. The duke of York had ſlain his father at the battle of St. Albans, and now dearly paid for the acquiſition. The carnage made by Clifford's own hands was ſuch that he acquired the appellation of the butcher. When he had ſeen the duke of York,

Sir John, and Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir Hugh Haſtings, Sir Thomas Neville, together with the other chiefs of the party, fall on the field of battle, he perceived Aſpel, one of the duke of York's chaplains, conveying from the heaps of ſlaughter, the young earl of Rutland, ſon to the duke of York, a child only twelve years of age. But the implacable Clifford purſued and overtook him, with ſuch fury in his eyes and actions, that the unfortunate prince loſt all power of ſpeech, he could only ſtretch out his hands for mercy. In vain did the chaplain ſecond this melting eloquence of nature, with every argument his concern and character could ſuggeſt. The eyes of the barbarous Clifford were blind to the affecting object; his ears were deaf to the voice of mercy. With the moſt horrid imprecations he ſwore revenge upon the blood of York, and ſealed his revenge by plunging his dagger into the boſom of that innocent prince, whom hiſtorians have repreſented as extremely amiable. The body of the duke of York being found among the ſlain, the head was taken off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, encircled with a paper crown, in deriſion of his pretended title. The earl of Saliſbury was wounded and taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, by martial law, at Pomfret. Near three thouſand Yorkiſts periſhed in this battle: the duke himſelf was greatly and juſtly lamented by his own party. He was, indeed, a prince that merited a better fate, and whoſe errors in conduct proceeded entirely from ſuch qualities as render him ſtill more an object of eſteem and affection. From the whole tenor of his life he appears to have been at once brave, cautious, and retentive; an excellent judge of mankind, grateful to his friends, and placable to his enemies. He periſhed in the fiftieth year of his age, and left behind him three ſons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

A. D. 1461. But the triumph of Margaret's bloody ſucceſs was of no long continuance. The brave earl of March was at Glouceſter when the news of his father's death arrived; and after paying the becoming tribute of tears, prepared to revenge it. No time could be loſt; the queen's ſucceſs at Wakefield, invited numbers, who would perhaps otherwiſe never have declared themſelves, to join her ſtandard, and thoſe of her party. The earls of Pembroke and Wiltſhire had raiſed from their eſtates in Wales and Ireland, an army of twenty-three thouſand men. Could this powerful reinforcement have joined the queen's army, then in full march for London, the fate of the Engliſh crown had certainly been decided in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter. But the earl of March being maſter of all the conſiderable poſts upon the Severn, prevented a junction between the two armies. The earl of March, now duke of York, advanced to Shrewſbury, that he might fight Pembroke's troops with more advantage. The armies met at a place called Mortimer's Croſs, and a battle immediately enſued. But the army of the two earls being inferior to that of the duke of York, both in number and diſcipline, was ſoon routed with the loſs of four thouſand men. The earls of Pembroke and Wiltſhire eſcaped by flight; but Sir Owen Tudor, huſband to queen Catherine, and father of the earls of Pembroke and Richmond, was taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's expreſs orders. This barbarous practice being once begun, was continued by both parties from revenge, concealed under the ſpecious pretence of retaliation.

In the mean time the queen continued her march towards London, where the earl of Warwick commanded the Yorkiſts. But her army being chiefly compoſed of Scots and northern borderers, ſhe had promiſed them the ſpoils of the ſouthern provinces. Their march, therefore, after the battle of Wakefield, reſembled that of an hoſtile invaſion; they plundered the country through which they paſſed, and committed ſuch ſhocking diſorders, that the citizens of London flocked to Warwick's ſtandard, in order to chaſtiſe theſe lawleſs ravagers.

Thus reinforced, the earl of Warwick took his poſt at St. Albans, where he entrenched his camp, having the king's perſon and authority to countenance all his proceedings. The queen ſent a detachment to drive the earl of Warwick from his poſt; but the earl having lined the ſtreets of St. Albans with archers, they received the royaliſts with great intrepidity, and poured upon them ſuch a dreadful ſhower of arrows, that they were obliged to retire to the weſt end of the town, where they formed themſelves in a hollow way, and drove the archers back upon the vanguard of their army, which lay encamped upon Barnard's heath. A very deſperate, though not a general battle, enſued; each party fighting with the moſt inveterate malice, and refuſing either to give or receive any quarter. While the two armies were thus warmly engaged, Lovelace, who commanded a conſiderable body of Yorkiſts, treacherouſly withdrew from the combat, and this diſhonourable action, of which the civil wars furniſh us with ſeveral, decided the victory in favour of the queen. Near three and twenty thouſand Yorkiſts periſhed in the battle and purſuit: and the perſon of the king fell again into the hands of his own party. Bonville, and Kirrel, a brave warrior who had often ſignalized himſelf in the French wars, were prevailed upon by Henry to ſtay with him and protect him from outrages, on being aſſured of having their pardon. But Margaret, regardleſs of her huſband's promiſe, ordered them both to be beheaded.

But notwithſtanding this victory, the queen did not think herſelf ſtrong enough to march directly for London. She knew young Edward was advancing upon her from the other ſide, and would, when reinforced by the remains of Warwick's forces, be in a condition of giving battle to the royal army. Senſible therefore of the danger to which her troops muſt be expoſed, if ſhe continued between London and Edward's forces, ſhe conſidered it as the moſt prudent method in her preſent ſituation to retreat towards the north. This reſolution being taken, ſhe ſent a meſſage to the lord-mayor, requiring a ſupply of proviſions. This was readily agreed to by the magiſtrates, and a number of waggons loaded with neceſſaries ſent away for the queen's army: but the populace ſtopped the carriages; nor could the magiſtrates, with all their authority, prevail upon them to deſiſt from their oppoſition. Exaſperated at this behaviour, the queen detached a party with orders to lay waſte the country to the very gates of London. But this ſerved only to increaſe the hatred of the citizens,

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citizens. At the ſame time the northern troops committed the moſt cruel ravages. The town of St. Albans was plundered; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the king and queen, at the interceſſion of the abbot, preſerved the abbey from ſuffering the ſame fate.

During theſe tranſactions advice arrived that the earl of Warwick, with the remains of the troops that had been defeated at St. Albans, had joined the duke of York at Chipping-norton, and were in full march for London. This intelligence haſtened the departure of the queen, who retired to the northward, perſuaded that the duke of York would chuſe rather to make himſelf ſure of London, than purſue her army. She was not deceived; the duke and the earl of Warwick purſued their march to the capital, where they were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. Multitudes flocked to the duke's ſtandard from all parts, eſpecially from Kent and Eſſex. The old ſeemed to revive at the ſucceſs of the heir to the third Edward's crown; the brave were proud to ſerve under a prince whoſe courage had already repaired the loſs he had ſuſtained by the death of his father, in defeating two armies. So that the line of Lancaſter ſeemed as it were wiſhed out of the book of public remembrance.

Thus poſſeſſed of public favour, and elated with the ſpirit natural to youth, Edward reſolved no longer to confine himſelf within the narrow limits preſcribed by his father, and which had been found by experience ſo prejudicial to his cauſe. He aſſumed the name and dignity of king; to inſiſt openly on his claim; and, from that moment, to treat the oppoſite party as traitors and rebels to his authority. But he well knew that before this could be done with any propriety, it was neceſſary to procure a national acknowledgement of his title to the crown, or, at leaſt, ſomething that might be conſidered as ſuch, before he could carry his deſigns into execution. The calling a parliament would have occaſioned too much delay; and therefore he ventured to proceed in a leſs regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw any obſtacles in the way to the throne. His army was ordered to aſſemble in St. John's fields; infinite numbers of people ſurrounded the troops; an harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude, diſplaying the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the tyranny and uſurpation of the Lancaſter family. When the orator had finiſhed his ſpeech, the people were aſked, whether they would have Henry of Lancaſter for their king? When an univerſal exclamation againſt the propoſal, was the anſwer returned. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward eldeſt ſon to the late duke of York? When their conſent was expreſſed by loud and joyful acclamations. The conſent of the people being thus obtained, a great number of biſhops, lords, magiſtrates, and other perſons of diſtinction, were aſſembled at Barnard's-caſtle, where the popular election was confirmed; and the next day the new king was proclaimed in ſeveral parts of London, under the title of Edward the fourth.

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI. But we ſhall not here endeavour to draw the character of that prince, as we ſhall again ſee him attempt the recovery of his crown; and after ſeveral turns of fortune fall a ſacrifice to the ambition of his enemies.

BOOK IX.

From the beginning of the reign of Edward IV. *to the death of* Richard III.

EDWARD IV.

A. D. 1461. EDWARD, who was now in the twentieth year of his age, ſeemed to enjoy all the great qualities of his anceſtors. The beauty of his figure was as fair as fancy could form. He was intrepid, prudent, and his conſtitution active and hardy. So that he ſeemed formed for making his way through that ſcene of war, havock, and confuſion, as muſt conduct him to the quiet poſſeſſion of his throne. At the ſame time the hardneſs of his heart and the ſeverity of his character, rendered him impregnable to all thoſe movements of compaſſion, which might relax his vigour in the proſecution of his moſt bloody revenge againſt his enemies.

On the other hand, three ſucceſſive reigns had given the family of Lancaſter many opportunities of obliging the greateſt families in England; the perſon of Henry was beloved; while, with more than female genius, his queen availed herſelf of every favourable circumſtance, and rouſed the people to remember the glories of the two laſt Henry's, and the unſullied virtues of the preſent. Could the affairs of the houſe of Lancaſter have been retrieved, her ſpirit and conduct would have retrieved them. In beauty, ſhe exceeded her own ſex; in courage, ſhe equalled the braveſt of the other; but her greateſt excellence conſiſted in her being always a ſtranger to deſpair. Defeat after defeat ſerved only to renew her endeavours to make a freſh attempt; and her conduct was as prudent as her ſpirit was manly. The lords of her party were all firmly attached to her intereſt; the principal of them were deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, and the others ſuch as acted either through principle, gratitude, or intereſt.

Edward therefore, though mounted on the pinnacle of greatneſs, conſidered he had ſtill the greateſt difficulties to conquer. His active female rival had marched to the northward without oppoſition, and after making a new convention with the court of Scotland,

Scotland, raiſed an army of ſixty thouſand men. In the mean time, the people, divided in their affections, took alſo oppoſite ſymbols of party: the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter choſe the red roſe as their mark of diſtinction; thoſe of the houſe of York, were denominated from the white, and hence theſe civil wars were known throughout all Europe by the name of the quarrel between the two roſes.

The queen's army were now returned into Yorkſhire, and ſtruck the city of London, as well as all the ſouthern part of the kingdom, with terror. Edward therefore, attended by the earl of Warwick, left London, in order to oppoſe the march of the queen's forces. Their army conſiſted only of forty thouſand men, but they were all veteran ſoldiers, and headed by officers of experience. As ſoon as they reached Pomfret, they detached a body of troops under the command of the lord Fitzwalter, to ſecure the paſſage of Ferry-bridge, over the river Aire, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter accordingly took poſt at the place aſſigned him, which was on the north ſide of the river. This ſurprizal of Ferry-bridge diſconcerted the queen's generals, who determined, if poſſible, to recover it. Accordingly, the lord Clifford marched, during the night, at the head of a party, attacked Fitzwalter's detachment ſo unexpectedly, that they recovered the paſs, after putting moſt of the party who defended it, to the ſword, and Fitzwalter himſelf periſhed in the action.

This action might have proved fatal to Edward, had not the courage and preſence of mind of the earl of Warwick prevented the conſequence. That nobleman ſoon perceived that a battle was now inevitable; he knew the diſproportion of numbers; and that Edward had nothing to depend upon but the fidelity and reſolution of his troops. He immediately ordered his horſe to be brought him, ſtabbed him before the whole army, and, kiſſing the hilt of his ſword, ſwore that he was determined to ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier. And to ſhew a greater ſecurity, a proclamation was immediately publiſhed giving every man who pleaſed full liberty to retire; but threatening the ſevereſt puniſhments to thoſe who ſhould diſcover any ſymptoms of cowardice in the enſuing battle. The high reputation of the earl, his look, and act of reſolution, ſo animated the ſoldiers that they diſdained the inglorious alternative of departing with ſafety, or remaining with danger, and every ſoldier prepared for the battle, with all the alacrity, as if deciſive victory depended entirely upon his ſingle arm.

Lord Falconbridge and Sir Walter Blount were ſent, at the head of a detachment, to recover the poſt which had been loſt. They paſſed the river ſome miles above Ferry-bridge, and falling unexpectedly on lord Clifford, they revenged the former diſaſter by the total defeat of the party, and the death of their leader,

The next day, one of the moſt fatal that England ever beheld for the ſlaughter of her ſons, each army prepared for the battle. A thick fog hid the ſun, and had a conſiderable effect on the event. A field between Caxton and Touton was the ſcene of this bloody conflict. The van of Henry's army was led by the earl of Northumberland, and the brave Andrew Trollop, who had ſerved with great reputation in France. The other diviſions were commanded by the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earl of Weſtmoreland, the lords Beaumont, Dacres, Gray and Wells. The van-guard of Edward's army was commanded by lord Falconbridge; the main body by the earl of Warwick; and the rear by Sir John Wenlock, and Sir John Denham. Edward himſelf had no particular poſt, but ſerved as a volunteer, and was preſent on every occaſion, and foremoſt in every poſt of danger. Both armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, a thick fall of ſnow was blown directly in the faces of Henry's van-guard. Falconbridge obſerving this, ordered his men to advance as near the enemy as they could with ſafety, and after diſcharging upon them a full ſhower of arrows, to retire immediately back to their former poſt. This ſtratagem ſucceeded. Numbers of Henry's men fell by the firſt diſcharge; and imagining from the force with which the enemy's arrows flew, that they could not be many yards diſtant, diſcharged a whole flight of arrows, which fell ſhort of the Yorkiſts. This was followed by ſeveral other diſcharges, which emptied the quivers of Henry's archers. While the lord Falconbridge, keeping ſtill the advantage of the drift of ſnow, plied them with deadly ſhowers, and even returned the arrows of the Lancaſtrians upon themſelves.

Henry's army now endeavoured to finiſh the conteſt by ruſhing on the enemy ſword in hand; but the field was ſtrewed with arrows, their march was exceedingly troubleſome, and frequently interrupted, while the lord Falconbridge plying them with another mortal diſcharge, obliged them to fall back to the main body. There the battle was firm, obſtinate, bloody, and ſuch as might be expected from Engliſhmen fighting againſt each other, with every ſentiment of honour that could compel to duty, with every motive of revenge that could animate to ſlaughter. The reſolution taken by both armies of giving no quarter, ſteeled the hearts of the ſoldiers againſt compaſſion, and proximity of blood or vicinity of dwelling, inſtead of awakening former friendſhips, encouraged freſh enmity, and more dreadful deſpair. The actions on both ſides rather reſembled thoſe of demons than men: nor did the ſcene of blood cloſe till after ten hours equal diſpute, and the whole field covered with dead bodies. Day was now near the cloſe, and the remains of it only ſerved to ſhew the party of Henry that irreparable loſs, and dreadful defeat. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, Sir Andrew Trollop, the lords Gray, Dacres and Beaumont, were killed; and the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter fled; and the Lacaſtrian party made by far the greateſt number of the ſlain. So dreadful a proſpect, intimidated the ſoldiers of Henry's army. They, however, reſolved to fall like men, and began a ſudden retreat towards Tadcaſter bridge. The very motion of a retreat gave freſh ſpirits to the Yorkiſts; their brave leader had done more that day, than ſeemed in the power of man to perform. He appeared familiar with danger; every diviſion was animated by his example; and his motions were ſo quick, that though he ran through every part of the battle, yet every corps thought him always preſent, and gained freſh ſpirits from his words and actions. But he now completed the whole by one deciſive effort. He made his men obſerve that the enemy were beginning to retreat, and ſoon ſhewed them how ſmall the difference is between a retreat and a flight: for the Lancaſtrian forces, who had, during the conteſt,

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kept firm and united, no ſooner came within ſight of the fords and paſſes, by which they hoped to eſcape, than they were broken by one vigorous charge from Edward's army. Inſtead of reaching Tadcaſter bridge, they turned aſide, and endeavoured to find a paſſage over the narrow, but deep river, Cock, while others puſhed forward to gain the Wherf. This completed the rout. Both ſtreams happened then to be too much ſwoln for either to be paſſed on foot; but were both ſoon filled with dead bodies, and their ſtreams increaſed by a deluge of Engliſh blood, ſo that the few who eſcaped, paſſed the ſtreams on the dead bodies of their fellow ſoldiers, and the ſun that day ſaw near thirty ſix thouſand men dead on the field of battle.

The earl of Devonſhire, who was now engaged in Henry's party, was brought priſoner to Edward, and ſoon after beheaded by martial law at York. His head was fixed on a pole erected over one of the gates of the city, and the head of duke Richard, with that of the earl of Saliſbury, were taken down, and buried with their bodies. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action, but learning the defeat of their army, and being ſenſible that no place in England could afford them ſhelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. They were accompanied by the duke of Exeter, who though he had married Edward's ſiſter, had taken part with the Lancaſtrians, and by Henry duke of Somerſet, who had commanded in the unfortunate battle of Touton, and who was the ſon of that nobleman, ſlain in the firſt battle of St. Albans.

A great animoſity had long prevailed between the two kingdoms, though Scotland had never exerted itſelf with vigour, either in taking advantage of the wars which England carried on againſt France, or of the civil wars which broke out between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. James the firſt, more uſefully employed in civilizing his ſubjects, and forming them to the ſalutary yoke of law and juſtice, had carefully avoided all conteſts with foreign nations; and though he ſeemed deſirous of maintaining a balance of power between France and England, he gave no farther aſſiſtance to the former, in her greateſt diſtreſſes, than permitting, perhaps encouraging, his ſubjects to enliſt in the French ſervice. After the murder of that excellent prince, the minority of his ſon and ſucceſſor, James the ſecond, and the diſtractions incident to it, retained the Scots in the ſame ſtate of neutrality; and the ſuperiority then obtained by France, rendered it unneceſſary for her ally to interpoſe in her defence. But when the quarrel commenced between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and became abſolutely incurable but by the extinction of one party, James, who now arrived to man's eſtate, was tempted to ſeize this advantage, and endeavoured to recover thoſe places, which the Engliſh had formerly conquered from his anceſtors. He began with laying ſiege to the caſtle of Roxborough, and collected a ſmall train of artillery for that enterprize; but his cannon was ſo ill formed, that one of the pieces burſt as he was firing it, and put an end to his life in the flower of his age. His ſon and ſucceſſor James the third, was alſo a minor. The uſual confuſions enſued in the government. The queen dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aſpired to the regency. The family of Douglas oppoſed her pretenſions, and queen Margaret, when ſhe fled into Scotland, found there a people little leſs divided by faction, than thoſe by whom ſhe had been expelled. Though ſhe pleaded the connections between the royal family of Scotland and the houſe of Lancaſter, by the young king's grandmother, who was a daughter of the earl of Somerſet, ſhe could engage the council of Scotland to go no farther, than to expreſs their good wiſhes in her favour. But on her offering to deliver up to them the important fortreſs of Berwic, and to contract her ſon in marriage with a ſiſter of king James, ſhe found a better reception; and the Scots promiſed the aſſiſtance of their arms to reinſtate her family on the throne of England. But as the danger from that quarter ſeemed of no great conſequence to Edward, he did not purſue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat; but returned to London, where a parliament was ſummoned in order to ſettle the government on a firm and ſolid baſis.

In the mean time queen Margaret, after making the above conventions with Scotland, left her huſband in the convent of the grey friars at Edinburgh, and embarked for France, to ſollicit ſupplies from Lewis XI. who then filled the throne of France.

A few days after Edward's arrival at London, he was crowned king of England and France; but the parliament which was ſummoned to meet on the ſixth of July, was prorogued, on account of the Scots ſeizing the important fortreſs of Berwic upon Tweed; and in the mean time every poſſible method was taken to form a party in Scotland ſtrong enough to diſconcert the intentions of the miniſtry in favour of the Lancaſtrian party.

Four days before the meeting of the parliament, Richard, brother to king Edward, was created earl of Glouceſter, and four hundred pounds a year penſion ſettled on him and his heirs male. The parliament on their meeting, reviewed all the uſurpations of the houſe of Lancaſter, from the time that Henry IV. had ſeized the crown, and of all the tranſactions of the laſt parliament for reſtoring the houſe of York, together with a recapitulation of the parliamentary record that had been made, and its breaches on the part of Henry. They recognized the title of Edward to the crown by hereditary deſcent, through the family of Mortimer, and declared that he was king in right from the death of his father, who had alſo the ſame lawful title, and that he was in poſſeſſion of the throne, from the day he aſſumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They annulled every grant which had paſſed during the reigns of the houſe of Lancaſter; they reinſtated the king in all the poſſeſſions belonging to the crown at the pretended depoſition of Richard II. and though they confirmed judicial deeds, and the decrees of inferior courts, they reverſed all attainders paſſed in any pretended parliament, particularly the attainder of the earl of Cambridge, the king's grandfather, as well as that of the earls of Saliſbury and Glouceſter, and of Lord Lumley, who were forfeited for adhering to the intereſt of Richard the ſecond. This was followed by an attainder of all the principal perſons in the Lancaſter intereſt, including king Henry himſelf, his queen, and his eldeſt ſon. The eſtates of all the attainted perſons were veſted in the crown, though their only

crime was their adherence to a prince, whom every individual of the parliament had ſo long recognized, and whom that very king himſelf, who was now ſeated on the throne, had acknowledged and obeyed as his lawful ſovereign.

Theſe proceedings were followed by a profuſion of honours laviſhed upon thoſe perſons who had ſupported the intereſt of Edward in the late conteſt for the throne. His brother George was made duke of Clarence, the lord Neville, brother to the earl of Warwick, was created viſcount Montague, Henry Bourchier, lord Fitzwarren, was made earl of Eſſex, and the lord Falconbridge earl of Kent. But theſe, and many other inſtances of kindneſs and gratitude, were followed by acts of great ſeverity, if not of cruelty. A ſufficient proof how few are maſters of their own affections, when ambition becomes the ruling paſſion in the heart, and to what acts of cruelty the moſt generous natures may be carried to ſupport the tottering ſeat of power.

Vere, earl of Oxford, was a nobleman illuſtrious beyond moſt of the Engliſh peers even in thoſe periods of ancient nobility, by his high deſcent, and the untainted honours of his anceſtors, and ſtill more by the virtues of a long and blameleſs life, of more than four-ſcore years. He was conſidered as the oracle of the age, in all points regarding the conſtitution; and ſo entirely free from the prejudices of the times, that he had, to the conviction of the parliament itſelf, aſſerted the juſt right of precedency of the temporal over the ſpiritual peers. His quality, his virtues, his experience, and parts, gave him ſuch authority as was deciſive with the public, and conſequently he could not be neutral in government. Whatever party a man of his character does not ſupport, muſt be conſidered as oppoſite to his ſentiments. His virtues would not ſuffer his heart and tongue to be at variance; he could not be the flatterer, and was therefore doomed to be the victim of the houſe of York. Accordingly this great nobleman, together with his ſon, the lord Aubery Vere, Sir John Tiddengham, William Tyrrel, and Walter Montgomery, perſons well reſpected in their counties, fell a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of royalty; and to aggravate the circumſtance, were without any trial, the ſacred right of Engliſhmen, beheaded on Tower-hill.

During theſe tranſactions queen Margaret was ſolliciting the French court for ſuccours to ſupport the falling intereſt of her diſtreſſed family. She was ſeconded by the ambaſſadors from Scotland, and ſtrongly oppoſed by the agents of Edward, and the earl of Warwick. She could not have applied under more unpromiſing circumſtances, and to a more intriguing and politic prince than Lewis XI. He was, however, led by national intereſt, to feed the flames of civil diſcord among ſuch dangerous neighbours, by giving ſupport to the weaker party. But the intriguing and politic genius of this prince was here checked by itſelf. Having attempted to ſubdue the independant ſpirit of his own vaſſals, he had excited ſuch an oppoſition at home, as prevented him from taking all the advantage afforded by the diſſenſions among the Engliſh. He, however, ſent a ſmall body of forces to the aſſiſtance of Henry, under the command of Varenne, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who landed in Northumberland, and took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Alnwick. But as the indefatigable Margaret ſtill continued to ſollicit larger ſupplies, and promiſed Lewis to deliver up Calais, if her family was by his means reſtored to the crown of his anceſtors, he afterwards conſented to ſend over with that princeſs a body of two thouſand men at arms.

A. D. 1462. Thus reinforced the queen marched into England, and laid great part of the country waſte. Alarmed at this progreſs of Margaret, Edward, who was then in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, diſpatched the lord Montague to oppoſe the queen's forces, with what troops were ready to take the field, while he himſelf was employed in raiſing a freſh army for diſperſing the rebels.

While Montague was marching againſt queen Margaret, Edward ordered his navy to guard the ſeas in ſuch a manner, as to intercept any foreign aſſiſtance deſigned for that princeſs. Montague, who was inflamed by ambition, reſolved to attempt the finiſhing of the war, before Edward could complete his levies and march into the north. In the mean time Margaret gave her ſoldiers ſuch licenſe to plunder, that her army was increaſed to a conſiderable number, by outlaws and perſons in neceſſitous circumſtances. She had now retreated northward from Durham, to which place Montague advanced, and thence to Hedgely-moor, where he was oppoſed by a body of troops commanded by the lords Hungerford and Roſs, and Sir Ralph Piercy. But the behaviour of Henry's ſoldiers was ſuch as might be expected from men, united by no principle but that of plunder. They fled on the firſt appearance of the enemy, leaving the brave Sir Ralph Piercy and his faithful followers to be cut in pieces: Sir Ralph, in the aweful moment of departure, declaring his ſatisfaction of having ſaved the bird in his boſom, meaning the promiſe he had made to live or die a faithful ſubject of king Henry. Elated with this ſucceſs, Montague determined to puſh his advantage, and advance againſt the main body of Henry's army, then encamped on a plain called the Levels, on the river Dowel. A battle enſued. The lord Mountague made a deſperate attack during the night upon Henry's camp, and was as bravely received. But after repeated attempts he entered the trenches, and put the Lancaſtrians to flight. The duke of Somerſet, the lords Hungerford, Roſs, Moulins, Sir Thomas Huſſey, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Sir John Findearn, were taken priſoners. The duke of Somerſet was carried immediately to Hexham, and beheaded. The others alſo ſuffered death a few days after at Newcaſtle. All thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter in the field periſhed on the ſcaffold, and the utter extermination of their adverſaries was now evidently the intention of the York party: a conduct which received too plauſible an apology from the preceding behaviour of the houſe of Lancaſter.

A. D. 1463. The unfortunate family were now reduced to the moſt deſperate ſituation, and their fate, after this defeat, was very ſingular. Margaret flying with her ſon into a foreſt, where ſhe endeavoured to conceal herſelf, was beſet during the darkneſs of the night by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardleſs of her quality, ſtript her of her rings and jewels, treating her with the utmoſt indignity. The dividing of this rich booty raiſed a quarrel

quarrel among them, and while their attention was thus engaged, ſhe eſcaped with her ſon into the thickeſt retreats of the foreſt, where ſhe wandered for ſome time, ſpent with hunger and fatigue, and ſunk with terror and affliction. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, ſhe ſaw a robber approaching with a naked ſword in his hand; and perceiving ſhe had no means of eſcape, ſhe ſuddenly formed a reſolution of truſting entirely for protection to his faith and generoſity. She advanced towards him, and preſenting to him the young prince, ſaid, "Here "my friend, I commit to your care the ſafety of "your king's ſon." Struck with the ſingularity of the event, and charmed with the confidence repoſed in him, the robber, whoſe humanity and generous ſentiments had been obſcured but not entirely loſt by his vicious courſe of life, vowed not only to abſtain from all injury againſt the princeſs, but to devote himſelf entirely to her ſafety and protection. By his aſſiſtance ſhe continued ſome time concealed in the foreſt, and was at laſt conducted to the ſea-coaſt, whence ſhe made her eſcape into Flanders. Thence ſhe paſſed to her father's court, where ſhe lived ſeveral years in privacy and retirement.

Henry, however, was not ſo fortunate in making his eſcape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancaſhire, where he remained concealed almoſt a year; but was at laſt diſcovered and delivered into the hands of his inveterate enemy. The treatment of this prince ſufficiently demonſtrates that the rancour of party had exterminated from the breaſts of his oppoſers every ſentiment of humanity. Like the vileſt malefactor, his legs were tied under the belly of a horſe, and in this ignominious and ſhameful manner, was the perſon, who, for thirty-ſix years, had filled the throne of England, conveyed a priſoner to the capital which was once his own, and through a country which had often ſworn him allegiance. Even the great, the intrepid earl of Warwick, was infected with the epidemical barbarity of the times; for meeting the unfortunate prince upon the road, he added freſh indignities to all he had ſuffered; and encouraged the brutal multitude to redouble their inſults on the head of him who had ſo long worn the diadem of England, and who had been ſo often beheld with acclamations of applauſe.

A. D. 1464. The impriſonment of Henry, the expulſion of Margaret, the execution and confiſcation of the greater part of the Lancaſtrian party, ſeemed to give full ſecurity to Edward's government. His title by blood being now recognized by parliament, and univerſally ſubmitted to by the people, was no longer in danger of being impeached by any antagoniſt. In this proſperous ſituation the king delivered himſelf up without controul to thoſe pleaſures which his youth, his high fortune, and his natural diſpoſition invited him to enjoy; and the cares of royalty were leſs attended to, than the diſſipation of amuſements or the allurements of paſſion. The cruel and unrelenting ſpirit of Edward, though inured to the ferocity of civil wars, was at the ſame time extremely devoted to the ſofter paſſions; which without mitigating the ſeverity of his temper, maintained a great influence over him, and ſhared his attention with the purſuits of ambition, and the thirſt of military glory. During the preſent interval of peace, he endeavoured to ſecure his power, chiefly perhaps with a view of ſecuring his pleaſures. The earl of Warwick and his brother the lord Montague, had now acquired the higheſt characters; and Edward thought it prudent to gratify thoſe whom he durſt not attempt to reduce. Accordingly he gave to the earl of Warwick, the temporalities of the biſhopric of Carliſle, which was then vacant, and created him great chamberlain of England, and warden of the weſtern marches of Scotland. The lord Montague his brother, was created earl of Northumberland in the room of the attainted Piercy; and Sir William Herbert, a knight of great intereſt in Wales, was made earl of Pembroke, in the place of Jaſper Tudor. A great number of eſtates and honours were conferred by Edward upon his party. But the illuſtrious brothers, Warwick and Montague, conſidered their rewards rather as ſpecious than ſolid; and from this moment we may date their ſecret diſcontent with Edward, which received no ſmall addition by Piercy's being reſtored ſoon after to the dignity of earl of Northumberland, and Montague advanced to the empty title of marquis.

But though Edward was never remarkable as a politician, he had ſenſe ſufficient to perceive, that if he was again preſſed, he muſt not truſt, as formerly, to the zeal of the Warwick family. He therefore endeavoured to court popularity, as the only method of ſuppling the loſs of theſe illuſtrious commanders. He lived in the moſt familiar and ſocial manner with his ſubjects, particularly with the Londoners; and the beauty of his perſon as well as the gallantry of his addreſs, which, even unaſſiſted by the charms of royalty, would have rendered him extremely acceptable to the fair ſex, facilitated all his applications for their favour. This eaſy and pleaſurable life augmented every day his popularity among all ranks of men: he was the peculiar favourite of the young and the gay of both ſexes; while the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, little addicted to jealouſy, kept them from taking umbrage at theſe liberties. Nor was his whole attention engaged in amuſement: he inſpected and reformed the abuſes of public offices; he was indefatigable in the adminiſtration of juſtice, ſitting often in perſon. He behaved to his nobility with the affections of a friend and a brother rather than as a maſter and a king: pre-eminent only in his cares to reward the deſerving, and diſtinguiſhed alone by his ſuperior zeal to relieve the unfortunate.

In the mean time the Engliſh cabinet were deſirous of procuring a ſuitable marriage for the king; ſeveral ladies were propoſed, but the moſt unexceptionable was the princeſs Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and ſiſter to the queen of France. It was therefore reſolved that the earl of Warwick ſhould be ſent to the French court, where the princeſs Bona then reſided, with propoſals for this marriage. Warwick accepted the commiſſion, and paſſed over with a grand retinue to France, where the propoſal was received with the utmoſt ſatisfaction by both the king and the queen; and Damartin was appointed ambaſſador to England, to finiſh the treaty.

In the mean time Edward, being hunting in Winchwood foreſt, repaired, after the chaſe was over to the manor of Grafton, near Stoney Stratford, to pay a viſit to the dutcheſs of Bedford. That lady, after the death of her huſband, had ſo far ſacrificed her ambition to love, that ſhe married Sir Richard Wideville, or Woodville, a private gentleman,

tleman, afterwards created lord Rivers, to whom ſhe bore ſeveral children, and among the reſt Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her perſon, as well as for other amiable accompliſhments. This young lady had married Sir John Gray, by whom ſhe had children, but her huſband being killed at the ſecond battle of St. Albans, fighting for the houſe of Lancaſter, and his eſtate being, for that reaſon confiſcated, his widow retired to her father's houſe at Grafton.

The opportunity of this unexpected viſit was not to be neglected: accordingly the young widow threw herſelf at his feet, and, with a flood of tears, intreated him to have compaſſion on her impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed children. The ſight of ſo much beauty in affliction, ſtrongly affected the amorous Edward; love ſtole inſenſibly into his heart, under the appearance of compaſſion, and her ſorrow, ſo becoming a woman of virtue, ſoon rendered his eſteem and regard equal to his affection. He raiſed her from the ground with aſſurances of favour; he found his paſſion increaſe every moment, by the converſation of the amiable object, and he was ſoon reduced in his turn to the poſture and ſtile of a ſupplicant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady, averſe to diſhonourable love, obſtinately refuſed to gratify his paſſion, and nobly anſwered, "That "as ſhe was too good to be the concubine, and "too mean to be the wife of a king, ſhe would "ſtill continue in her humble ſtation." Such modeſty, ſuch generous indifference, increaſed at once his paſſion and veneration for the amiable object. Fame, glory, and empire, ſunk before his love, and his only deſire now was to enjoy, on any terms, the object of his affection. He married his beloved widow privately at Grafton, and endeavoured to keep the tranſaction ſecret from the nation.

A. D. 1465. But this was impoſſible. The ſecret was ſoon known in every part of the kingdom; ſo that the firſt intelligence the earl of Warwick and the French ambaſſadors received on their arrival, was the marriage of Edward. Exaſperated at this information, the haughty earl, who thought himſelf doubly affronted, by being employed in this deceitful negotiation, and by being kept a ſtranger to the king's intentions, who had owed every thing to his friendſhip, retired from court, and repaired to his caſtle at Warwick.

A. D. 1466. The earl's caſtle ſoon became the common reſort of the diſſatisfied and diſaffected, while his generous hoſpitality, and engaging behaviour, captivated the affections of the lower claſs of people. No ancient Roman ever poſſeſſed the art of popularity more than this celebrated Engliſhman. He was a companion to the better ſort, and a father to their inferiors.

In the mean time the behaviour of Edward tended greatly to widen the breach between himſelf and the powerful earl of Warwick. The queen, who loſt none of her influence by marriage, was deſirous of obtaining every favour for her own family, and excluding thoſe of the earl, whom ſhe conſidered as her mortal enemy. Her father was created earl of Rivers; made lord treaſurer in the room of lord Montjoy; inveſted with the office of conſtable for life, and the ſurvivorſhip of that high office veſted in his ſon. The ſame young nobleman was married to the only daughter of lord Scales, enjoyed the large eſtate of that family, together with the title of Scales, which was conferred upon him. Catherine, the queen's ſiſter, was married to the young duke of Buckingham who was a ward of the crown: Mary, another of her ſiſters, eſpouſed William Herbert, created earl of Huntingdon: Anne, a third ſiſter, was given in marriage to the ſon and heir of Gray, lord Ruthyn, created earl of Kent. But what particularly exaſperated the earl of Warwick was, the marriage of Sir Thomas Gray, one of the queen's ſons by her firſt marriage, to the daughter and heir of the earl of Exeter, and niece to the king; for the lord Montague having alſo offered his ſon as a huſband for this lady, the preference given to young Gray was conſidered as an injury and affront to the whole family of Neville. At the ſame time the great ſeal of England was taken from the archbiſhop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, and given to the biſhop of Bath and Wells, one of the queen's creatures.

Alarmed at the partialities ſhewn to the Wideville family, the principal nobility of England embraced the intereſt of the earl of Warwick, who had reconciled them to his ſuperiority, by his engaging and popular behaviour. The duke of Clarence, the king's ſecond brother, was at the head of the diſcontented nobility. Warwick ſeized the favourable opportunity of attaching him to his own intereſt, by offering him in marriage his eldeſt daughter, and coheir of his immenſe fortune.

A. D. 1468. Edward perceived the ſtorm gathering around him, and endeavoured to ſecure himſelf againſt his diſcontented nobility, by foreign alliances. Accordingly he gave Margaret his ſiſter, in marriage to Charles duke of Burgundy; contracted a firm alliance with that prince, and another with the duke of Britany. But all theſe alliances had no effect to prevent the inteſtine commotions which ſoon broke out in England, and engroſſed the whole attention of Edward.

A. D. 1469. The hoſpital of St. Leonard near York, had, by virtue of an ancient grant from king Athelſtan, poſſeſſed a right of levying a thrave of corn from every plough-land in the county. This contribution had been long paid without repining; but the country people perceiving that the revenues of the hoſpital were no longer applied according to their original intention, the relief of the poor, but, on the contrary, ſecreted by the managers, and applied to private purpoſes, they made loud complaints on that ſubject, and at laſt refuſed payment. The directors of the hoſpital, inſtead of endeavouring to remove the grievance, had recourſe to eccleſiaſtical and civil cenſures; they diſtrained the goods of all who refuſed the uſual payments, and threw their perſons into priſon.

This method of proceeding increaſed the animoſity of the people, and at laſt ſo far exaſperated them, that they had recourſe to arms. They firſt fell upon the officers of the hoſpital, and put them to the ſword, and then proceeded in a body, fifteen thouſand ſtrong, to the gates of York. On their approach, the lord Montague, who commanded in thoſe parts, oppoſed their progreſs, and having fortunately ſeized Robert Huldrerne, their leader, in a ſkirmiſh, he followed the barbarous method of thoſe times, by ordering him to be immediately executed.

But the loſs of their leader, tho' it intimidated, did

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

Eliz.th Wideville

Imploring a Maintaunance for her Self and Children of

EDWARD IV.

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did not diſperſe the rebels; they ſtill continued in arms, and were ſoon after joined by men of much greater diſtinction; Sir Henry Neville, ſon to lord Latimer, and Sir John Coniers, an officer of great experience, now became their leaders. They now advanced towards the capital, and ſoon appeared dangerous to the government; eſpecially when they openly declared, "That they had taken up arms "in order to deliver their lawful ſovereign, king "Henry, out of priſon, and reſtore him to his "throne."

Edward, who was then at London, awoke from the dream of pleaſure, in which he had been long immerſed. He knew not whom to truſt. The queen's relations, though in poſſeſſion of the higheſt offices, were deſtitute of authority; and, like exhalations raiſed from his own breath, when diſtant from the throne, they were deſtitute of popularity. He would willingy have thrown himſelf in the arms of the earl of Warwick; but was conſcious of the reaſons he had given him for being diſcontented with his government. The danger was preſſing; no parliament was ſitting; he knew not how the city of London might be affected; ſo that while he imagined himſelf in full ſecurity, he ſaw his crown, his life, his dignity in danger, before he even ſuſpected the leaſt deſign was formed againſt them.

In this critical conjuncture, he wrote to his friend Herbert earl of Pembroke, to aſſemble the Welſh, and endeavour to intercept the march of the rebels from the north. The earl found but little difficulty in executing the king's orders; he raiſed in a very ſhort ſpace of time, a body of ten or twelve thouſand men, and in his march towards the rebels, who were then in the neighbourhood of Northampton, he was joined by a conſiderable body of archers, commanded by Stafford earl of Devonſhire.

The two armies approached each other in the evening, at a ſmall town called Edgecoat, about four miles from Banbury. Upon the place of action called Dane's-moor, lay three hills, in a triangular form. The Welſh took immediate poſſeſſion of the weſtern hill, while the ſouthern was occupied by the rebels; the earls of Pembroke and Devonſhire propoſing to lodge that night in the town of Banbury. But a trifling difference happening between them about their quarters, a quarrel ſucceeded, and the earl of Devonſhire retired with his archers, leaving Pembroke to encounter the rebels with his own forces.

The next morning the rebels attacked the Welſh in their camp; but were repulſed with ſome loſs, and their leader, Sir Henry Neville, was immediately put to death, without the leaſt form of proceſs. This impolitic execution raiſed the reſentment of the rebels to fury, and the next day they attacked the royaliſts with amazing reſolution. They were, however, received with equal courage; and the fortune of the day was on the point of declaring for the earl of Pembroke, when Sir John Clopham, poſſibly from reſentment of Neville's death, appeared marching at the head of five hundred men to join the rebels; who immediately cried out, Warwick! Warwick! the apprehenſion of that nobleman's being at the head of this party, ſtruck the Welſh with a pannic; which the rebels perceiving, redoubled their efforts, and obtained a complete victory. The earl of Pembroke and his brother, the brave Sir Richard Herbert, who had twice that day cut his way with his battle-ax through the main body of the enemy, were taken priſoners; their heads at Banbury.

Edward, who imputed this misfortune to the earl of Devonſhire, who had deſerted Pembroke, ordered him to be executed in the ſame ſummary manner. In the mean time the flames of rebellion ſpread farther and farther. The inhabitants of Northamptonſhire flew immediately to arms, under the command of one Robert Hillyard, whom they called Robert of Riddiſdal; and practiſed all the barbarities that might be expected from ſuch a lawleſs multitude. They ſent a party to Grafton, where they ſeized the earl of Rivers and his ſon John, and, without any trial, beheaded them both at Northampton. Thus fell by a tragical death the earl of Rivers, father to the queen, after exchanging peace for power, and ſeen his family raiſed from a ſtate of affluence and honourable independence, in which they might have lived with comfort and reputation, to the rank of dangerous deluſive greatneſs, which they wanted abilities to fill with applauſe.

No period of the Engliſh hiſtory, ſince the conqueſt is ſo obſcure, uncertain, and even inconſiſtent, as that of the civil wars between the two houſes of York and Lancaſter. Nothing appears through the veil of obſcurity which covers this period, but a ſcene of horror and ſlaughter, ſavage manners, arbitrary executions, and the moſt treacherous and diſhonourable conduct in all parties. Some hiſtorians relate events which are oppoſed by others, and ſome circumſtances in which they all agree are contradicted by records. In this labyrinth of confuſion it is no wonder if we loſe our way, but we will endeavour to follow truth wherever ſhe may lead us; and if our hiſtory ſhould appear different from the narratives that have already appeared, the reader may be aſſured that we have not deviated from the beaten path without ſufficient reaſon.

It is extremely difficult from the various relations of hiſtorians, to determine how far the earl of Warwick was concerned in theſe rebellions. It is, however, certain, that both that nobleman, and the duke of Clarence, were, during theſe tranſactions, at Calais, and that both of them came over to England, offered their ſervice to Edward, and were intruſted with the higheſt commands. And ſoon after the rebellion was entirely quieted, and the inſurgents diſperſed by a general pardon iſſued by Edward, at the requeſt of the earl of Warwick. The troubles being thus appeaſed, the king loaded the Neville family with favours and honours of the higheſt nature: George, ſon to the lord Montague, was created duke of Bedford, and the king publickly declared his intention of giving that young nobleman, his eldeſt daughter Elizabeth, in marriage. This princeſs, as Edward had then no ſon, was preſumptive heir to the crown.

A. D. 1470. In the beginning of the year another rebellion broke out in Lincolnſhire, where the inſurgents were headed by Sir Robert Welles, ſon to the lord of that name. The army of the rebels amounted to thirty thouſand men; but lord Welles was ſo far from favouring this rebellion of his ſon, that he fled to the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter, in order to ſecure his perſon againſt the anger or ſuſpicion of the king. Edward marched at the head of his army againſt the rebels, and ſent a preſſing meſſage with aſſurances of ſafety to lord

Welles, requeſting he would attend him in his expedition. Never ſuſpecting that the king would forfeit his word ſo ſolemnly given, the nobleman obeyed the ſummons, and joined the royal army. During their march, the king prevailed upon lord Welles to write a preſſing letter to his ſon, perſuading him to abandon the party of the rebels, and return to his duty. The ſon, naturally imagining his father to be under confinement when this letter was wrote, and thinking that his engagements of honour ought not to be broken, by filial compliance, refuſed to comply: upon which Edward, with a cruelty which nothing but the barbarous proceedings in a civil war can account for, put the father to death, for the diſobedience of his ſon.

The report of this inhuman proceeding, effected even in theſe barbarous times, a general horror, and inſpired Sir Robert Welles with fury for revenge. He immediately engaged the royal army, but the conteſt was unequal. The firſt charge of the rebels was, however, ſo furious that fifteen hundred of Edward's army were cut in pieces, but being undiſciplined they were ſoon broken, and driven from the field of battle, with the loſs of ten thouſand men, killed upon the ſpot. Their general Sir Robert, was taken while fighting obſtinately at the head of about ſeventy gentlemen of note, and ſoon after beheaded at Stamford.

The greater part of our hiſtorians relate, that Edward was, about this time taken priſoner by Clarence and Warwick, and committed to the cuſtody of the archbiſhop of York, brother to the latter; but being allowed to take the diverſion of hunting he made his eſcape, and afterwards drove the rebels out of the kingdom. But this ſtory, tho' told with many particular circumſtances, is entirely falſe, for it appears from Rymer's collections, that the king during this whole period, continually exerciſed his royal authority, and conſequently could not be a priſoner.

Nor does it appear that he even ſuſpected the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence as having any ſhare in theſe confuſions; for during the rebellion of Welles, he gave a commiſſion of array to Warwick and Clarence, for levying forces againſt the inſurgents. But theſe two powerful noblemen had no ſooner left the court, than they levied troops in their own name, and iſſued declarations againſt the government, complaining of grievances, oppreſſions, and bad miniſters.

Edward now found he had been deceived; he iſſued a proclamation at York againſt theſe noblemen, ſetting a price upon their heads. Three days after commiſſions againſt them were publiſhed, but with very little effect. For the people were convinced that there had been great miſcarriages in the government, while the patriot behaviour and ſpecious pretences of the earl of Warwick, induced even the warmeſt friends of Edward to wiſh that a reconciliation might be effected between them. Nor could all Edward's authority either diminiſh the army of the rebels, nor raiſe one for himſelf equal to theirs. His undaunted courage indeed induced him to wiſh for a battle with his enemies, but this he found was impracticable.

In the mean time the defeat of Sir Robert Welles, diſconcerted all their meaſures, and they retired into Lancaſhire, where they hoped to be joined by lord Stanley, who had married the earl of Warwick's ſiſter. But that nobleman refuſing to concur in their meaſures, and the lord Montague remaining quiet in Yorkſhire, they were obliged to diſmiſs their army, and fly into Devonſhire, where they embarked in company with the dutcheſs of Clarence for Calais.

On their arrival before the town, they were refuſed admittance by Vauclere, a Gaſcon, whom the earl of Warwick had left governor in his abſence. The earl's perplexity was increaſed by the dutcheſs of Clarence falling in labour on board the ſhip, without either neceſſaries or accommodations neceſſary for her condition; but all the earl could obtain was a few flaggons of wine for the uſe of the diſtreſſed lady; but at the ſame time, he received a private meſſage from Vauclere, which, in ſome meaſure, calmed his uneaſineſs; for that officer deſired him not to be ſurprized at the roughneſs of his reception; that it was owing to the garriſon in general being prepoſſeſſed in favour of king Edward; that the town was full of his ſervants and officers, and among them was lord Duras, who had been ſent by Edward with the order of the garter to the duke of Burgundy, and who had raiſed and encouraged this ſpirit in favour of his maſter. In ſhort, Vauclere acted his part ſo dextrouſly, that Edward gave him the government of Calais, which was then worth fifteen thouſand crowns a year, beſides perquiſites which amounted to upwards of ten thouſand more, and the duke of Burgundy ſent him by Philip de Comines, a warrant for a thouſand crowns for his loyalty.

Warwick, denied admittance into Calais, ſailed for the coaſt of Normandy, and landed at Honfleur, where he was waited upon by the admiral of France, having ſeized in this paſſage ſeveral Burgundian and Briton ſhips. Theſe inſults greatly offended the duke of Burgundy, who always hated the earl of Warwick. And accordingly demanded ſatisfaction from the French court, and Lewis, to avoid an immediate war with that prince, promiſed to do him juſtice.

In the mean time Lewis and the duke of Warwick formed a plan of operations which neither Edward nor the duke of Burgundy expected. The king of France was convinced from repeated experience, that there was no ſafety for his dominions from the enterprizes of the duke of Burgundy and Warwick, from the ſpirit raiſed againſt him, that there was none for his perſon, while Edward poſſeſſed the crown of England. Both of them therefore joined in a reſolution to raiſe the houſe of Lancaſter from its preſent miſery, and reſtoring Henry to his throne. The diſtreſs of that houſe was now beyond deſcription. The duke of Exeter, a prince of the blood of England, and brother-in-law to king Edward himſelf, was reduced to the neceſſity of begging his bread from door to door in the ſtreets of Bruſſels. Several other noblemen, allied to the royal family were in little better condition, and even Margaret and her children had hardly a neceſſary ſubſiſtance. But intereſt touched the heart which was inſenſible to diſtreſs. It was agreed between Lewis and the earl of Warwick, that the former ſhould fit out all the ſhips poſſible, which ſhould be manned by the Engliſh, who daily flocked over to the earl, and thoſe when joined with the earl's own ſquadron, ſhould be entirely under his direction. They farther agreed that queen Margaret and her family ſhould have royal appointments,

ments, and the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter be relieved according to their conditions; that the adminiſtration of government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's ſon, ſhould reſide conjointly in the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward ſhould marry the lady Anne, ſecond daughter to the earl, and that the crown, in caſe of failure of male iſſue in that prince, ſhould deſcend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire excluſion of king Edward, and his poſterity. Never was confederacy, on both ſides leſs natural, or more evidently the work of neceſſity. But Warwick hoped that all former paſſions of the Lancaſtrian party might be loſt in preſent political views, and that at worſt, the independent power of his family, and the affections of the people, would be ſufficient to eſtabliſh his ſecurity, and enable him to exact the performance of all the conditions agreed on by this treaty. The marriage of prince Edward with the lady Anne was immediately celebrated in France.

During theſe tranſactions the duke of Burgundy fitted out a powerful navy, which was joined by the fleets of England and Britany, which rendered the duke vaſtly ſuperior at ſea to the French fleet, when joined by Warwick's ſquadron. At the ſame time he ſent repeated warnings to the king of England, of the imminent danger to which he was expoſed. But Edward though always brave, and often active, had very little foreſight or penetration. He was not ſenſible of his danger; he made no ſuitable preparations againſt the invaſion threatened by the earl of Warwick; he even ſaid, that the duke might ſpare himſelf the trouble of guarding the ſeas, and that he wiſhed for nothing more than to ſee Warwick land in England. A vain confidence in his own power, blended with an immoderate love of pleaſure, had rendered him incapable of all ſound reaſon and reflection.

Edward did not wait long for the event he ſo ardently deſired. A ſtorm diſperſed the Flemiſh navy, and left the ſeas open to Warwick, who gladly embraced the opportunity, and ſetting ſail, landed at Dartmouth, with the duke of Clarence, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a ſmall body of troops, while the king was in the north ſuppreſſing an inſurrection which had been raiſed by the lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick.

Before the earl had been landed ſix days, he ſaw himſelf at the head of fifty thouſand men, all ready to ſacrifice their lives for the late diſtreſſed houſe of Lancaſter. Edward now, when too late, ſaw his danger. He ordered levies and raiſed men, but they were deſtitute of courage, being affected with the popular panic. He had given a commiſſion to the marquis of Montague, who had raiſed ſix thouſand men, and that nobleman was appointed to command the van of Edward's army, which now lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Nottingham; and about three leagues diſtant the earl of Warwick's forces had taken up their quarters. In the front of Edward's army was a ſmall river, and in the rear a ſtrong entrenchment. So that his army could not be attacked but by a bridge which lay over the river in the front of his camp. In this ſituation Edward lay, as he thought, ſecure from any attempts of the enemy; and was at dinner when he was informed, that the marquis of Montague, who, with the van of his army, lay on the other ſide of the bridge, was drawing out all his men, and that followed by many others under his influence, upon a concerted ſignal between him and his brother the earl of Warwick, who was then in full march towards the king's army, had declared for the houſe of Lancaſter, and that the whole camp reſounded with the ſhouts of "God ſave king Henry." In a few minutes another meſſenger arrived with information, that the marquis had marched with his whole diviſion, to join his brother. Edward at firſt could ſcarce believe this treachery. He ſent out ſeveral of his officers to enquire into the truth, and, in the mean time, poſted himſelf at the head of a ſtrong detachment to diſpute the paſſage of the bridge, in caſe of an attack. The officers ſoon returned with a confirmation of the marquis of Montague's retreat, and added, that the earl of Warwick, at the head of his army, was in full march againſt the king.

In this critical conjuncture of affairs, Edward called a council of war, to deliberate on what was to be done. Lord Haſtings was one who aſſiſted at theſe deliberations. He had married the earl of Warwick's ſiſter, but was the inſeparable companion of Edward in all his fortunes. The duke of Glouceſter, the earl of Northumberland, and ſeveral others of the nobility alſo attended. In this council it was ſoon agreed, that they had nothing to truſt to but a ſpeedy flight, and that the king ſhould endeavour to reach the town of Lynn in Norfolk, where ſome ſhips lay, on board of which he might embark with ſafety. This advice, ſo mortifying to a prince of Edward's ſpirit, could not be put ſpeedily in execution, ſo that Edward and his retinue were in the utmoſt danger of being overtaken by a party of light horſe, detached from Warwick's army. Nor did they eſcape till they had loſt all their baggage in the Waſhes of Lincolnſhire, through which they were obliged to paſs.

On his arrival at Lynn he immediately went on board the ſhips, and ſailed for Flanders.

But Edward's danger did not end with his embarkation. The Eaſterlings, or Hans-towns, were then at war both with France and England, and ſome of their ſhips hovering on the Engliſh coaſt, diſcovered the king's veſſels and gave chaſe to them. Fortune however favoured his flight, and Edward eſcaped into the port of Alcmaer in Holland. He had fled from his camp with ſuch precipitation, that he had carried nothing of value with him; and the only reward he could beſtow on the maſter of the veſſel which brought him over, was a robe lined with ſables; promiſing him an ample recompence, if fortune ſhould ever declare in his favour.

In this diſtreſſed ſituation Edward would willingly have avoided preſenting himſelf before the duke of Burgundy. He was ſenſible that after all his boaſted diſdain of Warwick, he muſt be expoſed to the moſt poignant ridicule. On the other hand the duke of Burgundy was equally embarraſſed in what manner he ought to receive the dethroned monarch. He had always borne a greater affection to the houſe of Lancaſter than to that of York, and now foreſaw that the revolutions in England might turn this alliance againſt him, and render the reigning family in that kingdom his implacable and jealous enemy. The duke had, before the king's arrival, received advice that the royal army had been defeated, and from ſeveral circumſtances in the relation, it was imagined

imagined that the king was ſlain. This information was rather pleaſing to the duke; but he now found that he muſt either undergo the burden of ſupporting an exiled prince, or the diſhonour of abandoning a near relation. He began immediately to ſay, that his connections was with the kingdom of England, not with the king; and that it was indifferent to him, whether the name of Edward, or that of Henry was employed in the articles of the treaty.

The earl of Warwick, apprehending what a powerful protector Edward might find in the duke of Burgundy, ſent over a detachment of three or four thouſand men to reinforce Vauclere, the governor of Calais. That officer, though he had been confirmed in his command by Edward, and received a conſiderable gratuity from the duke of Burgundy, no ſooner heard that his old maſter Warwick was reinſtated in authority, than he declared for him, and with great demonſtrations of zeal and attachment, put the whole garriſon in his livery. As ſoon as he received the reinforcement from Warwick, he entered the duke of Burgundy's dominions, ravaging the whole country through which he paſſed.

In the mean time, the king's flight having left the kingdom at Warwick's diſpoſal, that nobleman haſtened to London, and taking Henry from his confinement in the tower, proclaimed him king with great ſolemnity. A parliament was ſummoned in the name of that prince to meet at Weſtminſter, and as that aſſembly could pretend to no liberty amidſt ſuch enraged factions, governed by the impetuous ſpirit of Warwick, their votes were entirely dictated by the ruling party. The treaty with Margaret was fully executed: Henry was recognized as lawful king; but his incapacity for government being acknowledged, the regency was entruſted to Warwick and Clarence, till the majority of prince Edward; and, in default of that prince's iſſue, Clarence was declared ſucceſſor to the crown. The uſual buſineſs of reverſals alſo went on without oppoſition. Every ſtatute made during the reign of Edward was repealed; that prince was declared to be an uſurper: he and his adherents were attainted; and particularly Richard duke of Glouceſter, his younger brother. All the attainders of the Lancaſtrian party, the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earls of Richmond, Pembroke, Oxford, and Ormond, were reverſed; and every one was reſtored who had loſt either honours or fortune by his former adherence to the houſe of Lancaſter.

During theſe tranſactions in parliament, the marquis of Montague was reſtored to his former poſt of warden of the eaſt marches of Scotland; the prior of St. John of Jeruſalem, one of the moſt conſiderable ſubjects then in England, was made lord high treaſurer: a long truce was concluded with France, and all imaginary precautions were taken to guard the ſea-coaſt againſt any attempt that might be made by Edward for regaining his crown. The earl of Warwick was appointed admiral of England, and received a commiſſion, in conjunction with Jaſper earl of Pembroke, for arraying all the Welſh. The duke of Clarence was reſtored to his government of Ireland; and had a large appointment in lands granted him by Henry. The archbiſhop of York, and his brother the marquis of Montague, had alſo conſiderable eſtates granted them by the king. Perhaps the government would not have been ſettled in this manner, had queen Margaret been in England; but the earl of Warwick, who was well acquainted with her ſpirit, had left her at the court of her father.

A. D. 1471. The duke of Burgundy, exaſperated at the inroads made into his country by the garriſon of Calais; and at the ſame time in danger of being attacked by the arms of France, reſolved to grant ſome aſſiſtance to Edward; but in ſuch a ſecret manner as to give the leaſt offence poſſible to the government of England. He fitted out four large veſſels in the name of ſome conſiderable merchants at Terveer in Zealand; and cauſing fourteen ſhips to be ſecretly hired of the Eaſterlings, he delivered this ſmall ſquadron to Edward, who, having alſo received a ſum of money from the duke, ſailed immediately for England.

After a ſhort paſſage he attempted to land on the coaſt of Eſſex, but found it impracticable through the vigilance of the government. He therefore ſteered to the northward, intending to land at Cromer in Norfolk, but being informed by Sir Robert Chamberlain and Sir Gilbert Debenham, whom he ſent on ſhore to learn the ſentiments of the people, that the inhabitants were not willing to receive him, he again put to ſea; and a ſtorm ariſing ſoon after, he was obliged to land at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. The next day he held a general rendezvous of his troops, but had the mortification to find that the people were not willing to ſupport his cauſe. This obliged Edward to alter his meaſures. He perceived himſelf in the heart of a country entirely in the Lancaſter intereſt, and therefore prepared to quit it as ſoon as poſſible.

He now perceived that it would be impoſſible for him to ſucceed in his enterprize without having recourſe to ſome ſtratagem. He therefore copied the policy of Henry IV. and publickly declared that he was not come to reclaim the crown, but to recover his paternal eſtates, which he aſſerted had been given away by the laſt parliament, contrary to all law and juſtice, and that he did not intend to raiſe a civil war in the kingdom. The country people, who were averſe to him as a pretender to the crown, were willing to aſſiſt him in recovering his inheritance. Compaſſion ſupplied the place of affection; great numbers flocked to Edward's ſtandard, and even the nobility were very deſirous of ſeeing him a fellow ſubject, though not a king. Perceiving this amazing ſucceſs from his humble pretenſions, he determined to conceal his real deſigns, and ſolemnly ſwore never to make any attempt to recover the crown.

The marquis of Montague commanded in the northern counties, but from ſome myſterious reaſons, now abſolutely unknown, totally neglected the beginning of an inſurrection which he ought to have eſteemed ſo formidable. He ſuffered Edward to paſs unmoleſted: and what was ſtill more extraordinary, about ſix or ſeven thouſand men encamped near Holderneſſe, under a prieſt and one Martin de la Mere, no ſooner heard of Edward's intentions, than they broke up their camp, and many of them joined his army. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of York, he was met by the recorder of the city, who did every thing in his power to diſſuade him from entering the place; but by the perſuaſions of two of the aldermen he marched into the city. He found the inhabitants univerſally diſpoſed to aſſiſt him in the recovery of

of his paternal inheritance, though not of the crown.

Having left a garriſon at York, he marched to Nottingham, his army increaſing during his whole rout. Here he found the people well affected to his perſon and government, and was joined by Sir William Par, Sir James Harrington, and Sir Thomas Montgomery, with a conſiderable reinforcement of veteran troops. A few days after he was joined by Sir William Stanley and Sir William Norris, at the head of another body of forces. Theſe gentlemen reproached Edward for his humble pretenſions, declaring they would ſerve under no perſon but a king, and that every man of them would inſtantly leave his army, if he did not inſtantly publiſh his deſign of re-claiming the crown. This was very readily complied with, but it produced a very different effect upon his army; moſt of his northern followers left his army, and returned to their reſpective places of abode, ſo that his whole force, on his leaving Nottingham, did not exceed five thouſand men. With thoſe, however, he marched towards Newark, to fight the duke of Exeter, the earl of Oxford, and the lord Bardolf, who were encamped in that neighbourhood, with a conſiderable body of forces: but not chuſing to encounter Edward, they left their camp in the night, and the king was under a neceſſity of returning to Nottingham.

Edward now directed his march towards London. The earl of Warwick had aſſembled an army at Leiceſter with an intention of meeting and giving battle to the enemy; but Edward taking another road, paſſed him unmoleſted. The city of London was left to the care of the archbiſhop of York, in order to raiſe forces, and receive the queen and the prince of Wales, who were every day expected to land in England. The archbiſhop, zealous in the cauſe, received letters from the earl of Warwick, conjuring him to uſe every method in his power to perſuade the citizens to ſhut their gates againſt Edward, promiſing in a few days to march after him with his whole force and attack his army in the rear. The prelate, elated with this intelligence, carried Henry in great pomp through the ſtreets of London, prevailed with the magiſtracy to ſhut the gates, and made great preparations for reſiſtance.

By this time Edward, at the head of a conſiderable part of his army, was advanced as far as St. Albans, and diſpatched meſſengers to his friends, requeſting them to declare in his favour. His letters awakened all the former affections of the city for his perſon, which, together with their natural inconſtancy, and their fears of being expoſed to an aſſault, obliged the magiſtracy to promiſe that they would not oppoſe Edward. The archbiſhop of York, ſuſpecting this would be the conſequence, had already ſent privately to make his peace with Edward, who readily accepted of his ſubmiſſion, and received him again into favour. Edward accordingly preſented himſelf before the gates of London, and was readily admitted into the city. By this means Edward was once more maſter of his rich and powerful capital; and the perſon of king Henry, deſtined to be the ſport of fortune, fell again into the hands of his enemies.

Edward now found himſelf in a condition of facing the earl of Warwick, who being reinforced by his ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence, and his brother the marquis of Montague, took poſt at Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London. Secure as he thought in the fidelity of his friends, he determined to give Edward battle, and finiſh at once the conteſt for the Engliſh crown. But he was fatally deceived: the duke of Clarence, though bound by every tye of honour and gratitude, tho' he ſhared the power of the regency, though he had been inveſted by Warwick with all the honours and patrimony of the houſe of York, reſolved to ſupport the intereſt of his brother, and aſſiſt him in the recovery of his crown. Accordingly he deſerted to the king during the night, carrying with him a body of twelve thouſand men. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and having rejected with diſdain all the terms of peace offered by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement.

Edward's vanguard was commanded by the duke of Glouceſter; the main body by himſelf, and the rear by lord Haſtings. The firſt rank of Warwick's army was commanded by the earl of Oxford, the ſecond, which was entirely compoſed of veterans, by the duke of Somerſet, and the third, by the duke of Exeter; Warwick reſerving no particular command to himſelf, that he might be at liberty to paſs from one diviſion to another. Juſt before the dreadful conflict began, he ſolemnly embraced each general officer, conjuring them to remember for whom, and againſt whom, they fought. He then diſmounted, and ſent away his horſe, to intimate that he was determined to conquer or periſh.

The charge now began in the moſt furious manner, as if each army had that day determined to revenge the general ſlaughter of their friends fallen in former battles, as if the whole force, this long conteſted, this bloody war, had been collected for one deciſive blow, which was for ever to decide the ſanguinary quarrel. A miſt which had ariſen during the night, prevented either army from obtaining a perfect knowledge of the others diſpoſition and numbers. The earl of Oxford's diviſion broke the main body of Edward's army, but the miſt concealing it from both armies, this advantage neither encouraged the one, nor diſcouraged the other. In all other parts the battle was ſo equal, that no advantage could be perceived on either ſide. At laſt, Haſtings drove the duke of Exeter's diviſion from their poſt; but the active earl of Warwick ſending ſpeedy reinforcements, the battle was renewed, if poſſible, with greater fury than ever. Edward therefore now brought up a body of reſerve, with which he attacked the flower of Warwick's army under the duke of Somerſet. The earl of Warwick obſerving Edward's motions, flew to the front of Somerſet's diviſion to encourage his men, telling them, "That this was the laſt re-
"ſource of the enemy, and that, if they ſtood
"this charge, the field was their own." But while the ſcales of victory continued vibrating between both parties, the earl of Oxford's diviſion, who wore ſtars for their badges, returning from their rout, and paſſing by the wing commanded by the duke of Exeter, the latter, deceived by the miſt, miſtook the ſtars for ſuns, the badge of Edward's army; and perſuaded they were a detachment of the royaliſts, poured upon them a deadly diſcharge of arrows, which killed a great number of them, and created a ſuſpicion of treachery. The earl of Oxford immediately left the field with eight hun-

dred choſen horſe. This gave Edward an opportunity of rallying his right wing, and the battle was no longer equal. All that the brave earl of Warwick, and his faithful brother, who fought by his ſide, could do, could not prevail upon the men to ſtand any longer the dreadful attack of Edward. They reeled, they drooped, they ſhrunk from the charge. The earl, to keep up their courage as much as poſſible, fought in the foremoſt ranks, but ſoon found he had no other companion than his brother; and diſdaining life when victory was loſt, they ruſhed into the thickeſt of Edward's ranks, where, after making a dreadful ſlaughter, they both fell in the unequal conflict. Their deaths completed the defeat of their army, and Edward having iſſued orders not to give any quarter, a terrible and undiſtinguiſhed carnage was made in the purſuit. About three thouſand of the vanquiſhed, and two thouſand of the royaliſts periſhed.

But this battle did not put an end to this terrible conteſt for the crown of England. Margaret, equally with the earl of Warwick, terrible to Edward, landed at Weymouth with her ſon, and a ſmall body of French forces, the very day the deciſive battle of Barnet was fought. On her receiving intelligence of her huſband's captivity, and the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage, which had ſo long ſupported her under ſo many misfortunes, quite forſook her, and ſhe immediately foreſaw all the diſmal conſequences of this calamity. She took ſanctuary with her ſon, in the abbey of Beauley, but being encouraged by the appearance of the earls of Pembroke and Devonſhire, of the lords Wenlock and St. John, and other men of rank and fortune and conſequence, who exhorted her ſtill to hope for ſucceſs, ſhe reſumed her former ſpirit, and determined to defend to the utmoſt, the ruins of her fallen fortune. They marched immediately to Exeter, where they appointed a general rendezvous of all their forces. Their next deſign was to amuſe the king by pretending to march towards London; but in reality to ſteal away into Wales, with a view to join the earl of Pembroke. In order to this they ſent off parties on the London road, with billets for quarters. This at firſt impoſed upon Edward, who ordered a rendezvous of his forces at Windſor, propoſing to march againſt the Lancaſtrians as ſoon as poſſible.

In the mean time the queen and her adherents having raiſed a very conſiderable army in the weſt, marched with great rapidity to Bath, intending to croſs the Severn near Tewkeſbury, and retire into Wales, where they were ſure of being joined by a very powerful reinforcement. Edward was now convinced of their real intentions, and marched at the head of his army with the utmoſt expedition to Malmſbury, in order to intercept their paſſage, and, if poſſible, force them to a battle. But it would have been impoſſible to have overtaken the enemy, had not the city of Glouceſter been defended by the lord Beacham, a nobleman firmly attached to the intereſt of Edward, and who refuſed Margaret's army admittance. This delay gave the king an opportunity of approaching the rebels, who finding it impoſſible to paſs into Wales, they encamped in a field near Tewkeſbury. The field was flanked on both ſides with hollow ways, ditches, hedges, and almoſt impaſſable grounds, and the town and abbey were in their rear, while their front was defended by a ſtrong entrenchment which they threw up with amazing expedition. But all theſe diſcouragements could not intimidate Edward. He drew out his army in order of battle, and determined to attack his enemies. His firſt diviſion was commanded by the duke of Glouceſter, and conſiſted chiefly of archers. The main body was commanded by himſelf, and the rear by lord Haſtings.

The firſt line of the queen's army was commanded by the duke of Somerſet and his brother; the ſecond by the prince of Wales, and the lord Wenlock, and the rear by the earl of Devonſhire. The attack was begun by the duke of Glouceſter, under a dreadful diſcharge of the king's artillery. The queen had brought ſome pieces of ordnance from Briſtol, with which ſhe returned the diſcharge, but not with the like effect; Edward's artillery being much better ſerved, while the duke of Glouceſter's archers poured in a fatal ſhower of arrows. Somerſet's men, however, ſtood the attack, knowing that the duke of Glouceſter could not force their entrenchments. They had, however, the precaution when they threw up the entrenchment, to leave a paſſage open for attacking the king's troops, if they ſaw occaſion. Edward diſcovered this, and thought it poſſible by that means to force the enemy from their advantageous ſituation. Glouceſter was therefore ordered to retire with ſome precipitation towards the main body. Deceived by this appearance of flight, the duke of Somerſet, ordering the ſecond and third lines to ſupport him, marched out through the defiles leading from the trenches, and appeared upon the flank of the king's ſecond diviſion. But Edward, who ſuſpected what would happen, had time to change his ground, and, ſeconded by the duke of Glouceſter, a furious battle enſued, ſupported with equal vigour, till a detachment of two hundred horſe ſent out to ſcour an adjacent wood, fell on the flank of Somerſet's diviſion, which being at the ſame time preſſed in front by the two royal brothers, were obliged to retire through the defiles into their former ſituation. There the duke of Somerſet, who was aſtoniſhed at not being ſupported by the lord Wenlock, found that nobleman ſtanding coolly at the head of his line, whence he had beheld the diſpute which was juſt over. The brave duke was ſo exaſperated at what he thought a piece of treachery, that he killed lord Wenlock with his battle-axe. In the mean time the royal brothers had followed the enemy ſo cloſe in their retreat, that they ſoon appeared at the head of their whole diviſion within the entrenchment. The duke of Somerſet in his fury loſt his judgment; the prince of Wales was wholly inexperienced in the art of war, ſo that the troops, many of whom were totally unacquainted with arms, began to fly, ſo that Edward met with little reſiſtance in gaining one of the moſt complete victories recorded in hiſtory. The earl of Devonſhire, and about three thouſand men fell on the field of battle. The duke of Somerſet, and about twenty other perſons of diſtinction, took ſhelter in a church, where they were immediately ſurrounded, dragged from the altar, and immediately beheaded.

Queen Margaret and her ſon were taken priſoners, and brought to the king, who aſked the prince in an inſulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions?

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

The **DUKE** *of* **SOMERSET** *Killing*
Lord Wenlock.

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

The **Duke** *of* **Clarence** *& others Seizing Edward* **Prince** *of* **Wales**
on the Signal being given by **EDWARD IV**

minions? The young prince, more mindful of his royal birth than his preſent condition, replied, that he came thither to claim his juſt inheritance. This noble anſwer provoked the ungenerous Edward, who, inſenſible to pity, ſtruck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, lord Haſtings, and Sir Thomas Gray, conſidering the blow as a ſignal for further violence, hurried the gallant youth out of the royal tent, and diſpatched him with their daggers; and queen Margaret, his mother, ſent priſoner to the tower. The earl of Pembroke finding it impoſſible to oppoſe the forces of Edward, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, embarked with his nephew the young earl of Richmond, for Britany. They were received with great affection and tenderneſs by the duke of Britany, at whoſe court they reſided.

In a few days after the battle of Tewkeſbury king Henry VI. paid the debt of nature; but whether he died of a natural or violent death is uncertain. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the duke of Glouceſter killed him with his own hand. But the univerſal odium under which that prince's memory deſervedly labours, inclined perhaps the nation to aggravate his crimes without ſufficient authority. It is, however, certain, that Henry's death was very ſudden; and though he had long laboured under an ill ſtate of health, this circumſtance, joined to the general manners of the age, gave a very natural ground of ſuſpicion; which was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by expoſing the body to public view. That precaution ſerved only to recal many ſimilar circumſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory, and to furniſh compariſons no ways favourable to Edward and his friends.

Thus fell Henry the ſixth, a monarch who was, in his infancy crowned king, both of France and England, and who began his reign with a more ſplendid proſpect than any prince in Europe ever enjoyed. The revolution which followed was unhappy for his people as it proved the dreadful occaſion of the civil war; but was almoſt indifferent to Henry himſelf, who was never capable of exerciſing the royal authority, and who, provided he met with kind uſage, was equally eaſy, as he was equally enſlaved by his enemies and his friends. His weakneſs and his diſputed title were the principal cauſes of all the misfortunes of his country. He was, however, religious, and ſtrictly virtuous, and ſpent great part of his time in prayer and reading the ſcriptures.

A. D. 1472. But though Edward had defeated the attempts of all his enemies, and behaved with the greateſt intrepidity, yet he was not proof againſt the allurements of a proſperous fortune; pleaſure was his ruling paſſion, and having now no longer any enemy to fear, he indulged it to the greateſt exceſs. This diſſipated courſe of life, however, recovered that popularity he had loſt by the repeated acts of cruelty inflicted on his enemies; while his example of jovial feſtivity, ſerved to abate the former acrimony of faction among his ſubjects, and to reſtore the ſocial diſpoſition, which had been ſo long interrupted between the parties. The whole nation ſeemed to be fully ſatisfied with the preſent government; and the memory of paſt calamites ſerved only to impreſs the people the more ſtrongly with a ſenſe of their allegiance, and with the reſolution of never more incurring the hazard of renewing ſuch dreadful ſcenes.

A. D. 1474. He was not however ſo deeply immerſed in pleaſure and diſſipation, but he liſtened to the call of ambition, and joined with the duke of Burgundy for undertaking an invaſion of France. A treaty was accordingly concluded between theſe two princes, by which it was ſtipulated that Edward ſhould paſs the ſeas at the head of an army of ten thouſand ſoldiers; and that Charles ſhould join him with all his forces. Edward was to claim the crown of France, and obtain at leaſt the provinces of Guienne and Normandy. The duke was to acquire the province of Champaigne with ſome other territories, and to free all his dominions from the burden of homage to the crown of France. At the ſame time it was agreed that neither party ſhould make peace, without the conſent of the other.

Lewis ſuſpected that ſomething was on the carpet between the two courts greatly to his prejudice; but could not for ſome time diſcover the real ſecret. On this occaſion his natural ſagacity did him more ſervice than all the arms of his ſubjects, or the counſels of his miniſters. Inſtead of raiſing numerous armies, and taking the field purſuant to the advice of his miniſters, he found means to raiſe enemies to Edward in every part of Europe. He granted the duke of Burgundy a renewal of the truce; which encouraged that ambitious prince to puſh the war he had undertaken in Germany.

In the mean time the engagements between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, being publiſhed in England, the common people received the news with univerſal applauſe. The ravages of the late civil wars had left them in a miſerable condition; rapine and robbery ſtill raged in almoſt every part of the kingdom, and the hopes of recovering France with the plunder of conqueſt, afforded them the moſt flattering proſpect. But the wiſer and wealthier ſort, eſpecially thoſe who were acquainted with the character of the duke of Burgundy, entertained very different ſentiments. The parliament had already voted fourteen thouſand archers, and advanced their pay to the king. They had loaded themſelves with taxes to the utmoſt; ſo that Edward could not depend on a parliamentary ſupply. He was therefore obliged to have recourſe to the private purſes of his ſubjects, and raiſed vaſt ſums under the notion of a benevolence. His own affability and engaging behaviour gained over many; his ſanguinary diſpoſition, and the ſupport he was ſure of receiving from the common people, intimidated more into a compliance. By theſe means, he raiſed one of the moſt numerous, and beſt appointed armies that had ever left England on any expedition. To take from them all manner of apprehenſions, he found means to renew the truce with Scotland, and at the ſame time to conclude a treaty of marriage between James king of the Scots, and his daughter the princeſs Cicely, who was to have twenty thouſand Engliſh marks for her fortune.

A. D. 1475. As ſoon as every thing was provided for the expedition and the army ready to embark for France, Edward ſent over an herald, with a letter, demanding the crown of France from Lewis. The French monarch received the letter with great moderation. He carried the herald into his cloſet, and candidly laid before him the folly and danger of Edward's engagements with ſo impolitic a prince as the duke of Burgundy. He alſo convinced the herald, that he was no ſtranger to Edward's ſchemes, adding that he had been deceived

ceived by the conſtable St. Paul, who, though in the ſervice of his crown, had been the principal cauſe of the preſent war. He acquainted him with the ruined condition of the duke's forces in Germany; and concluded with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his deſire to live in peace with England. The herald, convinced by the reaſons, and pleaſed with the honours conferred on him by Lewis, aſſured the French monarch that he would faithfully lay the whole conference before his maſter, and hoped it might be ſufficient to bring about a reconciliation.

In the mean time the duke of Burgundy, having drawn off the miſerable remains of his army, aſſured Edward that he would be ready to join him with all his forces, as ſoon as the Engliſh were landed. On receiving this aſſurance, Edward embarked his forces, and, after a ſhort paſſage, landed in France, where he was joined by the duke of Burgundy, without a ſingle ſoldier to attend him. Amazed at this behaviour, Edward reproached the duke; but he excuſed himſelf by pretending that his army would ſoon be re-aſſembled, and by putting a letter into the king's hand from the conſtable St. Paul, promiſing to deliver up St. Quintin immediately to the Engliſh. This letter ſomewhat appeaſed Edward, who now advanced towards Peronne, ſending off a detachment to take poſſeſſion of St. Quintin. On his arrival at Peronne, he received information that his detachment had not only been refuſed admittance into St. Quintin, but had alſo loſt ſeveral men in a ſally from the garriſon. Neither Edward nor his court could any longer conceal their uneaſineſs at being thus diſappointed by the duke, and betrayed by the conſtable.

They determined to be no longer amuſed, and refuſed to liſten any longer to the duke's apologies, notwithſtanding they were enforced by a freſh meſſage from the conſtable, who aſſured them that all he had done, was only to enable him to ſerve them ſtill more effectually. The duke of Burgundy perceiving that all his endeavours to regain the confidence of the Engliſh would be ineffectual, began to be apprehenſive about the ſafety of his perſon, and accordingly left the Engliſh army the next morning under pretence of haſtening the march of his forces.

No meaſures were now to be kept with allies who had forfeited all pretenſions to juſtice. A negotiation was, therefore, opened with Lewis, who, more ſwayed by political views than the dictates of honour, thonght no ſubmiſſions too mean, which could free him from enemies ſo formidable to his predeceſſors, and being now united to ſo many enemies might ſtill ſhake the well-eſtabliſhed government of France. A truce was, accordingly, ſoon concluded on terms more advantageous than honourable to Lewis. He ſtipulated to pay Edward immediately ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, on condition he would withdraw his army from France, and promiſed to pay him fifty thouſand crowns a year during their joint lives: it was added that the dauphin, when of age, ſhould marry Edward's eldeſt daughter. The two monarchs, in order to ratify this treaty in a more ſolemn manner, agreed to have a perſonal interview; and ſuitable preparations were accordingly made at Pecquigni near Amiens. A cloſe rail was drawn acroſs a bridge at that place, with no larger intervals than would allow an arm to paſs; a precaution which was uſed to prevent a like accident with that which happened to John duke of Burgundy in his conference with the dauphin at Montereau. Edward and Lewis came on the oppoſite ſides; conferred privately together; and after confirming their friendſhip, and interchanging many civilities, they parted.

But Lewis did not think it ſufficient to gain the friendſhip of Edward only, he was deſirous of acquiring that of the nation alſo, together with all the conſiderable perſons at the Engliſh court. In order to this he beſtowed penſions on ſeveral of the king's favourites, lord Haſtings had two thouſand crowns a year; lord Howard and others had a proper proportion, and the great miniſters of ſtate were not aſhamed to receive wages from a foreign prince. The duke of Burgundy ſoon after concluded a truce with Lewis, and the conſtable St. Paul, being abandoned by both theſe princes, loſt his head for his infidelity.

The truce between France and Burgundy, tho' diſagreeable to Edward, was far from interrupting the good correſpondence between him and Lewis. His favourite proſpect was now to ſee his daughter dauphineſs of France; and was ſo ſtrongly encouraged in that particular by Lewis, and by the terms of the late treaty, that he even allowed his court to give her that appellation. His coffers were now full, he had ſaved a very conſiderable ſum by his late expedition into France. The eſtates of the crown were very large in lands; England was at peace on all ſides, and every thing contributed to preſs Edward ſmoothly down the ſtream of pleaſure, to which both he and his court were entirely abandoned. This was the fatal injury which Lewis did to England. The fatal influx of his gold avenged him of the battles of Poictiers and Creſſy. The court of England began now by the influence of foreign gold, to taſte of foreign luxuries. The old Engliſh manners were innovated, and the princes of that once dreaded kingdom repaid themſelves for the fatigues of civil and foreign wars, by plunging at once into the licentiouſneſs of deluſive peace.

The more dear that pleaſure was to Edward, the more jealous he was of every thing that had a tendency to interrupt it. The protection of the young earl of Richmond ſtung his quiet and ſtrewed thorns among his roſes. Though there was then little reaſon for fearing that young prince would ever diſturb the quiet of Edward, yet a poſſibility was ſufficient to him who had ſwam through ſeas of blood to the throne. He therefore plied the court of Britany with every thing in his power, in order to prevail on the duke to deliver up the earl of Richmond and his uncle the earl of Pembroke. He renewed his truce with Britany, and gave that duke an acquitance for all the expences of the auxillaries he had ſent him, amounting to fifty thouſand crowns.

Theſe methods were purſued by the intervention of doctor Stillington who was at the head of the embaſſy at the court of Britany. After the duke had been obliged by ſo many repeated favours from Edward, his ambaſſadors thought proper to open the principal intention of their commiſſion, and propoſed in direct terms that the earl of Richmond ſhould be delivered into their hands. Shocked at this propoſal, the duke abſolutely rejected it, till by the artful addreſs of the ambaſſadors, he apprehended

prehended that his refuſal would be an injury to the young earl. They pretended that their maſter's deſire of having him in England, was to put a final period to all differences between the two families of York and Lancaſter, by a marriage between the young earl and one of the king's daughters. The duke, not conſidering the inſidious tendency of this propoſal, agreed to deliver up the young prince and his uncle. He even actually put them into the hands of the ambaſſadors, who carried them immediately to St. Malo, in order to embark for England. They had hardly left the court of Britany, when one of the duke's domeſtics whoſe name was Cheulet, made his maſter ſenſible of Edward's real motives, and of his own miſtake in point of honour, in delivering up princes ſo nearly related to the crown of England, into the hands of a monarch ſo bloody, faithleſs, and jealous as Edward. The duke was ſoon convinced that Edwards ſole motive for demanding his gueſts was to deſtroy them, and ſent Landois, his favourite ſervant, poſt after them, to prevent their embarkation. Landois made ſuch diſpatch, and acted with ſuch addreſs, that though the princes were on the point of going on board, he gave them an opportunity of eſcaping, and as ſoon as he underſtood, they were in a place of ſafety, he plainly told the ambaſſadors, that they might inform their maſter, from the duke of Britany, that nothing ſhould be attempted by the two earls, againſt the intereſt of England. With this anſwer the ambaſſadors were forced to depart, and report the effects of their commiſſion to their maſter.

This miſcarriage though it greatly mortified Edward was not ſufficient to divert him from pleaſure; the luxury of his court received daily additions; it became a ſcene of obſcenity. The martial exerciſes his anceſtors had invented, as incentives to virtue, ſerved now as preludes to vice. Foreign miniſters were witneſſes at once of the magnificence and degeneracy of the Britiſh court; and the only perſon, who, through inclination, diſliked, but thro' policy, encouraged the ſpreading calamity, was the duke of Glouceſter; for he could not by ſo univerſal a licentious fall from virtue have ſucceeded in his inhuman deſigns.

A. D. 1477. Charles the duke of Burgundy, who poſſeſſed all the ambition and courage of a conqueror, was deficient in policy and prudence, qualities equally eſſential to form the hero. It is therefore no wonder that he was unfortunate in all his enterprizes and periſhed at laſt in battle againſt the Swiſs, a people whom he deſpiſed, who had hitherto been overlooked in the general ſyſtem of Europe. This event produced a great alteration in the views of all the princes, and attended with conſequences felt for many generations. Charles left only one daughter, Mary, by his firſt wife, and this princeſs being heir of his opulent and extenſive dominions, was courted by all the potentates of Chriſtendom, who contended with each other for the poſſeſſion of ſo rich a prize. Lewis, the head of her family, might, by a proper application, have obtained this match for the dauphin, and have thereby united with the crown of France, all the provinces, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy, which would at once have rendered that kingdom formidable to all its neighbours. But a perſon wholly intereſted is perhaps as difficult to be found as one of the oppoſite virtue; and Lewis though impregnable to all the ſentiments of generoſity and friendſhip, was, on this occaſion, carried from the path of true policy, by the paſſions of animoſity and revenge. He had imbibed ſo deep a hatred of the houſe of Burgundy, that he choſe rather to ſubdue the princeſs by force of arms, than unite her to his family by marriage. He accordingly conquered the dutchy of Burgundy and that part of Picardy, which had been ceded to Philip the good, by the treaty of Arras. But at the ſame time he forced the ſtates of the Netherlands to beſtow their ſovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Auſtria, ſon to Frederic emperor of Germany; from whom they looked for protection in their preſent diſtreſs; and by this means France loſt the opportunity, which ſhe never could recover, of making that important acquiſition of power and territory.

Edward was equally with Lewis defective by policy and actuated by private paſſions. Jealous of his brother Clarence, he neglected the advances that were made of marrying that prince, now a widower, to the heireſs of Burgundy. Inſtead of embracing the offer, he ſent her propoſals of eſpouſing Anthony earl of Rivers, brother to his queen, who ſtill retained the aſcendancy over him; but the marriage was rejected with diſdain; and Edward reſenting this treatment of his brother-in-law, permitted Lewis to proceed without interruption, in his conqueſts over that defenceleſs ally. Any pretence was ſufficient, if it enabled him to purſue his ruling paſſions, indolence and pleaſure. The only object that divided his attention was the improvement of the revenues of the crown, which had been greatly injured by the neceſſities or negligence of his predeceſſors; and ſome of his expedients for that purpoſe, though unknown to us, were then conſidered as oppreſſive to the people. A minute detail of private injuries generally eſcapes the notice of hiſtorians; but an act of tyranny of which Edward was guilty in his own family, has been mentioned by almoſt every writer, and met with univerſal and deſerved cenſure.

Notwithſtanding the duke of Clarence had done his brother the moſt effectual ſervice in deſerting Warwick, had never been able to recover the king's friendſhip, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He was conſidered by Edward as a perſon of a fickle and dangerous character; and the imprudent openneſs and violence of his temper, though it rendered him much leſs dangerous, tended greatly to multiply his enemies, and to enrage them againſt him. Among theſe he had the misfortune to give diſpleaſure both to the queen, and his brother, the duke of Glouceſter, a prince of the deepeſt policy, of the moſt violent ambition, and the leaſt ſcrupulous with regard to the means he employed in order to obtain his pernicious purpoſes. A combination between theſe powerful adverſaries being ſecretly formed againſt Clarence, it was determined to begin with attacking his friends, hoping if he patiently endured this injury his puſillanimity would diſhonour him in the eyes of the public: If he made reſiſtance, and expreſſed reſentment, his paſſion would betray him into meaſures which might give them advantages againſt him. The king hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet of Arrow, in Warwickſhire, had killed a white dear, which was a favourite of the owner, and Burdet, vexed at the loſs, flew into a paſſion, and wiſhed that the horns of the deer were in the belly of the perſon who adviſed

the king to commit that inſult upon him. This natural expreſſion of reſentment which would have been overlooked or forgotten, had it fell from the lips of any other perſon, was conſidered as criminal and capital in that gentleman, by the friendſhip with which he had the misfortune to live with the duke of Clarence. He was tried for his life; the judges and jury were found ſervile enough to condemn him, and he was publickly beheaded at Tyburn for this pretended offence. About the ſame time one John Stacey, an eccleſiaſtic, connected both with the duke and Burdet, was expoſed to a like iniquitous and barbarous perſecution. This perſon being more learned in mathematics and aſtronomy, than was common in that age, lay under the reproach of being a magician, and the tyranical court laid hold of this rumour to effect his deſtruction. He was tried in a court of juſtice for that imaginary crime; many of the greateſt peers countenanced the proſecution by their preſence; he was condemned, put to the torture, and executed.

Alarmed at theſe repeated acts of tyranny, the duke of Clarence reflected on the fate of the good duke of Glouceſter in the laſt reign, who, after ſeeing the moſt infamous purpoſes employed for the deſtruction of his neareſt connections, fell at laſt a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. But Clarence, inſtead of ſecuring his own life againſt the preſent danger, by ſilence and reſerve, was open and loud in juſtifying the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming againſt the iniquity of their perſecutors. Highly offended at this liberty, the king ſent him priſoner to the tower; ſummoned a parliament, and tried him for his life before the houſe of peers, the ſupreme tribunal of England.

Clarence was arraigned for maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in open courts of judicature, and of inveighing againſt the iniquity of the king, who had given orders for their proſecution. Many raſh expreſſions were imputed to him; and ſome which reflected on his brother's legitimacy; but he was not accuſed of any overt act of treaſon. Even the truth of theſe ſpeeches may be doubted, ſince the liberty of judgment was taken from the court, by the king's appearing perſonally as his brother's accuſer, and even pleading the cauſe againſt him. But a ſentence of condemnation, even when this extraordinary circumſtance had not place, was a neceſſary conſequence in thoſe times, of any proſecution ſupported by the court, or the prevailing party; and accordingly the duke of Clarence was pronounced guilty by the peers. Equally ſlaviſh and unjuſt were the houſe of commons: they both petitioned for the execution of the duke, and afterwards paſſed a bill of attainder againſt him. The meaſures of the parliament during that age, furniſh us with a ſtrange contraſt of freedom and ſervility. They ſcrupled to grant, and even ſometimes abſolutely refuſed the king the ſmalleſt ſupply, though even the moſt neceſſary for the ſupport of government, the maintenance of war, by which the whole nation, as well as the parliament itſelf expreſſed the greateſt fondneſs: but they never ſcrupled to concur in the moſt flagrant act of injuſtice or tyranny, falling on any individual, however diſtinguiſhed by birth or merit. Theſe proceedings ſo ungenerous, and directly oppoſite to all the principles of good government, and ſo contrary to the practice of preſent parliaments, are very remarkable in theſe aſſemblies for many years after the period now under conſideration.

The king, after the condemnation of his brother, could not be prevailed upon to grant him any other favour than the choice of his death, and he was privately drowned in a butt of Malmſey in the tower; a whimſical choice, but ſuch as the unfortunate prince thought proper to make. He left two children by the eldeſt daughter of the earl of Warwick: a ſon created an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury. Both this prince and princeſs were alſo unfortunate in their end, dying violent deaths: a fate which for many years attended almoſt all the deſcendants of the royal blood in England.

A.D. 1482. The two kingdoms of England and Scotland had not, for ſome time, maintained a friendly correſpondence; and the ſubjects of the latter had made ſeveral inroads into the northern counties. James III. who now filled the Scottiſh throne, had imitated the example of Lewis, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs all the old nobility of the kingdom. They were headed by the king's two brothers the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar. But before the confederacy was ripe for execution, James received information of the deſign, and rendered the whole abortive by ſeizing the two royal brothers. The duke of Albany, however, eſcaped out of priſon, but the earl of Mar ſuffered death.

The duke fled to France, and made ſtrong ſollicitations at that court for aſſiſtance; but without the leaſt effect, though Lewis treated him with the greateſt politeneſs, and even married him to a young lady with whom he received a vaſt fortune. But finding there was no hopes of his ſucceeding in his requeſt of being reſtored to his honours and eſtates, by the aſſiſtance of that court, he ſecretly applied to Edward, who readily liſtened to his propoſals. Pleaſed with his reception, he found means to ſteal privately into England; and entered into a contract with the Engliſh monarch to ſeize his brother's crown, and uſurp his throne; ſtiling himſelf, in this treaty, Alexander king of Scotland. He promiſed to aſſiſt him againſt all his enemies; to do fealty to him for the kingdom of Scotland, as ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of the throne; to break all alliances with France, or any other kingdom, if they appeared prejudicial to the intereſt of England; and to deliver into Edward's hands the town and caſtle of Berwic. Edward promiſed to place Alexander on the throne of Scotland, and to guaranty the poſſeſſion of it to him.

Soon after this agreement was ſigned, the duke of Glouceſter was appointed commander of the army deſigned for Scotland. James was informed of this intended invaſion, and ſoon levied a powerful army to oppoſe the Engliſh; but the greater part of his military tenants who attended him in the field, were either friends to the Engliſh party, or diſſatisfied with James's government. Even his moſt ſincere friends among the nobility and clergy, wiſhed his upſtart favourites were removed. Accordingly, on his arrival at Louder, in his march againſt the Engliſh, the moſt violent among the diſcontented nobles, met by night, and reſolved to ſacrifice three of the moſt obnoxious minions. In conſequence of this reſolution, they broke into the royal apartments, and dragged the favourites from their maſter's perſon, to whom they had fled as to an

an altar of refuge. Three of the obnoxious were hanged immediately, and ſeveral others, who fell into their hands that night were put to the ſword; nor could they refrain from upbraiding their ſovereign, in very indecent language to his face, even with his perſonal failings. This action, however violent, might have deſerved the epithet of virtuous, had the action been followed with any uncommon exertion of public ſpirit; but the future conduct of theſe ferocious nobility, ſtampt it with the name of brutiſh and rebellious. For, inſtead of marching againſt the enemy, they retired with their followers from the army: and inſtead of declaring to the king, that they would now ſerve him faithfully, as the cauſes of their diſcontent were removed, they either joined the Engliſh, or joined in a confederacy of ſeizing his perſon. In this confuſion the army was diſbanded, and the king returned to his palace.

In the mean time Richard and the duke of Albany had raiſed a powerful army, provided with every thing that could render an expedition ſucceſsful. The troops marched near the ſea-coaſt, attended with ſhips, which furniſhed them with proviſions; a fine train of artillery marched with the army, and the general rendezvous was appointed at Alnwick. The heavy artillery were ſhipped on board a fleet fitted out for that purpoſe, with orders to land it at Berwic, where it was propoſed to begin the operations. On muſtering the army it was found to conſiſt of twenty-one thouſand five hundred men, commanded by the dukes of Glouceſter and Albany, having under them the greateſt noblemen, and the beſt officers in England. The firſt column, which conſiſted of ſix thouſand ſeven hundred men, was led by the earl of Northumberland, having under him the lord Scroop, Sir John Middleton, Sir John Ditchfield, and other perſons of diſtinction. The ſecond column was led by the duke of Glouceſter in perſon, aſſiſted by the duke of Albany, the lords Lovel and Grayſtock, and Sir Edward Woodville; it conſiſted of five thouſand eight hundred men. The lord Neville at the head of three thouſand veteran ſoldiers formed the rear. Theſe three columns, which conſiſted entirely of foot, were flanked on the right by a body of three thouſand horſe, under lord Stanley, and on the left by two thouſand, under lord Fitz-Hugh, while a thouſand were appointed to guard the train of artillery. In this order they marched, and formed the ſiege of Berwic, which ſoon ſurrendered, but the garriſon retiring into the caſtle, prepared for making a vigorous defence. The Engliſh, however, no ſooner heard that the Scots had diſbanded their army, than they left the lord Stanley with a body of four thouſand men, to carry on the ſiege of Berwic caſtle, and marched to Edinburgh, where the king had taken refuge in the caſtle. The dukes of Glouceſter and Albany taking particular care to prevent the ſoldiers from committing any diſorders in their march through the Scottiſh territories, and the latter affected to treat the inhabitants as his own ſubjects.

The condition of James at this time, in the caſtle of Edinburgh, was very particular. He was, indeed, in the hands of his friends; but of friends who wiſhed his reformation. They were reſolved to defend him, but they were ignorant of his engagements with Edward. As the caſtle of Edinburgh could not be taken by aſſault without doing great prejudice to the town, which the two dukes affected to favour, a conſiderable body of Scottiſh noblemen, well affected to their king and country, aſſembled at Haddington, a town between Berwic and Edinburgh, in order to bring about a reconciliation between the king and the two dukes. The great and principal point to be adjuſted was, the ſatisfaction neceſſary to be made to the king of England for the ſums he had advanced as the fortune of his daughter Cicely with the duke of Rothſay. The Scots offered that the duke ſhould immediately marry the lady; but the duke of Glouceſter inſiſted peremptorily on the repayment of the money, having no inſtructions from his brother to conclude the marriage. He alſo inſiſted that the Scots ſhould not attempt to relieve, during the negotiations, the caſtle of Berwic, which was bravely defended by Patrick Hepburn, lord of Hales.

Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, a peace was concluded, by which the duke of Albany was reſtored to his former eſtates, with a pardon and ſafety for his own perſon, and an indemnification for his attendants: the magiſtracy of Edinburgh undertook to repay Edward all the money he had advanced for his daughter's fortune.

A. D. 1483. Maximilian of Auſtria, duke of Burgundy, had oppoſed the arms of Lewis with ſo much ſucceſs, that the French could make no further encroachments on his eſtates. Edward had already entered into engagements with that prince againſt Lewis, and was now employed in the neceſſary preparations for taking the field. His ſubjects, whoſe confidence he had now regained by his alteration of meaſures, were greatly elated at the proſpect of ſoon taking ample revenge on the French for their perfidy. But all their expectations were blaſted by the death of Mary, dutcheſs of Burgundy, by a fall from her horſe. She left one ſon and a daughter as heirs to her immenſe eſtates. Lewis, who had long felt the effects of his miſtaken policy, with regard to the mother, now determined, if poſſible, to retrieve the overſight by obtaining the daughter as a conſort to the dauphin, and had the addreſs to prevail on the Gentois to take the young princeſs from the tuition of her father, and ſoon after, not only to agree to the marriage between her and the dauphin, but to put the young lady into his hands; and the marriage was ſoon after declared to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe.

Exaſperated at this freſh act of perfidy, Edward increaſed his diligence in providing every thing neceſſary for an invaſion of France: but all theſe vaſt preparations were rendered abortive by the untimely death of Edward, which happened on the ninth of April, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Thus fell Edward after a reign contaminated with as much guilt from perjury and murder, as centered in that of any prince who ever ſwayed the ſceptre of England. It is ſaid that his repentance in his laſt hours was remarkably eminent; but repentance uſhured in by the pale hand of the king of terrors, and not by a ſenſe of the enormity of ſin, is a mockery of religion. Proſperity did not baniſh ſuſpicion in Edward, nor adverſity cure preſumption; his ſuſpicion was always followed by ſtreams of the nobleſt blood in England, and his preſumption depopulated his country. Had the

ſcenes

ſcenes of Edward's ſlaughter cloſed in thoſe of his victories, had he not in his cooler moments, ſtained upon ſcaffolds the laurels he had gathered in the field, he might juſtly have claimed a place among the greateſt heroes of his country. We muſt not, however, impute to him the blood that was ſpilt in his battles: he had to deal with an enemy equally intrepid, haughty, vindictive, and bloody as himſelf. He had juſtice on his ſide while he had guilt upon his conſcience: he wore a ſmile upon his face, while he meditated perjury in his heart. He had vaſt courage, but no true greatneſs; he had many engaging qualities, but not one virtue. When ſurrounded with danger, he was ſunk in ſenſuality; and he purchaſed eaſe at the expence of glory. The ſucceſs of his arms was owing to his activity; the diſgrace of his reign, to his indolence. There are few inſtances in hiſtory of kings, who, like Edward, could fly from the brothel to the battle, and who could at once, drop the terrors of an inhuman tyrant, to aſſume the graces of a tender lover, or ſlide from ſtate into familiarity. It was peculiar to Edward to throw the diadem gracefully from his brows; it was his alone to reſign the luſtre of majeſty, leſt it might dazzle the eyes of his people. It was owing to this pernicious appearance of humanity that Edward's crimes, inſtead of ſinking him into deteſtation, were overlooked with indifference. Beſides five daughters, this monarch left two ſons, Edward prince of Wales, his ſucceſſor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his ſeventh.

EDWARD V.

A. D. 1483. EDWARD, when too late, ſaw and bewailed the former errors of his conduct, though he could not correct them. He feared his imprudent actions would be fatal to his children. He was not miſtaken, they were converted at his death into ſo many mortal wounds which deſtroyed his family. Edward, during the laſt years of his life, was enabled by the appointments and preſents he received from France to bribe the great men of his court, who were moſt capable of giving him diſturbance. At the ſame time the extinction of the Lancaſtrian intereſt, inſured the quiet of Edward, while it encouraged the falſe maxims of his government. In reality, he ruled by a faction, at the head of which the queen was placed. She well knew the many reaſons ſhe had given the old nobility to be diſſatisfied with her conduct, and was therefore perſuaded ſhe had no means of ſecurity but by placing in the hands of her creatures and family, the ſole direction of the government. She conſidered her numerous offspring by the king, as ſo many earneſts of the continuance of her power; and that the ſanguinary meaſures that had been purſued againſt her enemies, ſhe thought would be ſufficient to deſtroy all future oppoſition. Edward's love for the queen always continued, and at laſt over-ſhadowed his judgment. For he left the queen and her family actually in poſſeſſion of the whole executive power of the kingdom. The tower of London, the treaſury, the perſon of the king, and his brother.

Anthony Woodville, earl of Rivers, the queen's brother, though of an ancient family was but of new nobility, and therefore both hated and envied by the great peers. The power he poſſeſſed was the reſult of temporary circumſtances, and not of natural intereſt; though he had hitherto uſed it with moderation, and ſometimes to the advantage of his country.

Richard, duke of Glouceſter, the pupil of his brother, in the arts of diſſimulation and murder, had great experience and knowledge. He affected an auſterity in virtue not common to the times; but blended with ſuch an appearance of loyalty for his brother's perſon and family, that it even extended to an outward regard for the queen herſelf. He had obtained the favour of the commons by his declared averſion to all French meaſures, and was highly eſteemed by the people, for the vigour with which he animated his brother for carrying on the French war, and for the noble declaration he made in parliament, that he deſired to ſpend his whole eſtate as well as the laſt drop of his blood in that quarrel. If he was at any time exaſperated it was againſt vice; he had hitherto endeavoured to conceal his cruelty under the appearance of zeal; and his perjuries were excuſed as flowing wholly from the peremptory orders of his brother. At the time of his brother's death he became naturally the head of the party that oppoſed the queen. His apparent virtues, his abilities, his Engliſh ſentiments, as well as his birth, made the people look with indignation upon the government's being left in the hands of the queen, and the voice of the public already pointed him out as the protector of the kingdom.

His intimate friend, Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, had done Edward many important ſervices, and in return had met with nothing but neglect; he was next to the branches of the royal family and the duke of Suffolk, upon the rolls of parliament. His pretenſions were very great, his poſſeſſions ample, his ſpirit untractable, and his ambition boundleſs. His followers were very numerous, and his intereſt with the people great and extenſive; while the ſlights he had met with at court had given the public a greater eſteem for his perſon than he really deſerved.

The lord Haſtings was high chamberlain; and in all other reſpects a brave, ſenſible, Engliſh nobleman. Edward owed him more than he could poſſibly repay; and Haſtings had, by his abilities, rendered himſelf ſo neceſſary to the government, and, by his popularity, ſo uſeful to Edward, that the queen did not think it prudent to diſplace him; though he was the only Engliſh nobleman employed by the government, who acted independently. But with all his merit, he had remarkable failings. He was not aſhamed to receive a penſion from Lewis, but he was aſhamed to acknowledge that he had received it; as if the form only, not the matter conſtituted vice.

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At the time of Edward's death, his eldeſt ſon reſided at Ludlow caſtle, on the borders of Wales, whither he had been ſent, that the influence of his preſence might over-awe the Welſh, and reſtore the tranquillity of that country, which had been diſturbed by ſome recent commotions. His perſon was committed to the care of his uncle, Rivers; but the queen, anxious to preſerve the ſame aſcendancy over her ſon, ſhe had ſo long maintained over her huſband, wrote to her brother the earl of Rivers, ordering him to levy a body of forces, in order to eſcort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of their enemies. The faction who oppoſed the meaſures of the queen, ſenſible that Edward was now of an age when great advantages could be made of his name and countenance, and would ſoon reach the period, when he would be legally intitled to exert in perſon the royal authority, eaſily foreſaw, that the tendency of this meaſure, was to perpetuate their ſubjection under their rival, and therefore vehemently oppoſed a reſolution, which they repreſented as a ſignal for renewing a civil war in the kingdom. Lord Haſtings threatened inſtantly to depart to his government of Calais: the other noblemen ſeemed reſolute to oppoſe force by force; and as the duke of Glouceſter, under pretence of quieting the quarrel, had declared againſt all appearance of an armed force, which might be dangerous, and was no ways neceſſary, the queen, truſting to the ſincerity of his friendſhip, and intimidated by ſo violent an oppoſition, revoked her orders to her brother, and deſired him to bring up with him only ſuch a retinue as would be ſufficient to ſupport the ſtate and dignity of the young ſovereign.

In the mean time the duke of Glouceſter ſet out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. On his reaching Northampton he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was alſo attended by a ſplendid retinue; and hearing that the king was every hour expected on that road, he reſolved to wait his arrival, under pretence of waiting upon him in perſon, and conducting him to London. Apprehenſive that the town of Northampton could not poſſibly afford entertainment for ſo vaſt a number of followers, Rivers ſent his pupil forward, by another road to Stoney-Stratford, and came himſelf to Northampton in order to apologize for this meaſure, and pay his reſpects to the duke of Glouceſter. He was received with the greateſt appearance of ſincere friendſhip; he paſſed the evening in an amicable manner with Glouceſter and Buckingham; and proceeded with them the next day on the road to join the king; but as he was entering Stoney-Stratford, he was arreſted by order of the duke of Glouceſter. Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's ſons was, at the ſame time, put under a guard, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable poſt in the king's houſhold: and all theſe priſoners were immediately conducted to Pomfret. Glouceſter approached the prince with the greateſt demonſtrations of reſpect, and endeavoured to ſatisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother: but Edward, cloſely attached to thoſe near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not ſufficiently ſkilled in the art of diſſimulation, to conceal his diſpleaſure at ſo attrocious an act, directly repugnant to all the precepts of juſtice.

The impreſſions which thoſe alarming events made on the people at London were very different. The lord Haſtings, who entertained an high opinion of Glouceſter's virtue and loyalty, was no ſtranger to the conſpiracy formed for taking the king out of the hands of Rivers; and was even warm for proſecuting the queen's relations, on account of their inſolent behaviour to the old nobility. He was, therefore, ſo far from being ſurprized at this incident, that he received the account of it with pleaſure, and immediately informed the archbiſhop of York, then chancellor of England, of the whole proceedings of the duke of Glouceſter, deſiring him to reſt aſſured that nothing was intended againſt the life of the king. But the queen no ſooner received intelligence of the arreſt of her brother, than ſhe foreſaw that Glouceſter's violence would not ſtop there, and that her own ruin at leaſt, if not that of her whole family, was finally determined. She therefore retired about midnight within the precincts of Weſtminſter-abbey, where ſhe regiſtered herſelf, the duke of York, the five princeſſes her daughters, and her neceſſary ſervants, as perſons entitled to the benefit of the ſanctuary.

Alarmed at the meſſage received from lord Haſtings, the archbiſhop of York haſtened, before day-break, to the ſanctuary, where he found the queen and her children in all the bitterneſs of affliction, bewailing their miſery, and curſing the authors of their misfortunes. The prelate acquainted her with the confirmation he had received; and aſſured her, that if the lords ſhould ſo far deviate from the principles of humanity or juſtice, as to put the king to death, he would immediately crown the duke of York, who was ſtill ſafe, even beyond their power: and, as an earneſt of his affection for his deceaſed maſter's family, left the great ſeal of England in her cuſtody.

In the mean time the great agitation which this event cauſed among the nobility in London, created firſt a ſuſpicion, then an uneaſineſs, and, at laſt, a tumult among the citizens. Nor is it eaſy to ſay what might have been the conſequence, had not the lord Haſtings interpoſed, and undertook to anſwer for the deſigns and loyalty of the duke of Glouceſter. Their ſuſpicions were, however, far from being removed, when they obſerved that the partizans of the duke of Glouceſter were remarkably buſy in ſtopping up all the avenues to the ſanctuary, and examining all who repaired to the queen. Many even declared publickly, that the intention of the duke of Glouceſter and the confederated lords, was to prevent the king from being crowned. To prevent this increaſing uneaſineſs, the lords proceeded with the king in their journey to London; where the partizans of the duke were at great pains to ſhew ſome cheſts of armour, which they ſaid were deſigned for the uſe of ſoldiers, who were to maſſacre the citizens under the earl of Rivers, the marquis of Dorſet, and the reſt of the queen's friends. This ridiculous ſuggeſtion, though deſpiſed by the more diſcerning part of mankind, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the ignorant multitude; that they wiſhed, in pity to their country, that the impriſoned lords were put to death.

When the king approached the city of London, he was met by the lord-mayor, the magiſtracy, and

body of five hundred citizens, in purple gowns. But the expreſſions of the duke of Glouceſter's loyalty exceeded all bounds; it became ridiculous, but was excuſed as the overflowings of his zeal. He rode bare-headed before his nephew, bowing on each ſide to the people, and was almoſt continually crying out, "Behold your king! Behold your ſove-"reign!

But though the king was in Glouceſter's power, it was not ſufficient to anſwer the ends of his ambition, while the duke of York was in a place of ſafety. He therefore propoſed to take him by force from the ſanctuary; and repreſented to the privy-council both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehenſions, and the neceſſity of the young prince's appearing at the enſuing coronation of his brother. It was farther alledged, that eccleſiaſtical privileges were originally calculated to give protection to unhappy men, perſecuted for their debts or crimes; and were entirely uſeleſs to a perſon, who, by reaſon of his tender age, could lie under the burden of neither, and who, for the ſame reaſon, was utterly incapable of claiming ſecurity from any ſanctuary. But the two archbiſhops, cardinal Bourchier, the primate, and Rotheram, archbiſhop of York, proteſting againſt the ſacrilege of this meaſure, it was agreed, that they ſhould firſt endeavour to bring the queen to compliance by perſuaſion, before any violence ſhould be employed againſt her.

The two prelates were immediately deſired to undertake the negotiation with the queen, and being both of them perſons of integrity, and fully perſuaded of the duke's intentions, they employed every argument, accompanied with zealous intreaties, exhortations and aſſurances, to bring her over to the ſame opinion. She continued long obſtinate, and inſiſted, that the duke of York, by living in the ſanctuary, was not only ſecure himſelf, but alſo gave ſecurity to the king, whoſe life no perſon would dare attempt, while his ſucceſſor and avenger remained in ſafety. But finding that no perſon ſupported her in her ſentiments, and that force, in caſe of refuſal, was threatened by the council, ſhe at laſt complied, and produced her ſon to the two prelates. She was here, on a ſudden, ſtruck with a kind of preſage of his future fate: ſhe tenderly embraced him; ſhe bedewed him with her tears; and, bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him, with many expreſſions of regret and reluctance, into their cuſtody.

The royal youth was received by his uncle with diſſembled affection; "Now welcome, my lord, "even with all my heart," ſaid he, taking the child into his arms, and introducing him to his brother, who were both immediately conducted to the tower.

The duke of Glouceſter having now ſurmounted his greateſt difficulties, and being the neareſt male of the royal family capable of holding the reins of government, ſeemed fully entitled, by the cuſtom of the kingdom, to the office of protector; and accordingly the council, without waiting the conſent of parliament, inſtalled him in that high dignity; without foreſeeing, or indeed ſuſpecting any danger to the ſucceſſion, much leſs to the lives of the infant princes. The duke had, indeed, hitherto been able to conceal his fierce and brutal nature under the veil of diſſimulation. At the ſame time the numerous iſſue of Edward, together with the two children of Clarence, ſeemed to be an eternal obſtacle to his ambition; and it appeared equally impracticable for him to diſpatch ſo many perſons poſſeſſed of a preferable title, as it would be imprudent to exclude them from the crown, which was their undoubted right.

But ambition knows no bounds, and the heart when thoroughly vitiated laughs at the feelings of humanity, and dictates of virtue. Glouceſter was a perſon of this claſs. He had ſucceeded in his attempts of ſecuringthe two royal infants, and determined to proceed in removing every other obſtruction that lay between him and the crown. The firſt he determined on was the death of the earl of Rivers, and the other priſoners detained at Pomfret; and obtained the conſent both of the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings to the ſanguinary meaſure. But it was not thought prudent to procure a ſentence of death to be pronounced againſt them, as a proceeding of that nature might have alarmed the people, and fruſtrated the whole attempt. It was therefore determined to diſpatch them without any trial or form of proceſs; and orders were accordingly ſent to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper inſtrument in the hands of ſo tyrannical a maſter, to cut off the heads of his noble priſoners.

The protector thought it was now high time to procure ſome of the nobility to embark in the baſe deſign he had formed of ſeizing the crown, as his intention could not be long concealed from the public. He firſt applied to the duke of Buckingham. Accordingly he began with making him large offers of private advantages. Buckingham readily embraced the propoſals, and promiſed to ſuppport him in all his enterprizes. He was alſo deſirous of gaining over the lord Haſtings; but finding him inpregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, who had always honoured him with his friendſhip, Glouceſter determined to ruin the man, whom he deſpaired of engaging to concur in his uſurpations.

There was an abſolute neceſſity for keeping this plan a ſecret; but it was impoſſible to prevent thoſe who were not intruſted with the ſecret from ſuſpecting, that ſomething more than ordinary was on the carpet, from the continual reſort to the protector's palace. Glouceſter ſaw his danger, and therefore to amuſe thoſe, from whom he had moſt to apprehend, artfully named a committe to ſettle the form, manner, and proceedings of the approaching coronation. This committee conſiſted of the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops of Ely, the lord Stanley and Haſtings, and ſeveral other perſons of rank and fortune. This committee found ſufficient buſineſs to employ all their time; but could not prevent ſeveral hints being thrown out with regard to the duke of Glouceſter's preſumption, by aſſuming to himſelf a ſtate more proper for a king than a ſubject, and the little regard that was paid to young Edward.

The committee having entirely finiſhed the buſineſs for which they were appointed, there could be no longer any pretence for delaying the ceremony of the coronation; and Glouceſter accordingly determined to carry his deſign into execution immediately. Accordingly he ſummoned a council to meet at the tower, on the very day that Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan were murdered at Pomfret. The lord Haſtings not ſuſpecting any treachery, repaired to the council, and the protector himſelf repaired hi-

ther

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Wale del. *Grignion Sculp.*

The **DOWAGER** *of* **EDWARD IV**

Delivering the **Duke** *of* **York** *to Cardinal Burchier & Arch Bishop Rotheram.*

Engraved for Mountague's History of England

Richard Duke of Glocester Accusing the
QUEEN *of* EDWARD IV^th^ *with* WITCHCRAFT

ther about nine in the morning. Glouceſter was capable of committing the moſt bloody and treacherous murders with the utmoſt coolneſs and indifference. On taking his place at the council board, he appeared in the eaſieſt and moſt jovial humour in the world. He ſeemed deſirous of indulging himſelf in familiar converſation with his counſellors, before they entered upon buſineſs; and after paying ſome compliments to the biſhop of Ely on the good and early ſtrawberries he raiſed in his garden at Holbourn, he begged the favour of having a plate of them, and accordingly the prelate immediately diſpatched a ſervant for them. Soon after the protector left the council board, without the leaſt appearance of his temper's being altered; but ſoon returned with an angry and inflamed countenance, knitting his brows, and biting his lips. As ſoon as he had again taken his ſeat, he demanded, in a furious tone, "What puniſhment they deſerved, "who plotted againſt his life, who was uncle to the "king, and protector of the kingdom?" Haſtings immediately replied, "that they merited the puniſh-"ment of traitors?" "Thoſe traitors," cried the protector, "are the ſorcereſs, my brother's wife, "and Jane Shore, his miſtreſs, with others their "aſſociates: ſee to what a condition they have re-"duced me, with their incantations and witchcraft:" ſhewing, at the ſame time his arm all ſhrivelled and decayed. Struck with aſtoniſhment, the counſellors, who all knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, gazed wildly on one another; without being able to return any anſwer. At laſt lord Haſtings, who having ſince Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, become particularly anxious with regard to the iſſue of ſuch extraordinary proceedings, replied, "certainly my "lord, *if* they are guilty of theſe crimes, they de-"ſerve the ſevereſt puniſhment." "And do you "reply to me," exclaimed the protector, with your "*ifs*, and your *ands?* I tell they have done it. You "are the principal protector of that witch Shore: "you yourſelf are a traitor: and I ſwear by St. "Paul, that I will not dine before your head be "brought me." As he pronounced theſe words, he ſtruck the table violently with his hand, and a number of men ruſhed in at the ſignal. The utmoſt conſternation ſeized the counſellors; and one of the guards, either by accident or miſtake, aimed a blow at lord Stanley, with a battle-ax; but aware of the danger, ſaved his life by falling under the table, but received a ſevere wound in the protector's preſence. In the mean time the guards ſeized Haſtings, and as his pretended crime would not bear even the form of a trial, he was hurried away to the tower green, where his head was ſtruck off on a piece of timber which lay near the chapel.

The archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, the lord Stanley, and the reſt of the council, were committed cloſe priſoners to different chambers in the tower; while the protector, with his confident the duke of Buckingham affected to be under all the terrors of an immediate inſurrection. He ſent immediately for the lord-mayor, and the chief citizens to the tower. The mayor, who had been gained over ſecretly by the protector, ventured, with ſome of the citizens to obey the ſummons, notwithſtanding the recent example. They found the two dukes dreſſed in ruſty armour, haſtily buckled about their clothes, with all the ſymptoms of perturbation from impending danger. On their entrance, the protector informed them, "That he had that "moment narrowly eſcaped death, from Haſtings "and his accomplices; and that he had diſcovered "the plot only a few minutes before it was car-"ried into execution, He added, that the am-"bitious Haſtings had indeed been put to death in "a ſummary manner, but that it was done through "neceſſity; for had he been kept in priſon, his "accomplices, in attempting his reſcue, might "have thrown the whole nation into a flame." He concluded with deſiring them to provide for the peace of the citiy, as the danger was not yet over. The citizens, terrified at their ſituation, promiſed every thing; but on their return they reported all that had paſſed, which, inſtead of removing, increaſed the ſuſpicions of the people. The citizens were hardly returned before a proclamation drawn up with great elegance, and fairly written, was read in the ſtreets of London, a circumſtance which convinced the people the whole pretended plot had no exiſtence, and that the ſcheme had been contrived, and the proclamation had been prepared and ingroſſed ſome time before the accident; unleſs, as one of the merchants juſtly obſerved, the whole had been done by the ſpirit of prophecy.

It was neceſſary, therefore, for the protector to give ſome colour to his proceedings and carry on the force of his accuſations. Accordingly he ordered Jane Shore to be ſeized, and ſummoned her to anſwer before the council for ſorcery and inchantment. But as no proofs which could be received even in that ignorant age could be produced againſt her, he ordered her to be tried in the ſpiritual court for adultery and lewdneſs; and ſhe accordingly did penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's before the whole people. This lady was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to a ſubſtantial citizen; but unhappily, views of intereſt more than her own inclination, had been conſulted in this match, and her mind, though framed for virtue, was unable to reſiſt the allurements of Edward, who ſollicited her favour. But while ſeduced from her duty by this gay and amorous monarch, ſhe ſtill rendered herſelf reſpectable by her other virtues, and the aſcendant which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him, was wholly employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was always ready to oppoſe calumny, to protect the oppreſſed, to relieve the indigent; and her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, never waited the ſollicitations of preſents, or the hopes of reciprocal favours. But ſhe lived not only to feel the bitter anguiſh of ſhame impoſed upon her by this barbarous tyrant, but to experience in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers, who had often ſollicited her friendſhip, and been protected by her credit. Not one among the vaſt multitude ſhe had relieved, appeared to bring her either conſolation or relief: ſhe languiſhed out the remainder of her life in ſollitude and indigence, and amidſt a court inured to the moſt attrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman juſtified all violations of friendſhip towards her, and buried all her former favours in oblivion.

The protector, finding that he had hitherto loſt than gained upon the affections of the citizens of London, was now reduced to his laſt expedient, that of eſtabliſhing a belief of the baſtardy of the king and his brother. As the benefit of the preſs

was

was then little known in England, the protector had recourse to preachers for publishing his calumny. Shaw, brother to the lord mayor of London, and Pinker, both popular declaimers, were gained over for this infamous purpose. They asserted, that the licentious life of Edward, who was not restrained in his pleasure by any principles either of honour or prudence, afforded a sufficient reason for declaring his marriage with the queen invalid, and all his posterity illegitimate. They declared that before his marriage with the lady Elizabeth Gray, he had courted the lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury, and being repulsed by the virtue of that lady, he was obliged, before he could be gratified in his desire, to consent to a private marriage, which was accordingly performed, but not before any witnesses, by Stillington, bishop of Bath, who afterwards revealed the secret. At the same time they maintained, that the act of attainder passed against the duke of Clarence, had virtually rendered his children incapable of succeeding to the crown. Such were the ridiculous assertions of his preachers, which could they have been proved, the protector would have remained the only legitimate heir of the house of York. But these assertions were too gross to impose even upon the ignorant multitude. The preachers perceived their scheme would not produce the desired effect, broke out into an elaborate panegyric on the duke of Gloucester, exclaiming, "Behold this "excellent prince, the express image of his noble "father, the genuine descendant of the house of "York, bearing no less in the virtues of his "mind, than in the features of his countenance, "the character of the gallant Richard, once your "hero and favourite: he alone is intitled to your "allegiance: he must deliver you from the do"minion of all intruders: he alone can restore the "lost glory and honour of the nation." The moment the preacher had closed these fulsome periods, the protector and the duke of Buckingham entered the congregation, expecting doubtless, to be received with peals of applause, and that the people would call out as it were with one voice, "God "save king Richard!" But they were disappointed. The artifice was too gross, both in the prince and the preacher, to impose upon the most ordinary understanding. The protector, therefore, stood exposed in the midst of the assembly, as an object rather of ridicule than royalty, and departed greatly discontented.

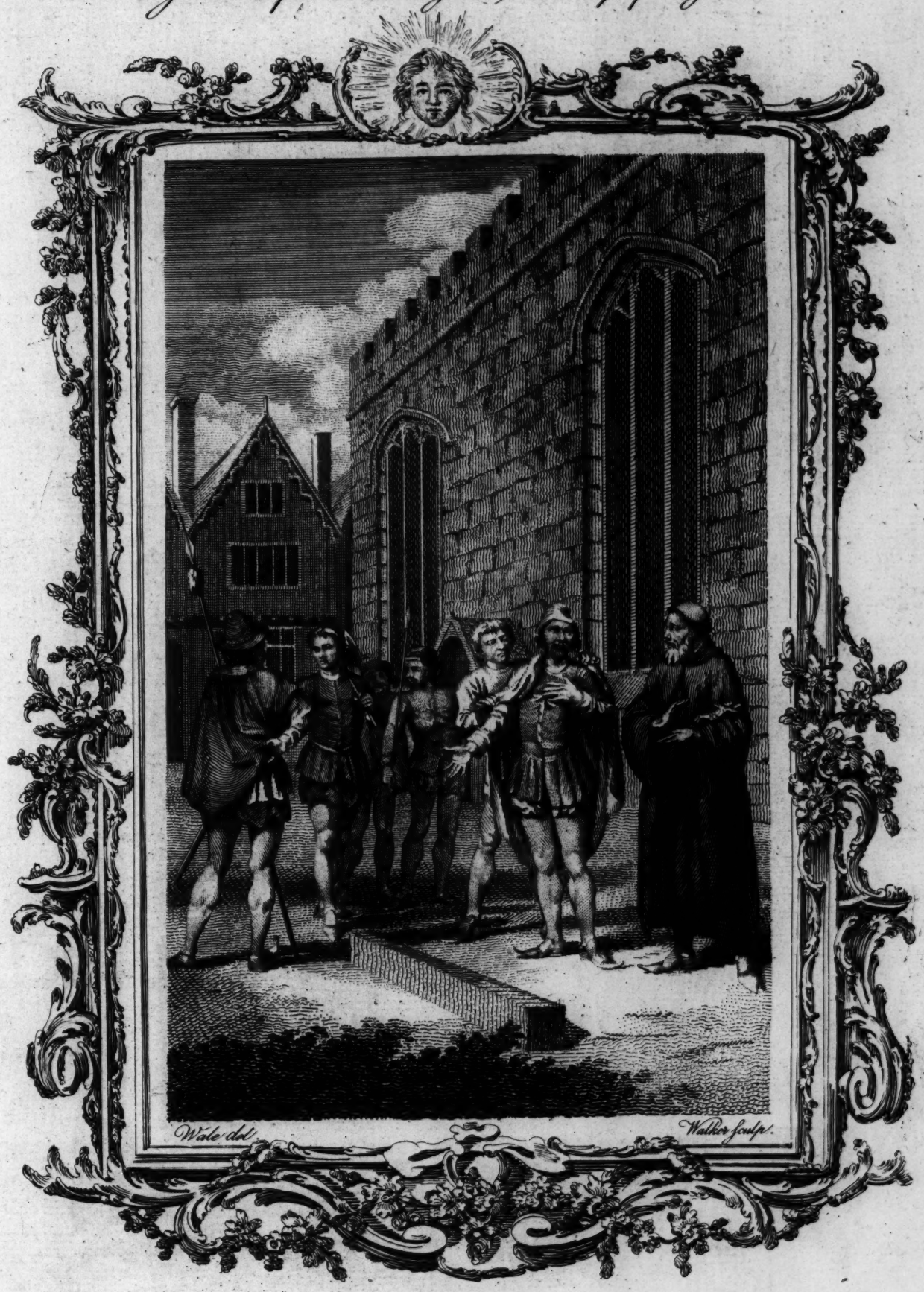
It was, however, now too late for the protector to abandon his criminal and ambitious projects. The lord mayor was ordered to summon a general assembly of the citizens, where the duke of Buckingham, who was considered as one of the greatest orators of the age, addressed the assembly in a long and studied speech, displaying the numerous virtues of Richard; and then asked the people whether they would have the duke for their king. He then stopped for an answer, but a total silence ensued. The duke was amazed at this; he hinted his disappointment to the lord mayor, who prevailed on him to repeat his speech, which was accordingly done with additional graces and eloquence; but still the people were quiet, and maintained a sullen silence. Upon which, by the advice of the lord mayor, Fitz-William, the recorder, repeated the substance of the duke's harangue, but still without effect. Mortified at this, the duke again addressing himself to the assembly, told the people that Richard's election had been already agreed upon by the lords and commons, and therefore it was only a matter of compliment to consult them, as Richard would be placed on the throne, whether they approved it or not. But all the effect produced even by this menace, was a faint shout from a few hired persons who were placed at the bottom of the hall for that purpose. This slight acclamation was declared by Buckingham, to be an universal consent. The sentiments of the nation were asserted to be fully known, and that the voice of the people was the voice of God. Buckingham therefore hastened with the mayor to Baynard's castle, where the protector then resided, in order to prevail upon him to assume the government.

Richard, on being informed that a great multitude were in the court, refused to appear, pretending to be apprehensive for his personal safety. A circumstance taken notice of by Buckingham, who told the citizens that Richard was totally ignorant of the whole design. The protector at last appeared, when Buckingham informed him that the people were determined to place him on the throne. The protector desired that he might be excused from the toils of government, which were too weighty for him to bear. At last the duke of Buckingham declared, that the people were so fully determined to set aside all the posterity of the late king, that if his highness would not accept of the crown, they must seek for another. This conquered the scruples of Richard, who with hypocritical reluctance, accepted their offer. From that day all acts of royalty passed in Richard's name, and the name of Edward was forgotten.

But a truly tragical scene soon followed this ridiculous farce; we mean the murder of the two infant princes. Orders were dispatched from Richard to Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the tower, to put his nephews to death. But this gentleman, who had a true sense of honour, refused to have any share in this infamous office. Disappointed in this attempt, Richard sent Sir James Tyrrel, who promised obedience, and ordered Brakenbury to resign to this gentleman the keys of the tower for one night. Tyrrel, chusing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came, during the night, to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged, and sending in the three assassins, he ordered them to execute their commission, while he staid at the door. They found the young princes in bed and fallen into a sound sleep. After suffocating them with a bolster and pillow, they shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground under a large heap of stones.

RICHARD

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.



DEATH *of* LORD HASTINGS

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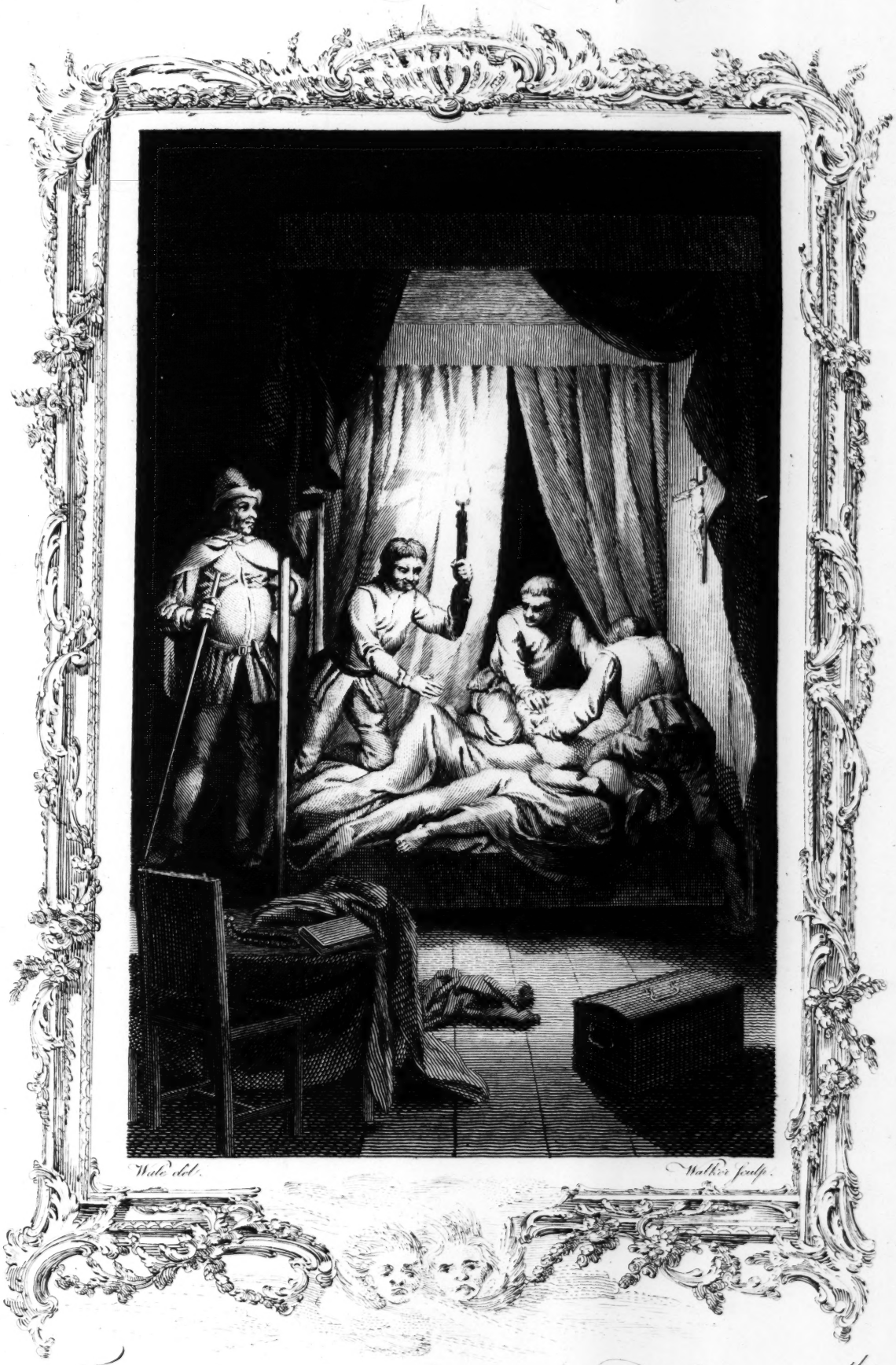

Tyrrel and his Accomplices Smothering Edward 5.th
and the Duke of York in the TOWER by Order of Richard 3.d

Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

RICHARD III.

A. D. 1483. RICHARD having thus uſurped the throne of England, he was crowned on the ſeventh of July, with remarkable magnificence, as if the addition of pomp could ſupply the defect of title. To give it the greater luſtre, the archbiſhop of York was releaſed from priſon; Thomas, late lord Howard, was created duke of Norfolk; his ſon, Sir Thomas Howard, earl of Surry; lord Lovel, a viſcount by the ſame name, and even the lord Stanley was ſet at liberty, and made lord ſteward of the houſehold; the duke of Buckingham was inſtalled in the office of conſtable; he received a grant of the Hereford eſtate, beſides many other dignities and honours. But where the morals of both parties are ſo remarkably corrupted that every virtuous principle is unknown, it is impoſſible for friendſhip to remain long inviolate. This was ſoon the caſe between Richard and Buckingham: a coolneſs, occaſioned perhaps by Richard's jealouſy, ſucceeded, and Buckingham, well acquainted with the king's implacable diſpoſition, retired to the caſtle of Brecknock, where Morton, biſhop of Ely, who had been committed to the duke's cuſtody by Richard, was confined. Sequeſtered from his former companions, the duke often admitted the prelate, who was a perſon of great politeneſs and addreſs, to his company.

Stung with the ingratitude of Richard, the duke opened the whole ſecrets of his heart to the prelate, and informed him of his intention of forming a conſpiracy againſt the government, in order to deſtroy that uſurpation which he himſelf had ſo zealouſly laboured to eſtabliſh. The biſhop, who was a zealous partizan of the houſe of Lancaſter, readily encouraged theſe ſentiments in the duke, whoſe family had always been devoted to the ſame intereſt. He obſerved that the uſurper was deteſted by the whole nation; that could ſome perſon of diſtinction be found to oppoſe the tyrant, the public would immediately declare their deteſtation of ſuch inhuman conduct; that the ſenſe of private and domeſtic duty could never be effaced; that the murder of the two innocent princes, whoſe protection had been committed to the tyrant's care, was a crime of ſo deteſted a nature, that divine vengeance muſt purſue the bloody aſſaſſin, and that to endure the uſurpation of ſuch a deteſted monſter, was a diſgrace to the nation, and muſt be attended with the moſt imminent danger to every individual, who was diſtinguiſhed by his birth, his merits, or his ſervices. He concluded with mentioning the young earl of Richmond, who had long reſided at the court of Britany, as the only perſon capable of freeing the nation from Richard's tyranny, and conjuring him to aſſiſt in bringing about a revolution, which muſt be attended with ſuch happy conſequences to his country.

The duke embraced the propoſal, and they ſolemnly promiſed each other to exert their utmoſt endeavours for deſtroying the preſent uſurpation, and placing Henry, earl of Richmond on the throne. But though many circumſtances were favourable to Henry, the duke and prelate well knew that many obſtacles oppoſed his aſcenſion to the throne, and that though the nation had been extremely divided between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, yet the bulk of the people had declared in favour of the former, when Edward the fourth was placed peaceably on the throne; and that the Lancaſtrian party had extremely decayed both in number and authority ever ſince that æra. It was therefore thought abſolutely neceſſary to unite, if poſſible, the two parties, whoſe quarrels had for ſo many years deſolated their country. Morton propoſed, as the only method of extinguiſhing the two contending factions by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princeſs Elizabeth, and blending by that means the oppoſite pretenſions of their families. The duke entirely approved of this meaſure ſo evidently cultivated to ſecure the happineſs of the people. They well knew that the whole nation was extremely deſirous of repoſe after ſo many years exceſſive, bloody, and deſtructive commotions, that the heads of both parties, who were now equally oppreſſed and perſecuted, would readily embrace ſo ſalutary a ſcheme, and that the proſpect of reconciling the two parties, which was in itſelf ſo deſirable an object, would, when added to the general hatred of the preſent government, render their caſe abſolutely invincible.

The whole ſucceſs of this ſcheme reſting on the marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princeſs Elizabeth, it became neceſſary to apply to the queen, who ſtill continued in the ſanctuary, in order to obtain her conſent, and bring her over to their party. Accordingly they ſent Reignald Bray, ſteward to the counteſs of Richmond, to carry the propoſals to that princeſs, and the ſcheme appeared ſo advantageous to her family, and ſo likely to ſucceed, that ſhe made no difficulty of giving her conſent to the marriage, and of promiſing to aſſiſt in the undertaking to the utmoſt of her power. Dr. Lewis, a Welſh phyſician, who had acceſs to the queen in her ſanctuary, and found that revenge for the murder of her brother and her three ſons; apprehenſions for her ſurviving family; reſentment for her confinement, and oppreſſion eaſily overcame the prejudices ſhe had conceived againſt the houſe of Lancaſter. She ſecretly borrowed a ſum of money in the city, ſent it over to the earl of Richmond, required his oath to fulfil the contract of the marriage as ſoon as he ſhould arrive in England, adviſed him to raiſe as many foreign forces as poſſible, and promiſed to join him at the head of all her friends and partizans, on his firſt appearance.

Richard was not ignorant of a conſpiracy being formed againſt him by Buckingham and the biſhops of Ely and Saliſbury; and publiſhed a proclamation in which he offered large rewards for taking any of the conſpirators. Before he publiſhed this proclamation, ſeveral ſummons had been ſent to

the duke of Buckingham, commanding his attendance at court, but which had been conſtantly diſregarded. In the mean time Richard was preparing an army to reduce the conſpirators by force.

Buckingham, who was no ſtranger to Richard's expedition and reſolution, haſtened his preparations, and put himſelf at the head of a large body of Welſh troops, intending to march directly into the weſt of England, that part of the kingdom being almoſt entirely diſaffected to Richard's government. The king had now advanced with his army to Leiceſter, in order to fight the duke in his march, before he could join his partizans in the weſt. Buckingham purſued his march to the banks of the Severn, but found the river ſwoln in a moſt amazing manner. The waters covered the adjacent country, the fruits of induſtry, and the means of ſubſiſtence were ſwept away by this dreadful deluge; nor did the waters ſubſide for ten days. Buckingham, not apprehending this calamity, had advanced without proviſions for his army, expecting to find magazines ſufficient for his purpoſe on the other ſide of the river; but it being impoſſible to croſs the ſtream, he found it impracticable to keep his men together, ſo that his army mouldered away to one ſingle ſervant, who was faithful enough not to forſake his maſter in his diſtreſs. Reduced to this dreadful condition, he fled to the houſe of one Baniſter, a creature who had ſubſiſted on his bounty, and who had been raiſed by him to a comfortable eſtate near Shrewſbury. But this wretch betrayed his maſter, his benefactor, to John Milton, the ſheriff of Shropſhire, who ſurrounding the houſe, ſeized the duke in the habit of a peaſant, and conducted him to Saliſbury, where Richard then kept his court. The duke begged to be admitted to Richard's preſence, with a deſign, as it is ſaid, to have ſtabbed him with a dagger, which on his execution was found in his boſom. Richard denied his requeſt; the duke was inſtantly tried, condemned, and executed, according to the ſummary method practiſed in thoſe ages. The other conſpirators, who took arms in four different places, as Exeter, Saliſbury, Newbury, and Maidſtone, hearing of the duke of Buckingham's misfortune deſpaired of ſucceſs, and immediately diſperſed.

The marquis of Dorſet, and biſhop of Ely, made their eſcape beyond the ſeas, many others were equally fortunate, ſeveral fell into Richard's hands, of whom he made ſome examples. His executions were not, however, remarkably ſevere, except to one gentleman, William Colingbourne, who ſuffered under pretence of this rebellion, in which he was never engaged, but in reality for a diſtich of quibbling verſes, which he wrote againſt the king and his miniſters.

In the mean time the earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had ſet ſail from St. Maloe at the head of five thouſand men, levied in foreign parts; but his fleet being at firſt drove back by a ſtorm, he did not appear on the coaſt of England till after the diſperſion of all his friends, ſo that he found himſelf obliged to return to the court of Britany.

A. D. 1484. Thus ended this threatening inſurrection againſt Richard, who now ventured to ſummon a parliament, a meaſure which his crimes, and flagrant uſurpation, had made him hitherto decline. The great buſineſs of this aſſembly was to ratify, or rather to eſtabliſh Richard's right to the crown. The king would have been glad to have reſted his right to the throne on the election which had already paſſed; he ſaw the difficulty of eſtabliſhing a parliamentary title on two accounts: the ſurvivancy of the iſſue of Edward the fourth, and the ſurvivancy of the iſſue of the duke of Clarence, his elder brother. But Richard's lawyers were dextrous enough to ſurmount both theſe obſtacles. The pretended contract between Edward and the lady Eleanor Butler, was again brought upon the carpet, and as they pretended, ſufficiently proved, but they did not think proper to enter into any particulars, but upon the ſtrength of this evidence, if it deſerves to be called ſuch, the parliament pronounced the iſſue of Edward illegitimate. With regard to the children of the duke of Clarence, they pretended that their father's attainder during the late reign, diſabled all his iſſue from any right to the crown of England.

The two great obſtacles of Richard's claim being thus removed, the parliament paſſed an act to recognize his authority, and acknowledge his right to the throne. His only ſon Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales: the duties of tonnage and poundage were granted him for life, and Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, paſſed ſome popular laws, eſpecially one againſt the late practice of extorting money, under pretence of benevolences.

Though the illegitimacy of Edward's children had paſſed in parliament, and though Richard now thought himſelf ſecure of the throne, yet the people in general were uneaſy at ſeeing the young ladies, daughters to their late king, and educated as princeſſes, ſhut up in a ſanctuary, with ſcarcely the neceſſaries of life to ſupport them. Richard had, even before this act of illegitimacy paſſed, ſeized upon all the queen dowager's eſtates, houſes and moveables; he had placed ſpies and guards upon all the avenues to the ſanctuary, ſo that neither ſhe or her family could have any relief from their friends. She therefore determined to depend upon the precarious aſſiſtance of monks and prieſts belonging to the abbey, rather than truſt to the promiſes of the uſurper, who had often invited her to leave the ſanctuary. Upon her remaining inflexible, an act of parliament paſſed which ſtripped her of every thing ſhe could call her own.

But the uſurper, ſenſible that the only circumſtance that could give him ſecurity was to gain the confidence of the houſe of York, he therefore paid the moſt aſſiduous court to the queen dowager, employed ſo much art and addreſs, made ſuch earneſt proteſtations of his ſincere good will and friendſhip, that the princeſs, tired with confinement, ventured to leave the ſanctuary, and put herſelf and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. Not ſatisfied with this acquiſition, he determined to purſue other meaſures for the eſtabliſhment of his throne. He had married Ann, ſecond daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, whom Richard himſelf had murdered; but that princeſs having born him but one ſon, who died about this time, he conſidered her as an invincible obſtacle to the ſettlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poiſon, a crime for which the public could not be ſuppoſed to have any very ſolid

ſolid proof, but which the uſual tenor of his conduct made it reaſonable to ſuſpect. He now thought it in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The earl of Richmond, he knew could never be dangerous, but from his projected marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal diſpenſation, to eſpouſe himſelf this princeſs, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen dowager, eager to recover her loſt authority, neither ſcrupled this alliance, which was very unuſual in England, and was regarded as inceſtuous; nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three ſons and her brother; ſhe even joined ſo far her intereſts with thoſe of the uſurper, that ſhe wrote to all her partizans, and among the reſt to the marquis of Dorſet her ſon, deſiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could never forgive. The court of Rome was applied to for a diſpenſation: Richard thought, that he could eaſily defend himſelf during the interval, till it arrived; and he had after ward the agreeable proſpect of a full and ſecure ſettlement. He flattered himſelf, that the Engliſh nation, ſeeing all danger removed of a diſputed ſucceſſion, would then acquieſe under the dominion of a prince, who was of mature years, of great abilities, and of a genius qualified for government; and that they would forgive him all the crimes which he had committed in paving his way to the throne.

But the crimes of Richard were ſo horrid and ſo ſhocking to humanity, that the natural ſentiments of men, without any political or public views, were ſufficient to render his government unſtable; and every perſon of probity and honour, was earneſt to prevent the ſcepter from being farther polluted by that bloody and treacherous hand which held it. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Britany, and exhorted him to haſten his attempt of a new invaſion, and to prevent the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth, which muſt prove ſo fatal to all his hopes. The earl, ſenſible of the urgent neceſſity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Londais, who had entered into a negotiation with Richard for delivering him up, was obliged to attend only to his preſent ſafety; and he made his eſcape to the court of France. The miniſters of Charles VIII. who had now ſucceeded to the throne after the death of his father Lewis, gave him countenance and protection; and being deſirous of raiſing diſturbances to Richard, they ſecretly encouraged the earl, in the levies which he made for the ſupport of his enterprize againſt England. The earl of Oxford, who had been committed priſoner to the caſtle of Guiſnes by Edward IV. made his eſcape and joined the earl of Richmond. The great ſufferings and merits of this nobleman brought over the whole party of the houſe of Lancaſter. This important acquiſition revived the ſpirits of the Richmond party, and it was determined to make the attempt of invading England, as ſoon as the neceſſary preparations could be made for that purpoſe.

A. D. 1485. While Henry continued at Harfleur, he received letters from one Morgan Kydwally, a Welſh lawyer, with advice that Sir Rice ap Thomas and captain John Savage, one a perſon of great natural intereſt in Wales, the other an able commander, had diſpoſed every thing for joining him at his landing; and that Reignald Bray had been lately intruſted with a large ſum of money collected for a preſent ſupply. On receiving this information it was immediately determined to land in Wales. The fleet accordingly put to ſea, and after a paſſage of ſeven days, arrived ſafe in Milford haven. The men were all landed the next day, being the ſeventh of Auguſt, and marched immediately to Haverfordweſt, the people receiving the earl with the loudeſt acclamations, and looking upon him as their deliverer.

In the mean time Richard, though he had early intelligence of the earl's deſign, ſuffered himſelf to be deluded into a fatal ſecurity. He, however, marched directly to Nottingham, where he ordered the rendezvous of his army, with an intent to fight the earl of Richmond. It is more than probable that the earl had gained over to his intereſt ſome of Richard's moſt intimate friend's; for every ſtep the uſurper now took, contradicted the natural ſagacity for which he was before remarkable. His chief reliance for ſtrength was on the duke of Norfolk, his ſon the earl of Surry, and Sir Robert Brackenbury lieutenant of the tower. There were other noblemen and gentlemen from whom he had much to hope, but more to fear. Among thoſe the earl of Northumberland, Sir Thomas Bourchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford were the chief. They were commanded to attend with their followers; but they no ſooner joined the army, than Richard betrayed ſuch ſymptoms of miſtruſt, that Sir Thomas Bourchier and Sir Walter Hungerford, with ſeveral other perſons of rank went over to the earl.

Henry was no ſooner landed than he ſent an expreſs to his mother the counteſs of Richmond, intreating her to uſe all her intereſt with her huſband and his friends to join him on his march to London. The anſwer returned to this expreſs was extremely dark and doubtful. At the ſame time he received an account that the lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, had raiſed a body of ſeven thouſand men; but it was doubtful on which ſide they propoſed to act. Sir Rice ap Thomas had alſo raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, but refuſed to join Henry before his own terms were complied with; and at laſt obliged the earl to promiſe him the government of Wales, if his expedition ſhould prove ſucceſsful. Sir Gilbert Talbot indeed promiſed to join the earl, but not till after he reached Shrewſbury. Sir Walter Herbert alſo was doubtful; for though he was at the head of a conſiderable body of men, he had declared for neither party, and had a commiſſion from Richard, for raiſing all the militia of Wales, and oppoſing Henry to the utmoſt of his power. The anxiety of this doubtful ſtate was increaſed by all the paſſages of the Severn being guarded by the uſurper's troops, and all the ſtrong places on that river being in his power. But to alleviate ſome part of Henry's uneaſineſs, the town of Pembroke, by the intereſt of one Butler declared in his favour. This was followed by a like declaration of the town of Cardigan, to which he marched. While he was on the road he was joined by Richard Griffith, an old friend of Sir Walter Hubert and Sir Rice ap Thomas; but he received continual alarms, that theſe two gentlemen had taken the field and were ready to diſpute his paſſage. Thoſe alarms kept him perpetually under apprehenſions, till he conſented to grant both theſe gentlemen their terms; and Sir Rice ap Thomas having joined him

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he marched immediately to Shrewſbury, where he was joined by Sir Gilbert Talbot, at the head of a conſiderable number of the earl of Shrewſbury's tenants. This ſucceſs probably determined the lord Stanley and his brother, to give him hopes of their aſſiſtance; for the earl coming from Shrewſbury to Stafford, he had there a private interview with Sir William Stanley; though what paſſed between them is not known. The lord Stanley lay then at Litchfield with all his forces, but was extremely cautious of giving the tyrant any umbrage, for fear of his ſon, who ſtill remained with Richard, in reality as an hoſtage for the fidelity of his father, though the uſurper pretended he kept him near his perſon from a real affection he had contracted for that amiable nobleman.

In the mean time Richard ſeems to have been under no apprehenſions. He had depended upon Sir Walter Herbert for oppoſing Henry's march, and never began to ſuſpect his danger, until he heard that Sir Walter had rather favoured than oppoſed the enemy, and that Sir Rice ap Thomas had actually joined him. This news rouſed the ſpirit of the tyrant: he ordered the duke of Norfolk, his ſon the earl of Surry, and Sir Robert Blackenbury to join him immediately with all their forces at Nottingham, and haſten the levies from all other parts of the country. His whole army being aſſembled, made a fine appearance, and after reviewing every corps, drew them up in proper order, and commanded them to march to Leiceſter, with only five in a rank, the baggage and artillery in the center, flanked by the horſe, while he himſelf, mounted on a beautiful white courſer, performed all the duties of an able general. This march ſo greatly alarmed the earl of Richmond, that he marched towards Tamworth, doubtful with regard to the event, yet determined with regard to his conduct. The behaviour of the lord Stanley was more dreadful to him than even the news of his having declared for the uſurper. In this dreadful anxiety he was purſuing his march, but with ſo much abſence of mind with regard to his own ſafety, that he inſenſibly loſt the company of his own army, and found himſelf benighted near a village where he was obliged to take up his quarters, not venturing, for fear of ſuſpicion, to enquire his road to Tamworth. His good fortune, however, prevailed over his danger, and the next morning he joined his army at Tamworth.

In the mean time the lord Stanley remained at Atherſton, with his brother William, and all his army. He had received repeated meſſages from Richard with orders to join him, and found he could no longer continue his neutrality, he therefore thought it prudent to admit the earl of Richmond to a conference, when he excuſed himſelf from joining his forces before the battle, on account of his ſon's danger. While Richard, who had advanced as far as Boſworth, finding the earl had put off his junction from day to day, gave orders that the lord Strange's head ſhould be ſtruck off, and it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon to defer the unpopular execution till the battle was over. His mind indeed ſeems to have been greatly diſturbed during this dreadful interval; for the night before the battle he was abandoned by Sir John Savage, Sir Brian Sandford, Sir Simon Digby, and ſeveral others.

But notwithſtanding theſe deſertions, his army ſtill continued to make a fine appearance; it conſiſted of about thirteen thouſand, and therefore more than double the number of thoſe under the earl of Richmond, which did not exceed ſix thouſand men.

The day before the battle, lord Stanley had received a freſh meſſage from Richard, threatening to ſtrike off his ſon's head, if he did not inſtantly join him with his army. But that nobleman bravely anſwered, "that he might take the forfeit, for he "had more ſons to ſpare." Soon after this Stanley marched to Atherſton, and pitched his camp at almoſt an equal diſtance between the two armies. Richard's troops were encamped at the foot of a hill called Armbeam, in the pariſh of Boſworth. Both armies expecting to be attacked by the other, the earl of Richmond thought it prudent to form the plan of his battle, and ſent a private meſſage to the lord Stanley, deſiring his advice and aſſiſtance in the execution; but that cautious nobleman declined the invitation, adding, that he was himſelf employed in drawing up his own men, deſiring him to make the beſt diſpoſition in his power, and promiſing to ſee him in the evening of the next day.

Early in the morning of the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, both armies were drawn up in order of battle. That of Richard had its front greatly extended, and formed chiefly of archers, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, and his ſon the earl of Surry. Behind this front was another line, commanded by himſelf; and the extremities of both lines were flanked by horſe. Richard choſe this diſpoſition in order to out-flank the earl, in ſuch a manner as to ſurround him, and intimidate his men by a pompous diſplay of his numbers. But the earl was neither to be ſurprized nor intimidated, he drew up his own men ſo as to have his right flanked by a moraſs, which the royal party could not paſs without expoſing themſelves to be cut in pieces; and by this ſituation he had alſo the advantage of the ſun. His left flank pointed towards lord Stanley's diviſion, whoſe aſſiſtance he knew would prevent his being ſurrounded on that ſide by the enemy. His right wing was commanded by Sir Gilbert Talbot; his left by Sir John Savage; his archers in the front, by the earl of Oxford, and the main body by himſelf and his uncle, the earl of Pembroke.

Every thing being thus prepared for the dreadful ſhock of battle, both armies moved forward, and it was ſoon viſible that the duke of Norfolk intended to ſurround the left of Henry's army. For as ſoon as the ſhower of arrows ſent from both parties had fallen with conſiderable execution, the earl of Oxford attacked Norfolk's diviſion with remarkable fury, but found himſelf in imminent danger of being ſurrounded. Upon this he gave orders for his men to form themſelves into a hollow ſquare, in order to face the enemy on all ſides. This produced a ſudden ſhrinking of the earl's men from the charge, which Richard's troops were ſo far from improving, that they ſtood for ſome time inactive, ſuſpecting it might be a ſtratagem for gaining ſome advantage; but they were ſoon convinced that it was occaſioned by weakneſs only, and the duke of Norfolk was leading up his men with greater fury than ever, when lord Stanley advanced, and joining the earl of Oxford's line ſecured his flank, and renewed the battle. At the ſame inſtant Sir William Stanley with three thouſand

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RICHARD III *Killed in* BOSWORTH-FIELD

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Wale del *Grignion Sculp*

The Crown of **RICHARD** *the 3d. Put on* **HENRY** *Earl of Richmond by Lord Stanley after the Battle of Bosworth*

ſand men, flanked the right of the king's firſt line ſo critically, that they were driven back upon the main body. In the mean time the duke of Norfolk having ſtrengthened the ſecond line, and the king's preſence animating his men, a dreadful diſpute enſued. Richard, finding himſelf deceived by the two Stanleys, collected all his force, and made a moſt furious charge upon the center of the enemy's army, where he underſtood the earl of Richmond commanded in perſon. His ſpirits, activity and addreſs, ſupplied all the defects in his ſtrength and perſon; and hoping to decide, with one ſtroke, the fate of glory and empire between them, he laid Sir William Brandon, the earl's ſtandard-bearer, dead at his feet; he diſmounted Sir John Cheney, who ſupplied Brandon's place; he covered the ſpot where he fought with ſlaughter, and Richmond himſelf, who did not decline the combat, muſt have periſhed in the unequal conteſt, had he not been reſcued by Sir William Stanley's diviſion.

During this terrible diſpute between the centers of both armies, there was almoſt a total inactivity in the other parts, as if the guilt of Richard had enervated the hands of his ſoldiers, and ſunk their ſpirits. They were blind to his example, they were unanimated by his actions, and ſeemed willing to expiate by their deaths, the crime of fighting under the banners of a tyrant. The earl of Northumberland's men threw down their arms, and opened a paſſage for Richmond's ſoldiers to penetrate to the very center of Richard's army. In other parts, either pale diſmay, or wild diſorder prevailed, till the courage of a brave leader became temerity. Senſible of his deſperate ſituation, he plunged into the thickeſt of the battle, determining to ſell his life as dear as poſſible. The luſtre of a diadem, which he that day wore upon his head, diſtinguiſhing his perſon, occaſioned ſuch a weight of enemies, that he fell at laſt in the unequal conteſt, after making incredible efforts, not for ſafety, but revenge. His body was ingloriouſly mangled, and treated with an indignity which his quality, not his virtues, ſhould have prevented. Lord Stanley had the merit of preſenting his crown, and of placing it on Richmond's brows, hailing him, at the ſame time, "King of England," in which he was ſeconded by the acclamations of the whole army.

In this battle there fell about four thouſand men, on the ſide of the vanquiſhed; among theſe were the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and Sir Robert Brackenbury. But the loſs was not conſiderable on the ſide of the victors; and the earl of Richmond, with a policy that does honour to his prudence, pardoned all who ſubmitted. The greateſt ſtain upon his memory that day, was the little care he took of the body of his gallant, tho' guilty, antagoniſt. It was found in the field covered with wounds, and beſmeared with blood; but not the leaſt care was taken to preſerve it from indignity. It was thrown careleſsly acroſs a horſe, carried to Leiceſter, amidſt the ſhouts of the inſulting ſpectators, and interred in the church of the Gray-Friars.

Thus fell Richard the guilty uſurper, who, notwithſtanding all his complicated crimes, has found ſome partizans among hiſtorians. Theſe writers maintain that he was well qualified for government, had he obtained it legally; and that he committed no crimes but ſuch as were neceſſary to procure him the poſſeſſion of the crown: but this is ſurely a very weak apology, when it is conſidered that he was ready to commit the moſt horrid crimes, when they appeared neceſſary for that purpoſe; and it is certain, that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he was not deficient, could never have compenſated for the danger of the precedent, and for the contagious example of vice and murder exalted on the throne.

Richard was of a ſmall ſtature, hump-backed, and of a very harſh diſagreeable viſage; ſo that his body was in every particular equally deformed with his mind.

BOOK X.

From the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. *to the death of Queen* Elizabeth.

HENRY VII.

A. D. 1485. AMONG all the princes that had aſcended the Engliſh throne ſince the conqueſt, none had leſs claim to royalty than Henry the ſeventh. There were indeed many titles upon which he could pretend to found his right to the crown, but all of them ſubject to the moſt weighty objections, if conſidered either with regard to juſtice or policy.

He had for ſome time been regarded by the partizans of the houſe of Lancaſter as the heir of that family. But even this would not bear the leaſt examination. It was, however, derived from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon to Edward the third. This prince was thrice married; firſt to Blanch of Lancaſter, by whom he had a daughter Philippa, married to John I. king of Portugal; ſecondly, Elizabeth, married to John Holland, duke of Exeter; thirdly, Henry the fourth of that name, king of England, whoſe male deſcendants expired in Henry VI.

The ſecond wife of John of Gaunt was Conſtance, princeſs of Caſtile and Leon, who bore him Catharine, married to Henry III. king of Caſtile, who had a numerous iſſue both male and female.

The laſt wife of John of Gaunt was Catharine, widow of Sir Ottes Swineford; this lady had lived in adultery with John of Gaunt, and while in that ſtate, ſhe bore him four children, John Beaufort, earl of Somerſet, Henry Beaufort the cardinal, Thomas Beaufort duke of Exeter, and Joan Beaufort, counteſs of Weſtmoreland. John Beaufort the eldeſt ſon, had for iſſue John duke of Somerſet, who left a daughter Margaret, who was married to Edmond Tudor, of Hadhan, earl of Richmond, whoſe eldeſt ſon was Henry VII. now placed on the Engliſh throne.

The leaſt attention to this genealogy will be ſufficient to point out two ſtrong objections to any right Henry could pretend to the crown of England. Namely, the allowed priority of right in the houſe of York, and which had been declared by repeated acts of the legiſlature; and the illegitimacy of the children born to John of Gaunt by the widow of Sir Ottes Swineford.

But to thoſe objections it was anſwered, that tho' the right of blood with regard to Edward the third, the father of both families was undoubtedly in the houſe of York, yet the family of Lancaſter as well as that of York, having been recognized on the throne by repeated acts of the legiſlature, which deprived the houſe of York of all right both before and after that houſe put in its claim, therefore the parliamentary right of the houſe of Lancaſter was prior to, and conſequently ſtronger than that of the houſe of York; eſpecially as the latter had been attainted, and, when reſtored, was reſtored only to a capacity of ſucceeding to its hereditary eſtates, without any mention of the crown. As to the objection ariſing from illegitimacy, the favourers of the houſe of Lancaſter urged, that the illegitimacy of the family by the name of Swineford had been removed by letters patent from Richard the ſecond.

But to theſe anſwers it was replied, that Henry the fourth and his deſcendants who had filled the throne, were no better than uſurpers, upon the rights of an innocent family. It was alſo urged, that the the parliamentary right was as ſtrongly eſtabliſhed in favour of the houſe of York, both before and after the acceſſion of Edward the fourth, as it had ever been in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter. With regard to the illegitimacy it was replied, that in the very patent itſelf all the privileges conferred by it are fully enumerated, and the ſucceſſion to the crown expreſsly excluded. Add to all this that Henry's mother, from whom he derived all his right was ſtill alive, and evidently preceded him in the order of ſucceſſion.

Henry himſelf indeed appears to have been fully ſenſible that his claim by hereditary right would not admit of diſcuſſion; but fondly imagined that a little of every ſpecies of claim might when blended together eſtabliſh a ſtrong right upon the whole. In the mean time he was no ſtranger to the ſucceſs that had attended the military and popular recognitions of Edward IV. and Richard III. and therefore determined to imitate the example. He was therefore determined to take poſſeſſion of the regal authority, and to ſhew all oppoſers that nothing but force of arms and a ſucceſsful war ſhould be able to expel him. His claim as heir to the houſe of Lancaſter he was reſolved to advance; and never allow it to be diſcuſſed; and flattered himſelf that this claim, favoured by the partizans of that family, and ſeconded by preſent power, would ſecure him a perpetual and independent authority.

But whether this reſolution was or was not conformable to the rules of ſound policy, the very firſt act of his authority demonſtrated, that the violent contentions, which, during ſo long a period, had ſubſiſted between the houſes of Lancaſter and York, had filled his mind with a violent antipathy to the partizans of the latter: for the very next day after the battle of Boſworth, he diſpatched Sir Robert Willoughby, with a party of light horſe, to bring up the earl of Warwick, ſon to the deceaſed duke of Clarence from the caſtle of Sheriff-hutton in Yorkſhire, and commit him cloſe priſoner to the tower of London. This prince was too young and too innocent to have given any alarm to Henry, except his being of the royal blood, and the true heir of the houſe of York. But this was ſufficient to awaken the jealouſy of Henry. Neither this young earl's unoffending years, being then only in the fifteenth of his age, his thoughts ſtrangers to ambition, nor his confined education, could quiet the fears of Henry, who, by this inſtance, ſhewed himſelf to be of a more jealous diſpoſition than even his bloody predeceſſor. The ſame meſſenger which carried the warrant for the confinement of this prince, carried alſo directions, that the princeſs Elizabeth, who had been confined to the ſame place, ſhould be conducted to London, in order to meet Henry, and there celebrate their marriage.

In the mean time Henry having given proper orders for the diſpoſition and march of his army, ſet out for the capital, which he entered on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, attended by numerous and ſplendid troops of nobility and gentry. On his approaching the city he was received by the lord-mayor and companies of London, while crouds of people and citizens, were zealous in their expreſſions of ſatisfaction. But Henry, even amidſt theſe general demonſtrations of joy, ſtill diſcovered the ſtatelineſs and reſerve of his temper, which made him ſcorn to court popularity. He entered London in a cloſe chariot, and even refuſed to gratify the people with a ſight of their new monarch. He firſt went to St. Paul's church, where he offered up the ſtandards taken in the field of battle; and ſung Te Deum for the victory he had there obtained. After performing this ſervice he repaired to the biſhop of London's palace, where lodgings had been prepared for him.

Henry, however, was not ignorant how paſſionately the people wiſhed to ſee the marriage between him and the princeſs Elizabeth ſolemnized; and therefore the very next day after his arrival in the capital, he gave them a poſitive aſſurance that he would ſoon eſpouſe that princeſs. It ſeems he had, for political reaſons, dropt ſome hints, on his leaving Britany, that, in caſe his enterprize was crowned with ſucceſs, he would marry Anne, the heireſs of that dutchy; and the report of that engagement had already reached England, and occaſioned great anxiety in the people, and even in the princeſs herſelf. He therefore aſſembled the chief nobility at the biſhop's palace, and confirmed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, his promiſe of marrying the princeſs Elizabeth. This was a very wiſe and prudent meaſure, as it removed the fears of the Yorkiſts, and the

the people were more than ever attached to his intereſt.

But though he had promiſed nothing more than he intended religiouſly to perform, he determined to poſtpone this alliance, till after the ceremony of his own coronation had been performed, and his title recognized by the parliament. Fearful leſt a preceding marriage with the princeſs, ſhould imply a participation of the ſovereignty in her, and raiſe doubts with regard to his own title by the houſe of Lancaſter, which he was very anxious to ſupport.

This delay, however, might have wrecked Henry in the very harbour of royalty, had he not known how to avail himſelf of the firſt tide of Engliſh affection. The glory of his late victory, the fame of his wiſdom, the gracefulneſs of his perſon, the modeſty of his behaviour, added to a compaſſion for his ſufferings, all tended to ſooth the people's jealouſy. They did not reflect, that by preſenting him with the crown before marriage, was recognizing his right either of blood or conqueſt, or, perhaps of both. They did not perceive that they were opening again the flood-gates of civil calamity; and that it muſt be entirely owing to Henry's own good ſenſe, if theſe advantages did not again let in the ſtream of party and faction to ſweep away their pleaſing proſpect of peace and tranquillity.

Henry, therefore, to prevent the people's affections from growing cool, applied himſelf to make all the preparations neceſſary for the ceremony of his coronation. It was, however, delayed for ſome days, on account of an epidemical diſtemper which broke out about the end of September, and was, from its ſymptoms, termed the ſweating ſickneſs. It occaſioned ſudden death to great multitudes; but was not propagated by any contagious infection but aroſe entirely from the general diſpoſition of the air, and of the human body. In leſs than twenty-four hours, the patient generally died or recovered. But when this dreadful peſtilence had continued its ravages for a few weeks, it was obſerved, either from alterations in the air, or from a more proper regimen, it was diſcovered to be conſiderably abated. As ſoon as this happened, the preparations for Henry's coronation were reſumed with great aſſiduity. In order to heighten the ſplendor of that ceremony, he beſtowed the appellation of knights baronets on twelve perſons, and conferred peerages on three, Jaſper, earl of Pembroke, his uncle, he created duke of Bedford; Thomas, lord Stanley, his father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, earl of Devonſhire. There alſo appeared at the coronation a new inſtitution, which the king had eſtabliſhed both for ſecurity and pomp: a band of fifty archers, called yeomen of the guard. But leſt the people ſhould take umbrage at this unuſual indication of jealouſy in the prince, as if it implied a perſonal diffidence of his ſubjects, he declared the inſtitution to be perpetual. The ceremony of the coronation was performed by cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Henry having thus ſeized the ſeat and reins of government, ventured to call a parliament to recognize his title; and it ſoon appeared, that the majority were devoted partizans to Henry and the houſe of Lancaſter. Indeed few others would venture to ſtand in theſe dangerous times, or were obliged to diſſemble their principles and inclinations. The Lancaſtrian party had been ſucceſsful in all their elections, ſo that no obſtacles oppoſed their deſigns. Many even of thoſe who had, during the prevalency of the houſe of York, been expoſed to the moſt dreadful perſecutions, and had even been condemned by ſentence of attainder and outlawry. Henry never imagined that this could in the leaſt prevent his followers from ſitting in parliament. He imagined that the legiſlature would have at once reduced the legality of all acts paſſed under the York family, in the ſame manner as the Yorkiſts had denied the legality of thoſe attainders which had been paſſed while the houſe of Lancaſter filled the throne. But in this he was deceived; and found the ſpirit of the people very warm in the favour of Edward the fourth and his deſcendants. He might perhaps have obtained a general declaration of the illegality of all that had paſſed during the reign of Richard the third. But Henry was himſelf too cautious to admit of this meaſure, which, while the legality of the acts under Edward IV. was admitted, tacitly implied Edward's right in his children. The attainders of his party was therefore ſubmitted to the opinion of the judges, who, ſupporting the authority of parliaments, and the rights of the houſe of York, declared, "That the "knights and burgeſſes attainted by a courſe of "law, ſhould abſent themſelves from the houſe, "till an act was paſſed for the reverſal of their "attainder; and the ſame was to be underſtood of "the houſe of lords." The king's own attainder was alſo mentioned, and no other method could be found for the removing the obſtacle, than by declaring unanimouſly, "that the crown takes away "all defects and corruptions of blood; and that "from the moment the king aſſumed the crown, "the fountain was cleared, and impurities diſ-"charged." This declaration entirely ſatisfied Henry, as it was in fact a kind of recognizance of all the power and authority which a king of England can conſtitutionally enjoy; and the reverſal of the attainders accordingly paſſed without obſtruction.

The entail of the crown was drawn according to the ſenſe of the king, and probably in his own words. No mention is made in it either of the princeſs Elizabeth, or any branch of the family of York; but in other reſpects the act was compoſed with ſufficient reſerve and moderation. He did not inſiſt that it ſhould contain a declaration or recognition of his preceding right; and on the other hand, it avoided all appearance of a new law or ordinance. The king choſe a middle courſe, which, as generally unavoidable in ſimilar caſes, was not entirely free from uncertainty and obſcurity. It was voted, "That the inheritance of the crown ſhould reſt, "remain, and abide, in the king;" but whether as rightful heir, or preſent poſſeſſor was not determined. In the ſame manner the king was contented that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſecured to the heirs of his body; but he did not pretend, in caſe of their failure, to exclude the houſe of York, or give the peference to that of Lancaſter. That great point was, for the preſent, left ambiguous, truſting that if ever the determination ſhould become requiſite, future incidents would open a way for the deciſion.

The next point to be ſettled by parliament, was that of attainting the perſon of the late king, and thoſe of his adherents. This ſeems, indeed, to have been a matter of ſome difficulty; for, if the

crown

crown took away all defects, and diſcharged all attainders, how could Richard be attainted? But the deciſions of parliament are ſometimes different from the opinions of the judges; and this parliament, which was ſtrongly attached to the memory of Edward the fourth, actually attainted Richard, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surry, viſcount Lovel, the lords Ferrers and Zouch, together with Ratcliffe, the two Harringtons, Brackenbury, Cateſby, and ſeveral others. But thoſe attainders contained clauſes in favour of the wives and other perſons, creditors upon the eſtates of the attainted.

This act of ſeverity in the parliament, was followed by an act of clemency from the king; for during this ſeſſion a proclamation was iſſued for a general pardon, to all who thought proper to ſubmit themſelves to the mercy of the crown. Some other acts of favour appeared alſo about the ſame time. Chandois, a nobleman of Britany, was created earl of Bath; Sir Giles d'Aubeney, was raiſed to the dignity of a baron, by the name of d'Aubeney, and Sir Robert Willoughby was made lord Broke: while Sir Edward Stafford, ſon to the late duke of Buckingham, was reſtored to all his father's honours and eſtates. This act of generoſity, ſo unuſual in Henry, was the effects of his gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who at firſt concerted the plan of his ſucceſſion to the crown, and who had, by his own ruin, made way for that great event.

Henry was remarkable for many ſhining talents, but perhaps his knowledge of mankind was one of the greateſt; and to this talent it was owing that all his ſervants from the higheſt to the loweſt, were ſo capable of executing their reſpective poſts. He was no ſtranger to the abilities and attachment of Morton, biſhop of Ely, nor to thoſe of Richard Fox, afterwards biſhop of Exeter; the former was now ſworn a member of the privy council, and ſoon after advanced to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, and made lord chancellor of England. The latter was made a privy conſellor, and lord privy ſeal.

A. D. 1486. Henry having thus ſettled the affairs of government, thought it neceſſary to ſatisfy the minds of his people with regard to his marrying the princeſs Elizabeth; and the ceremony was accordingly performed on the eighteenth of January, with more appearance of univerſal joy than either his firſt entry or his coronation. Henry remarked, with much diſpleaſure, this general favour ſhewn to the houſe of York: the ſuſpicions which aroſe from it, not only diſturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign, but bred a ſecret diſguſt towards his ſpouſe herſelf, and poiſoned all his domeſtic enjoyments. Though virtuous, amiable, and obſequious in the higheſt degree, ſhe never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaiſance from her huſband; and the malignant ideas of faction ſtill prevailed in his ſullen mind, over all the ſenſiments of conjugal tenderneſs.

Such a general tide of ſucceſs had attended Henry ever ſince his arrival in England, that he began to think nothing could interrupt his happineſs. But though the people in the neighbourhood of the capital were delighted with their new monarch, thoſe in the more diſtant part of the kingdom were far from being eaſy. The two Staffords, Humphrey and Thomas, with the lord Lovel, could not be perſuaded to truſt the clemency of the conqueror; and eſcaping out of the church at Colcheſter, where they had taken ſanctuary, they were now employed in forming an inſurrection againſt the new government. Henry, though he had entertained ſome diſtruſt with regard to the affections of the northern counties, never imagined they would attempt to diſturb the kingdom, and accordingly ſet out at the beginning of the year, on a progreſs to the north, in order to conciliate the affections of the people. He received at Lincoln the news of the eſcape of the two Staffords from Colcheſter, but deſpiſed the information. On his arrival at York he underſtood that theſe inſurgents had collected a conſiderable body of forces, in order to attack the city of Worceſter, while the lord Lovel, at the head of three or four thouſand men was advancing to ſurprize the city of York, where it was generally believed, he had many partizans.

Henry was now convinced that he had formed a falſe idea of the true ſtate of England, with regard to the ſentiments formed by the people of his government. Surprized, but not diſconcerted, he prepared to face the ſtorm, though ill provided for the dangerous conteſt. He gave a commiſſion to the duke of Bedford for raiſing a body of forces in order to defeat the attempts of the rebels. At the ſame time he gave the duke a diſcretionary power to act as he ſhould ſee occaſion, either by offers of mercy, or by force of arms. Happy for Henry's new government, the lord Lovel, beſides being univerſally hated as the chief tool of the late tyrant, was neither brave, nor a ſoldier. He both knew and felt his incapacity for the command he had undertaken; and it is poſſible that his army had been collected for very different purpoſes, than that of raiſing a civil war in the kingdom. It is therefore no wonder that the duke of Bedford, though only at the head of three thouſand men haſtily raiſed, undiſciplined, and badly armed, advanced againſt the rebels. But all the artillery he employed was only proclamations by the heralds, of free pardon to all who would ſubmit. Lovel could not ſtand this attack. Conſcious of his own demerits, he left his camp during the night, and took ſhelter in the houſe of Sir Thomas Broughton, a Lancaſhire gentleman, while his men, deluded and deſerted by their general, accepted of the royal clemency, and threw themſelves with their arms, at the duke of Bedford's feet.

The other conſpirators were ſoon informed of the fate that had attended Lovel's army, and perceiving it would be in vain to oppoſe the royal party with any proſpect of ſucceſs, abandoned the deſign, and the two Staffords took refuge in the church of Coldham near Abingdon; but it being found that the ſanctuary had not the privilege of protecting rebels, they were taken from thence: the elder was executed at Tyburn, but the younger, pleading that he had been miſled by his brother, obtained a pardon.

Henry was now convinced that the eaſe and ſatisfaction he had flattered himſelf with enjoying when ſeated on the throne, were merely ideal. Indeed his greateſt uneaſineſs aroſe from his hatred to the houſe of York, and his conſciouſneſs of the ſmall title he could himſelf pretend to the crown. He therefore now applied to the court of Rome for a confirmation of the latter, and as that mercenary court

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A Scale of British Miles 69½ to a Degree.

0 50 100 200 300 400 500

Arctic Circle

NORTHERN OCEAN

WESTERN OCEAN

GERMAN OCEAN

BAY OF BISCAY

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

BLACK SEA

CASPIAN SEA

Meridian of London

North Cape

North C.

Iceland

Faro Is

Shetland Is

Orkney Is

Western Isles

IRELAND

ENGLAND

SCOTLAND

SWEDEN

DENMARK

NORWAY

RUSSIA IN EUROPE

GERMANY

POLAND

PRUSSIA

FRANCE

SWITZERLAND

HUNGARY

TURKEY IN EUROPE

ITALY

SPAIN

PORTUGAL

BARBARY

AFRICA

LITTLE TARTARY

EUROPE

Gulf of Bothnia

Gulf of Finland

Gulf of Venice

Str. of Gibraltar

English Channel

Wardhus

Wengats Str.

Archangel

St. Petersburg

Moscow

Constantinople

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Cyprus

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Trebizond

Erzerom

Aleppo

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Jerusalem

Cairo

Alexandria

Volga R.

R. Don

R. Jaik

R. Dwina

R. Petchora

R. Mezen

R. Kama

R. Dniepr

R. Danube

R. Nile

Baltic Sea

White Sea

Caspian Sea

Black Sea

Mediterranean Sea

Red Sea

court gladly laid hold of all opportunities which the imprudence, weakneſs or neceſſities of princes afforded for extending its authority. Innocent the eighth, who then filled the papal chair, readily granted a bull, in whatever terms the king was pleaſed to require. All Henry's titles by ſucceſſion, marriage, parliamentary choice, and even conqueſt, were there enumerated, and the ſanction of religion added to the whole: excommunication denounced againſt every perſon who ſhould preſume to diſturb him in his preſent poſſeſſion or the future heirs of his body, in their future ſucceſſion to the crown. Nor could any criminal be abſolved from the penalty, except in the article of death, by any other power, than that of the pope himſelf, or his ſpecial commiſſioners.

But Henry now found his government diſturbed by a more formidable oppoſition than any he had hitherto experienced, though only ſupported by a prieſt and a boy. He had given ſeveral intimations of his being as ſevere as his predeceſſors, particularly by his ſtill keeping the earl of Warwick a cloſe priſoner in the tower. He was alſo notoriouſly regardleſs of his queen, notwithſtanding the beauty of her perſon, the ſweetneſs of her diſpoſion, and the greatneſs of her birth. Theſe known facts gave occaſion to the buſy tongue of ſlander to whiſper deſigns formed by the king againſt the liberties of his people; and it became, at laſt, a received opinion that the earl of Warwick had been privately put to death in the tower.

The pretended ſecrecy of this execution, and the report which now generally prevailed of the ſecond ſon of Edward the fourth being ſtill alive, inſpired the mind of one Simon, a prieſt of Oxford, with a deſign of creating a freſh diſturbance in England. This eccleſiaſtic had a pupil, one Lambert Simnel, a youth of quick parts, and ſurprizing turn of addreſs, which, added to the beauty of his perſon, rendered him a proper object for perſonating either the duke of York, or the earl of Warwick. He at firſt reſolved he ſhould repreſent the duke of York; but the report of the earl of Warwick's death gaining ground continually, the prieſt imagined there would be leſs danger of diſcovery in his perſonating the latter; as the king would never venture to declare he had put him to death. But infinite difficultles attended the youth's learning the part he was to act. The perſon of the earl was well known to many, and various queſtions naturally occurred, which he muſt anſwer. In the mean time it was reported, that the young earl was not put to death, but had actually made his eſcape out of the tower. This, however, made no alterations in the prieſt's plan, as he could not conceive that Warwick would ever venture to appear, and diſprove the impoſture. Beſides it is highly probable, that the queen dowager herſelf, and ſome others of the chief partizans of the York family, were the real authors of the whole contrivance; and that they meant nothing more than to diſtreſs Henry.

While the prieſt and his adherents were employed in inſtructing young Simnel, Henry applied himſelf to ſettle the affairs of the nation, and revive the commerce and trade of England, which had long ſuffered from the dreadful effects of party conteſts. His great plan was to improve the jarring intereſts which now prevailed on the continent, to the advantage of his country. In order to this he gave a ſafe conduct to the merchants of Florence, for opening a trade with England, and purchaſe wool, woollen goods, tin, lead and other natural commodities, on paying the accuſtomed duties to the crown. As this was a favour of a very unuſual nature, and contrary to the many proviſions the parliament had made againſt all exportation of Engliſh wool, except to the ſtaple appointed by public authority, it was always conſidered as one of Henry's meaſures for enriching himſelf at the expence of the people. It was added, that the Florentines, who were then a very rich ſtate, had advanced the king a very conſiderable ſum for this privilege.

Soon after Henry gave a commiſſion to one Chriſtopher Sphene, a Florentine merchant, to be his conſul at Piſa, with a power of hearing, diſcuſſing, and determining all queſtions and controverſies among the Engliſh traders in theſe parts. And near the cloſe of the year, ambaſſadors came from the king of the Romans, for reſtoring the commerce that formerly ſubſiſted between the ſubjects of their dominions.

A. D. 1487. In the mean time Henry found that all his arts could not make the Engliſh in love with his government. Ireland had been long attached to the houſe of York; and it was reſolved by thoſe who were in the ſecret of Simnel's impoſture, that he ſhould make his firſt appearance in that country as earl of Warwick. Accordingly he embarked for that iſland, with Simon his preceptor. On his landing he found the people diſpoſed to ſupport his pretenſions. Henry had not taken ſufficient care in the choice of his officers in Ireland; all that were at the head of the adminiſtration both of civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs being avowed partizans of the houſe of York. The lord Thomas Fitz-gerald, brother to the earl of Kildare, was then lord chancellor of Ireland, and the earl himſelf deputy to the duke of Bedford, as lord lieutenant. The earl of Kildare had been ſuſpected by Henry, who having required his attendance in England, and the earl making continual excuſes for poſtponing his embarkation, gave freſh proofs of his attachment to the houſe of York.

On Simnel's arrival in Ireland, he was preſented to the earl of Kildare, who received him with open arms; but from prudential reaſons, he forbore giving him any flagrant mark of attachment, till he found what effect his appearance would produce in the minds of the common people. In the mean time the earl artfully endeavoured to know the true ſentiments of his brother the chancellor, and the lord Portleſter, lord treaſurer. Theſe noblemen, finding the people crouding to pay their court to this ſuppoſed deſcendant from the Warwick family, followed the ſtream of their own inclinations. They embraced the cauſe of the impoſtor in the warmeſt manner; and the people, as if ſtruck with ſome epidemical fury, filled the whole kingdom with praiſes of their pretended earl. The nobility and clergy caught the infection from the people, and either ſecretly or openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the impoſtor. Their chief difficulty in forming a right to the crown, conſiſted in ſetting aſide that of the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter to Edward the fourth. But their great veneration for their favourite, the duke of Clarence, ſoon ſurmounted this difficulty, by adopting the ſtory forged by Richard the third; and conſequently aſſerted the illegitimacy of the princeſs. In theſe rude ages all arguments which tended to favour their own opinions, were, by all parties,

conſidered as irrefragable. The elegant appearance of Simnel, the artifices of his preceptor, the authority of the clergy, and the example of the nobles, united the people ſo firmly, that the impoſtor was brought by unanimous conſent to the caſtle of Dublin.

Nothing could give greater diſquiet to Henry than the news of this ſucceſsful impoſture. He knew not whom to truſt, nor how far the confederacy extended. He had ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect that the counteſs dowager of Burgundy, ſiſter to Edward the fourth, ſupplied the pretender both with inſtructions and money. He was not ignorant of the fatal reſentment, implacable averſion, and great power of that princeſs. He knew that her hatred to the houſe of Lancaſter was not to be removed. He every day received freſh hints that the confederacy was ſpreading in England, and thoſe he moſt ſuſpected were too great to be proceeded againſt in the common courts of Juſtice, eſpecially on the ſlender proofs he was furniſhed with by his informers.

Among thoſe ſuſpected perſons, the earl of Lincoln was the chief: he was nephew to Edward the fourth, by his eldeſt ſiſter, the dutcheſs of Suffolk, and had been declared by Richard the third, the preſumptive heir to the crown of England. That nobleman, who was remarkable at once for his wit and courage, was greatly pleaſed with the ſucceſs of Simnel, to whoſe impoſture he was no ſtranger. He knew that it was at any time in his power to blaſt the credit of the pretender, and that Henry, for his own ſecurity, would take ſufficient care of the true earl of Warwick. His correſpondence alſo with the dutcheſs of Burgundy gave him ſuch encouragement, that he did not conſider the plan as the chimerical project formed by a thoughtleſs multitude, but as a meaſure founded on prudence, and ſupported by power, by credit, and by judgment. His ambitious ſchemes had all been blaſted by the acceſſion of Henry to the throne of England, and therefore he concurred in all the ſchemes formed for diſtreſſing the government. He therefore no ſooner heard of Simnel's ſucceſs in Ireland, than he paſſed over to Flanders, where he had for ſome time kept up a correſpondence with the lord Lovel, then reſiding at the court of the dutcheſs of Burgundy, leaving Sir Thomas Broughton to manage the affairs of the York party in England.

The departure of the earl of Lincoln, and the almoſt univerſal concurrence of the Iriſh, in acknowledging Lambert Simnel to be earl of Warwick, alarmed Henry for the conſequences. He ſummoned a cabinet council, where it was reſolved to diſable the queen's mother from continuing her intrigues, and ſhe was accordingly ſhut up in the nunnery of Bermondſey in Southwark, and all her effects were confiſcated for the king's uſe; where ſhe ended her life in poverty, ſolitude and confinement.

It was then reſolved in the ſame council to take the real earl of Warwick from the tower, and carry him publickly through all the principal ſtreets of London, where he enjoyed the liberty of converſing freely with ſeveral perſons who knew him. This precaution, though it ruined the credit of the impoſture in England, had a very different effect upon the Iriſh, who were ſo infatuated with their idol, and ſo determined to believe what they wiſhed to be true, that they pretended Henry himſelf had ſubſtituted a counterfeit, and produced him as the true earl, who was with them in Ireland.

The laſt, and indeed the wiſeſt reſolution of this council was, to iſſue immediately a proclamation of pardon for all offenders, not even excepting thoſe who had been guilty of treaſon againſt the king's own perſon. This doubtleſs kept many quiet, who might otherwiſe have continued the practices they had begun, and perhaps to this prudent meaſure Henry owed, at this critical juncture, his own ſafety, as well as the quiet of the greater part of his dominions.

In the mean time the party of Lambert was daily increaſing in Ireland. But as the Iriſh were ſtrangers to war and diſcipline, it was reſolved, between the dutcheſs of Burgundy, and the earl of Lincoln, that two thouſand foreign auxilliaries, under the command of Martin Swartz, an able officer, and that the earl of Lincoln ſhould aſſiſt in perſon during the expedition. Thoſe ſuccours were accordingly ſent to Ireland with the greateſt ſecrecy and diſpatch; and the Iriſh, on their arrival, imagined themſelves ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that it was determined in the council to crown Lambert publickly in the moſt ſolemn manner. A crown was accordingly taken from a ſtatue of the Virgin Mary, carried to the cathedral church of Dublin, and there, with great ceremony, placed on the head of the impoſtor, by the biſhop of Meath.

The ceremony was no ſooner finiſhed than it was reſolved in the pretender's council to invade England immediately. This was indeed contrary to the opinion of their wiſeſt counſellors, who were deſirous of previouſly raiſing and diſciplining a force in Ireland; but there being no money in that kingdom to pay the foreign auxilliaries, they were under a neceſſity of ſailing to England, where they hoped to be better ſupplied.

Henry did not know the intention of the rebels till almoſt the middle of winter; when he immediately ordered all his troops to draw down towards the coaſts facing Flanders and Ireland, expecting an invaſion from both. The duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, were appointed to command the army under himſelf; and while theſe neceſſary diſpoſitions were making, Henry made a progreſs through ſeveral parts of Suffolk and Norfolk, where he endeavoured, by ſeveral acts of kindneſs and beneficence, to inſpire the people with a good opinion of his perſon and government.

After his army had continued for ſome time on the ſea-coaſts of Norfolk and Suffolk, Henry, who moſt dreaded an invaſion from Flanders, flattered himſelf that the danger was over till the next ſeaſon, and accordingly returned to London, and applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to regulate the affairs of government.

A. D. 1488. In the mean time the rebels landed from Ireland at Foudrey in Lancaſhire, commanded by the earls of Lincoln and Kildare, the lord Lovel, and Martin Swartz. Fortunately for himſelf, Henry had diſmiſſed none of his troops, and on hearing the news of the invaſion, ordered a general rendezvous of his forces at Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the diſaffected counties in the north would riſe in their favour. But the people, averſe to join Iriſh and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's impoſture, and kept

kept in awe by the king's great reputation for ſucceſs and conduct, either continued peaceably in their own houſes, or gave all the aſſiſtance in their power to the royal army. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding he had nothing to hope for but a ſpeedy victory, was determined to end the whole by one deciſive battle; and the king, ſupported by the native courage of his temper, and emboldened by a great acceſs of volunteers, who had joined him under the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Strange, did not decline the conteſt.

The two armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle more bloody and more obſtinately diſputed, than could have been expected from the inequality of their force. All the leaders of the rebel army were determined to conquer or periſh; and inſpired their troops with the ſame reſolution. The Germans alſo being veteran and experienced ſoldiers, kept the victory long doubtful; and even the Iriſh, though ill armed, and almoſt defenceleſs, ſhewed themſelves not deficient either in ſpirit or bravery. The king's victory was indeed deciſive, but purchaſed with conſiderable loſs. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swartz, periſhed in the field of battle, with four thouſand of their troops. The lord Lovel was never more heard of, and therefore ſuppoſed to have ſuffered the ſame fate. Simnel with his tutor Simon were taken priſoners. Simon, being a prieſt, was not tried at law, and only committed to cloſe cuſtody. Simnel was too contemptible to excite either apprehenſion or reſentment in Henry: he was pardoned, and made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a faulconer, and ſupported his latter much better than his former character.

The whole rebellion being thus cruſhed at one blow, Henry was at leiſure to take ample vengeance on his enemies. He made a progreſs into the northern parts of the kingdom, where he gave many proofs of the rigour of his juſtice. A ſtrict enquiry was made after all thoſe who had either aſſiſted or favoured the rebels. The puniſhments were not all ſanguinary; that would not have been ſo agreeable to the king's diſpoſition, he made his revenge ſubſervient to his avarice. Heavy fines were levied upon the delinquents. The deciſions of the courts, as well as the courts themſelves, were entirely arbitrary. The criminals were either tried by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe; or ſuffered puniſhment by the ſentence of a court martial: and as a rumour had prevailed before the battle of Stoke, that the rebels had gained the victory; that the king's army was cut in pieces; and that the king himſelf had eſcaped by flight, Henry was determined to interpret the belief or propagation of this report, as a mark of diſaffection, and accordingly puniſhed many for that pretended crime. But ſuch was the ſituation of the Engliſh government in this rude age, that the royal prerogative, which was only partly reſtrained even during the moſt peaceable period, was in tumultous, or even ſuſpicious times, which frequently occurred, ſuffered to break all bounds of law or order.

As ſoon as Henry had finiſhed theſe proceedings he returned to London, and determined to ſatisfy his people in the deſire they had long expreſſed in ſeeing the queen crowned. He had hitherto delayed that ceremony through fear of awakening in the minds of the people the remembrance of her right; but was now convinced, that a further delay would be attended with much worſe conſequences, that of alienating the affections of his ſubjects from his perſon. He therefore, on his return to London, opened a ſcene of grandeur which filled the minds of people with admiration of his greatneſs, his wiſdom and his fortune. He made a kind of triumphal entry into the city: went through all the forms of devotion for the ſucceſs that had attended his army; and as ſoon as the neceſſary preparations could be made for that purpoſe, the queen was ſolemnly crowned on the twenty-fifth of November: and the king, to ſhew a ſtill more gracious diſpoſition, ſet her half brother, the marquis of Dorſet, who had been ſent to the tower from an unjuſt ſuſpicion of having been concerned with the rebels, at liberty. By purſuing theſe popular acts Henry hoped to form a coalition of all parties for ſupporting his government: and this conduct perhaps was the chief reaſon that rendered him ſo formidable in the eyes of foreign princes.

The Scottiſh kingdom had not as yet attained that ſtate which diſtinguiſhed a civilized monarchy; and which, by the force of laws and inſtitutions alone, enables a government to maintain itſelf in order and tranquillity, without being obliged to any extraordinary capacity in the council. The monarch who now filled the throne of Scotland, was James the third, a prince of a very confined genius, and very little induſtry: and though he knew it was neceſſary for him to place the reins of government in the hands of his miniſters, he had never been able to ſelect perſons for this truſt, capable at once to give ſatisfaction to himſelf and people. He found when he employed any of the principal nobility, that their firſt care was to exalt their own family to ſuch a pitch of power, as ſoon became formidable to the prince, and gave umbrage to the ſtate. When he conferred his favours on perſons of meaner birth, on whoſe ſubmiſſion he could place a more ſure dependence, the powerful barons of his kingdom, enraged at ſeeing the authority of upſtart minions, proceeded to the utmoſt extremities againſt their ſovereign. Theſe inteſtine commotions in Scotland gave Henry a very fair opportunity of extending his power over great part, at leaſt, of that kingdom. But Henry was not deſirous of making conqueſts. Beſides he well knew that notwithſtanding the internal diviſions, that kingdom could only be detained in obedience, by the aſſiſtance of a regular military force, which was then unknown in England. He therefore contented himſelf, propoſing the renewal of a peace with Scotland, and accordingly ſent an embaſſy to James for that purpoſe. The principal intention of the embaſſy was, however, rendered abortive, by the rude manners of the Scots, who never deſired a long truce with England, from a perſuaſion that their own ſecurity conſiſted in keeping themſelves always in a warlike poſture. A ſeven years truce therefore was all they would conſent to, and was accordingly concluded.

At this period of time the ſeveral ſtates on the continent of Europe were advancing a pace towards that ſituation in which they have now continued for almoſt three centuries without any material alteration. One capacious ſyſtem of policy was forming, and intended to comprehend the principal powers of the chriſtian world. The Spaniards, who had hitherto

hitherto been chiefly confined to the affairs of their own country, now rendered themſelves formidable to their neighbours, by the union of Arragon and Caſtile, in the perſons of Ferdinand and Iſabella, both perſons of great capacity, and who employed their whole power in ſuch enterprizes as ſeemed beſt calculated to increaſe the ſplendor of their combined dominions. They had for ſome time undertaken the conqueſt of Granada from the Moors, and brought it nearly to a happy concluſion. This expedition once more diſplayed the military genius of Spain, which had been long concealed; both honour and ſecurity were attained; and her nobles, delivered from the terror of ſo powerful and domeſtic an enemy, applied themſelves to ſtudy the policy of foreign nations, and made a ſplendid figure, both in the negotiations and wars of the principal monarchs in Europe.

During the two preceding reigns the kingdom of France had prodigiouſly increaſed, both with regard to power and riches; and had not the other ſtates of Europe received a proportionable acceſſion of ſtrength, that monarchy could not have been maintained within her ancient limits. Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne, Province, Burgundy, and ſeveral other fiefs of great importance, had been united to the crown. The Engliſh had loſt all their conqueſts except Calais: the authority of the crown had been raiſed to ſuch a height, as enabled the prince to maintain law and order among all ranks of people. At the ſame time a very conſiderable military force was kept on foot, without diſtreſſing the people, the annual finances of the crown being fully ſufficient for that purpoſe. The principal author of this advantage, Lewis the eleventh, had indeed lately paid the debt of nature, and left his eldeſt ſon, only a child of a very confined education, to ſuſtain the weight of monarchy. Senſible of the incapacity of his ſon, and intruſting the government with his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a woman of ſpirit and capacity, the power of the crown felt very little decline. She even formed, and at laſt, happily executed, the great project of uniting to the crown, the dutchy of Britany, the laſt, and moſt independent fief of the French monarchy.

The laſt duke of Britany, Francis the ſecond, was a good but weak prince. Senſible of his inability to govern his people, and adminiſter juſtice with that ſtrictneſs and impartiality he judged requiſite, he gave himſelf up entirely to the direction of Peter Landais, a perſon of mean birth, and more remarkable for his abilities, than for his virtues or integrity. Exaſperated at the great advancement and power of this favourite, the nobles of Britany proceeded ſo far, as to threaten their ſovereign himſelf; and after many tumults and conſpiracies, they at laſt united among themſelves, and in a very violent manner, ſeized, tried and put to death the obnoxious miniſter. This invaſion of the prince's authority they well knew could not be juſtified, and feared it would be puniſhed in a very exemplary manner. Many of them therefore retired to France, while the others maintained a correſpondence with that court.

Obſerving the great diſſenſions among the Bretons, the French miniſters thought this a very favourable opportunity for invading that dutchy; eſpecially as they could conceal their ambitious intention under the ſpecious pretence of ſupporting the ſecurity and peace of that country.

The lady of Beaujeu, notwithſtanding all her abilities, was far from meeting with no obſtacles in conducting the affairs of government. Lewis, duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, and preſumptive heir of the crown, had often claimed the adminiſtration from that princeſs; and though his pretenſions had been always rejected by the ſtate, he formed cabals with many of the nobles, and concerted ſchemes for ſubverting her authority. On finding all his conſpiracies detected, he had recourſe to arms, and fortified himſelf in Beaugenci: but as this revolt was precipitate, he was obliged to ſurrender before he could be joined by his confederates, and ſubmit to whatever conditions the French miniſtry were pleaſed to impoſe upon him. He did not, however, long continue at the French court; he retired into Britany, and put himſelf under the protection of that duke; who, deſirous of ſtrengthening himſelf againſt the deſigns of the lady of Beaujeu, readily received the duke of Orleans. But that prince was of too reſtleſs a diſpoſition to remain inactive; he ſoon gained the aſcendancy over the duke of Britany, and formed a deſign for marrying Anne the heireſs of that opulent dutchy; many of his partizans followed him to that court, and all favours paſſed through the hands of theſe French counſellors.

Exaſperated at this conduct of their duke, the Breton nobility renewed their correſpondence with the court of France, and even invited the French monarch to undertake an invaſion of their country. This offer was too advantageous to be ſlighted: a powerful army advanced into the heart of Britany, and formed the ſiege of Ploermel. In this critical ſituation, the duke of Britany raiſed a numerous army, but totally unacquainted with military diſcipline. The command of this army was given to the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, and other French noblemen, who had fled to Britany for protection. But the Bretons diſcontented with their commanders, and jealous of their confederates, deſerted the ſervice, ſo that the duke ſoon found his army reduced to ſo ſmall a number as would render it very imprudent for him to keep the field againſt the invader. He retired to Nantz, and the French, after making themſelves maſters of Ploermel, Vannes, Dinant, and other places of conſequence, laid ſiege to that city.

Theſe acquiſitions convinced the nobles of Britany, that the French intended nothing leſs than a conqueſt of their country: they withdrew gradually from the army, and made a peace with their duke. But their deſertion did not diſcourage the French from purſuing their favourite project of annexing Britany to their other dominions. They knew that an army raiſed in haſte, undiſciplined and inexperienced, could never ſtop the progreſs of regular troops, uſed to ſervice and flushed with victory. But they alſo knew, that there was a power, able, and whoſe intereſt if not the gratitude of its ſovereign, ſhould render it willing to ſupport effectually the diſtreſſed ſtate of the duke of Britany.

It was therefore determined at the court of France to ſend ambaſſadors to Henry, and under the pretence of complimenting him on his ſucceſs againſt Simnel, and his adherents, by every method in their

their power endeavour to prevent his taking any part in the affairs of Britany.

On the arrival of the ambaſſadors, they repaired to Henry's court, profeſſed the utmoſt truſt and confidence in that monarch, congratulated on his late victory over the rebels, and communicated to him, in confidence, ſome ſucceſſes their maſter had lately obtained over Maximilian. Having thus, as they imagined, ſoothed the ear of Henry, they proceeded to relate, in a very ſuperficial manner, the late tranſactions in Britany. They began with informing Henry that the king of France had been obliged, contrary to his own inclination and his natural love of juſtice, to carry war into the heart of that dutchy, in order to reduce the duke, who had given protection to French rebels and fugitives, to liſten to the dictates of reaſon and humanity. They obſerved that the crown was deeply intereſted not to ſuffer a vaſſal, however powerful, to forget the duty he owed to his liege lord, and that even the government of France itſelf, could not, conſiſtent with its own ſecurity, diſpenſe with the duty it owed to all its ſubjects, of ſuppreſſing rebellion wherever it appeared, and of bringing the authors to condign puniſhment. They added, that it would have been the higheſt act of imprudence not to have acted with vigour on this occaſion, as the duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, was at the head of the rebels who had found protection in Britany, and who ſtill perſevered in forming ſchemes of rebellion againſt his ſovereign. At the ſame time they declared that the war was entirely defenſive, and would entirely ceaſe as ſoon as the duke of Britany ſhould return to his duty. They concluded with obſerving, that tho' Henry was doubtleſs under great obligations to the duke of Britany, who had protected him againſt the deſigns of Edward the fourth, yet ſomething was alſo due to the crown of France, who had not only afforded him protection when driven from that court by the mercenary motives of the adminiſtration, but alſo furniſhed him with men and money, which aſſiſtance, joined to his own prudence and valour, had enabled him to aſcend the Engliſh throne. It was therefore hoped, if he refuſed his aſſiſtance in reducing a rebellious vaſſal to reaſon, he would at leaſt preſerve a neutrality between the contending parties, and not by ſending ſuccours to the ſtubborn duke, prolong the war, and occaſion the moſt ſhocking diſorders in that unhappy country.

But the inſidious plauſibility of this diſcourſe could not deceive the penetration of Henry. He ſaw the intention of the French court was to annex the dutchy of Britany to the crown; but was perſuaded, that inſuperable difficulties muſt occur in the execution. He well knew the natural ſtrength of the dutchy, and was no ſtranger to the amazing efforts commonly made by perſons driven to deſpair. The impetuous and changeable diſpoſition of the French was alſo a conſideration favourable to the Bretons. He knew that the conqueſt of the dutchy could not be completed without a long perſeverance, not at all agreeable to their volatile diſpoſition, which would induce them to abandon every enterprize where that virtue is requiſite. But ſhould the French ſurmount all theſe difficulties, he was perſuaded that Maximilian, their declared enemy, and who now paid his addreſſes to the heireſs of Britany, would certainly make a very powerful diverſion on the ſide of Flanders, and that even Ferdinand and Iſabella would interpoſe to render ſuch ambitious projects abortive. At leaſt it would be always in his own power to give effectual aſſiſtance to the duke of Britany, and oblige the court of France to abandon her favourite ſcheme of acquiſition.

Theſe reaſons did not want ſolidity, and Henry, whoſe ruling paſſion of frugality, or rather avarice, was determined to have recourſe to negotiation, before he put himſelf to the expence of levying an army. Accordingly he diſpatched an embaſſy compoſed of Urſwic, the abbot of Abingdon, and Sir Richard Tonſtal, who carried propoſals for an accommodation. No effectual meaſures were, however, yet taken for ſupporting the diſtreſſed Bretons. The lord Woodville, indeed, brother to the queen dowager, a perſon of great cotirage and experience, applied to Henry for leave to raiſe a body of forces, and tranſport them into Britany; but the king, who was determined to maintain the appearance of a ſtrict neutrality, refuſed his requeſt. Piqued at this refuſal, and deſirous of chaſtiſing the French for their perfidy, he retired into the Iſle of Wight, of which he was governor; levied a body of four hundred men, and having at laſt obtained the ſecret permiſſion of Henry, tranſported them into Britany.

The appearance of the Engliſh raiſed the ſpirits of the Bretons, who now determined to meet the enemy in the open field. They did not wait long for an opportunity of fighting their invaders. Both armies met on the twenty-ſeventh of July at St. Aubin, and the Bretons, in order to intimidate the French, cauſed twelve hundred of their own ſoldiers to wear red croſſes, a badge by which the Engliſh were diſtinguiſhed, and had always been dreaded by the invaders. But the event of the battle was fatal to the Bretons, who were totally defeated. Woodville and his brave followers, were all cut to pieces on the ſpot; the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were taken priſoners, together with many of the Breton nobility and generals.

This misfortune rouſed Henry from his dream of indolence. He now ſaw that vigorous meaſures were abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the tottering dutchy of Britany from falling into the hands of France. He accordingly applied to the parliament for aſſiſtance, to enable him to protect the duke of Britany. A large ſubſidy was immediately voted, but ſeveral difficulties attended the levying of it, and which involved Henry in unexpected difficulties.

The inhabitants of Yorkſhire, and the biſhopric of Durham, who were well affected to the houſe of York, refuſed to pay the tax, pretending that the late hardſhips and impoſitions they had ſuffered rendered them incapable of any farther contributions. The earl of Northumberland, who was lord lieutenant of thoſe parts, and warden of the Marches, ſaw the growing ſpirit of the people, and repreſented to Henry the danger and difficulty which he foreſaw muſt attend the collection of the tax. Henry, who now began to deſpiſe popular inſurrections, was determined to convince the nation, that he would not part with a tittle either of his prerogative or property, ordered the earl of Northumberland to collect the money without delay; adding, that he was determined not to abate

one penny of what the parliament had granted him; and that the dregs of the people ſhould be convinced, that they had no power either to controul or oppoſe the laws.

On receiving this anſwer the earl of Northumberland communicated it in perhaps too harſh and haſty a manner to a meeting of the principal juſtices and freeholders of the county. Theſe, inſtead of mitigating and ſoftening the rigour of the king's orders, reported them to the people with every aggravating circumſtance; which ſo exaſperated the people that they flew to arms, and choſe one John Achamber for their leader, attacked the houſe of the earl of Northumberland, whom they conſidered as the adviſer of Henry's orders, laid the houſe in aſhes, and put the earl to death.

After committing this act of rebellion, they ventured to declare againſt the king himſelf; and placing Sir John Egremond at their head, they formed a kind of army, and declared they would ſpill the laſt drops of their blood, in defence of their liberties and properties, againſt every power that ſhould attempt to wreſt them out of their hands. But little was to be feared from this undiſciplined army, deſtitute of leaders proper to direct their operations. Henry had ſometime ſince releaſed the earl of Surry from the tower, and now gave him the command of the forces deſigned to act againſt the northern inſurgents. He found no difficulty in executing his orders; few of them remained with their leaders; and even thoſe were diſperſed after a ſlight ſkirmiſh. John Achamber himſelf was taken on the ſpot; but Sir John Egremond, their leader, made his eſcape to the court of the dutcheſs of Burgundy, who gave him protection, John Achamber with ſeveral of the ring leaders were executed; but the lower deluded people immediately pardoned.

A. D. 1489. During theſe tranſactions in Enggland the duke of Britany paid the debt of nature, which threw the affairs of that dutchy into ſtill greater confuſion, and ſeemed to threaten the ſtate with a final ſubjection. Henry was now convinced of the fatal tendency of his pacific conduct; reſolved to engage as an auxiliary to Britany, and to conſult the intereſt, as well as the deſires of his people, by oppoſing the progreſs of the power of France. His avaricious paſſion, however, ſtill continued, and after levying an army of ſix thouſand men, entered into a treaty with the young dutcheſs of Britany, by which ſhe engaged to deliver into his hands two ſea-port towns, there to remain till ſhe ſhould refund the expences of the armament. Theſe forces landed in Britany, under the command of lord Willoughby de Broke; and for ſome time enabled the Bretons to continue maſters of the field. The French retired into their garriſoned towns, and propoſed, by dilatory meaſures, to waſte the fire of the Engliſh, and diſguſt them with their enterprize. At the ſame time they formed a flying camp to obſerve the motions of the Engliſh army, to harraſs them in their marches, and cut off their proviſions.

This ſcheme, which was artfully laid, was crowned with ſucceſs. Lord Broke found ſuch diſcord and confuſion in the councils of Britany, that no meaſure could be concerted for any undertaking; no ſupply obtained; no proviſions, carriages, artillery, or military ſtores procured. The miniſters and guardians of the young dutcheſs agreed in nothing but in their apparent oppoſition to the court of France. The dutcheſs was without money, and the few troops ſhe had divided by the differences of their officers, who pretended to command them. Theſe animoſities and cabals in the cabinet diſconcerted the Engliſh in every enterprize; ſo that as ſoon as the time of their ſervice was elapſed, they returned home, leaving only ſmall garriſons in the towns put into their hands.

A. D. 1490. The dutcheſs now found herſelf in a more deplorable ſituation than ever. She was, in a manner, abandoned by Henry, who was much leſs concerned about the danger of his country, than the increaſe of his treaſure. She was on the point of being again attacked by France, and embroiled with her own ſubjects at home. Reduced to this dreadful ſituation, ſhe liſtened to the addreſſes of Maximilian king of the Romans, and ſhe was ſoon after married by proxy to that prince.

In the mean time Henry applied himſelf cloſely to finiſh the favourite plan he had ſome time ſince formed, for aboliſhing the feudal ſyſtem, in order to promote the ſafety of the government, encourage induſtry, and extend the commerce of the kingdom. In order to this his greateſt attention was employed in promoting agriculture, becauſe it encouraged the yeomanry, and muſt ſoon prove a ſtrong barrier againſt the encroachments of the barons. Henry dreaded nothing ſo much as an increaſe of idle gentry, whoſe poverty obliged them to be retainers to great men, and peaſants, who having no property to defend, implicitly obeyed the ſentiments of their immediate ſuperiors. Henry ſaw, by the example of foreign countries, the many dreadful conſequences which often flowed from the feudal ſyſtem, where there was, in effect, no other orders than thoſe of the king, baron, or lord, gentlemen and villains, or ſlaves. The gentlemen, who formed the order between the barons and the villains, ſerved, in times of peace, as body guards to the great men on whom they depended, and acted as officers in diſciplining and bringing together, the reſpective villains of each lord. He alſo perceived, from recent experience in his own kingdom, that the powers of the barons, ſo often troubleſome to the peace of the nation, grew weak in proportion, as the villains, who, by their induſtry, could render themſelves free men, grew ſtrong, which always happened when commerce and agriculture flouriſhed. But the late dreadful civil wars had, in ſome meaſure, ruined agriculture, and greatly depopulated the ſtate. An infinite quantity of arable lands were now turned into paſture; induſtry was contracted within a narrow ſphere; villages and towns were deſerted; the church was deprived of its tithes, and the king of his moſt valuable ſubjects. But the great increaſe of paſturage was attended, at leaſt, with one advantage, the increaſing the number of incloſures; for it was not then the practice to incloſe arable lands. The great art therefore was to convert theſe incloſed portions into arable lands, without diſcouraging the practice of making and keeping up the fences. This was done by an act of the legiſlature, which ordered, "That all houſes of "huſbandry uſed and occupied with twenty acres "of ground and upwards, ſhould be manured and "kept up for ever, together with a competent pro"portion of land to be uſed and occupied with the "building." This act, in a manner, forced the occupiers of ſuch houſes to raiſe themſelves above the degree of peaſants or cottagers, and to become men

men of property and ſubſtance. It alſo tended at the ſame time to raiſe a ſeminary for foot ſoldiers, and, conſequently, prevented England from the diſagreeable neceſſity of hiring infantry from other nations.

But perhaps the greateſt ſtroke of Henry's policy was an act paſſed by the legiſlature for encouraging national power, at the expence of national luxury. The Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Spaniards, the Portugeſe and the Bretons, had for ſome ages been the principal merchants of Europe, and by their ſhips principally, the whole commerce of Chriſtendom was carried on. The Engliſh had indeed cultivated navigation and commerce; but upon principles rather convenient than ſtable. Moſt of the foreigners that reſorted to England had been naturalized, and carried on the commerce of the kingdom. But the vaſt alteration now introduced into the ſyſtem of power and property all over Europe, joined to the dreadful effects which the civil wars in England had been attended with, prevented foreigners from ſettling in the kingdom, though not from reſorting thither. The money therefore paid for the freights of commodities, was ſo much loſs to the nation, without any return, except that of plenty. But Henry formed a noble plan for making private luxury a public emolument. An act was paſſed by the legiſlature, which ordered, "That no Gaſcoigne "or Guyon wine, or Thouloufe wood ſhould be "brought into England but by Engliſh ſhips, navi-"gated by Engliſh maſters and Engliſh ſeamen; "nor any perſon import goods in a foreign ſhip, "unleſs there ſhould be no Engliſh veſſel at the "port where it was neceſſary for them to be "embarked."

Having thus provided for the commerce of the kingdom, the various branches of manufacture carried on in England next engroſſed the attention of the parliament. Their principal care was to encourage the woolen manufacture, the ſtaple commodity of the kingdom. The firſt neceſſary ſtep was to repreſs the extravagant prices which the nobility, and by their example the lower claſs of people, paid for cloth, in which curioſity ſupplied the place of uſe, and tended more to encourage luxury, than promote the conſumption of the manufacture. An act was therefore paſſed, impoſing a penalty of forty ſhillings upon any perſon who ſhould ſell by retail a yard of the fineſt broad cloth dyed ſcarlet engrain, for above ſixteen ſhillings, or other grained cloth, of the fineſt ſort, for above eleven ſhillings.

A. D. 1491. In the mean time the marriage of the dutcheſs of Britany with Maximilian, king of the Romans, aſtoniſhed the court of France, and induced them to change their ſcheme with regard to the ſubjection of that province. This marriage appeared deſtructive to the grandeur, and even the ſecurity of the French monarchy, while that prince poſſeſſing Flanders on one ſide, and Britany on the other, might from thoſe two quarters make inroads into the very heart of France. It was therefore determined to prevent theſe alarming circumſtances by preventing the conſummation of the marriage between Maximilian and the young dutcheſs, by the king of France himſelf marrying the heireſs of Britany.

Charles king of France, had for ſome time been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, who, though too young to conſummate her nuptials, had been ſent to Paris for her education, and at this time bore the title of the queen of France. Beſides the large dowry which ſhe brought the king, ſhe was after her brother Philip, then very young, heireſs of all the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy, and therefore ſeemed the moſt proper match then in Europe for that young monarch. But it was ſoon perceived by Charles's council, that the dutchy of Britany was of much more importance to their kingdom than the dominions of Burgundy; at leaſt it was of much more conſequence to prevent Maximilian from being maſter of that large province, ſo finely ſituated for trade, and to receive aſſiſtance from any of the maritime powers. At the ſame time the French miniſtry knew, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep this ſcheme a profound ſecret, as the leaſt diſcovery muſt render the whole abortive.

While, therefore, the French armies threatened Britany with all the horrors of war, their artful politicians took care to foment the civil diſcords that ſtill reigned in the councils of that unhappy province. At the ſame time they prepared the minds of the people for the intended revolution, by diſplaying all the advantages that muſt reſult from an union with France. They repreſented to the barons of Britany the neceſſity of giving repoſe to their diſtreſſed and harraſſed country; that Maximilian was not able to afford them even a temporary protection; the king of England denied them aſſiſtance, or at leaſt ſent it in ſo ſparing a manner that the forces were rather a burden than relief to the country. They added, that by connecting themſelves with Maximilian, the rival of France, muſt render theſe diſorders perpetual, and that the beſt method of preventing ſuch a dreadful ſcene of horror and devaſtation, would be an unreſerved ſubjection to France, and a ſurrender of the liberties they had received from their anceſtors.

In the mean time the king of France, at the head of a powerful army, encamped within a league of Rennes where the dutcheſs reſided. This ſudden eruption, and even the danger of her perſon, had very little effect upon the princeſs. She had imbibed a great contempt for Charles's perſon which was mean and deformed. She conſidered herſelf as already married to Maximilian, and had for ſome time taken the title of queen of the Romans. She had juſt received freſh aſſurances from Henry of his readineſs to march to her aſſiſtance, and determined to make a vigorous reſiſtance. But on ſeeing the French making diſpoſitions for opening the ſiege, her miniſters, who had been all gained over to Charles's intereſt, perſuaded the young princeſs to liſten to the terms of accommodation offered by Charles, who now thought proper to divulge the ſecret of marrying the heireſs of Britany. It was not, however, without ſome difficulty, that the princeſs could be prevailed upon to let his propoſal be examined by her council. This was indeed little more than form, but ſome art was neceſſary to induce the princeſs to conſent to this marriage, eſpecially after the contract ſhe had made with the king of the Romans. In order to carry this point, they firſt endeavoured to give her a mean opinion of Maximilian for his dilatory conduct in not conſummating the marriage he had celebrated. This remiſſneſs was indeed unpardonable,

unpardonable, and the lady conſidered his coldneſs as an affront to her perſon. They next repreſented, in the moſt pathetic manner, the miſeries in which this deſtructive war had involved her country, and concluded with conjuring her to reſtore the bleſſings of peace to her diſtreſſed ſubjects. The princeſs yielded to their intreaties; hoſtilities ceaſed; the lady was conducted to Langley in Touraine, where the marriage ceremony was performed; her coronation was celebrated at St. Denis, whence ſhe made her public entry into Paris, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people, this marriage being conſidered as the moſt happy event that could have happened to France.

Nothing could be more unexpected, or more mortifying to Henry than the marriage of the French king with the heireſs of Britany. He had for ſome months received information that a treaty of this nature had been concerted in the French council; but his miſtaken frugality ſtill got the better of his judgment, and he was employed in drawing writings for the ſecurity of his money, when he ſhould have been marching armies to the defence of his allies. He now indeed put on the appearance of acting with vigour. He borrowed large ſums from his ſubjects, he publickly declared his reſolution of leading his army in perſon againſt the French, and renewed the unpopular method of raiſing money by benevolences, which had been ſo juſtly aboliſhed in the late reign.

But Maximilian was ſtill more ſenſibly mortified. He had loſt at once an accompliſhed princeſs and a rich territory. He was affronted in the perſon of his daughter Margaret, who was ſent back to him, after ſhe had, for ſome time, been treated as queen of France. Theſe accumulated circumſtances threw him into the moſt violent paſſion, which he vented in the moſt indecent expreſſions. He threatened to do himſelf juſtice on the perfidious monarch of France, who had violated the moſt ſolemn engagements, and, with the united force of Auſtria, Spain, and England, to invade and lay waſte the greater part of his kingdom.

It was, however, neceſſary for Maximilian to ſecure theſe allies, and prevail upon them to act in concert, before he could pretend to carry theſe threats into execution; and he had ſoon the mortification to find that Ferdinand, king of Spain, had made a ſeparate peace with France. Henry indeed ſeemed determined to make Charles feel the weight of his reſentment; and in order to this he ſummoned a parliament, which accordingly met at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſeventh of October. He opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told them, that France, elevated with her late ſucceſſes, had proceeded to treat England with contempt, and even refuſed to pay the tribute ſtipulated by Lewis the eleventh, with Edward the fourth: that an indignity of this nature ought to rouze to indignation ſo warlike a nation as England, and even to extend their pretenſions beyond a reparation of the preſent injury: that he was, for his own part, determined to lay claim to the crown of France, and employed all the power of the kingdom to ſupport a title tranſmitted to him by their great anceſtors: that the plains of Creſſy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, would always remain monuments of the Engliſh valour, and inſpire the ſoldiers with a juſt idea of their own ſuperiority over the enemy, and poſſibly with the noble ambition of adding new names to the glorious catalogue: that England had ſeen a king of France a priſoner at London, and France a king of England crowned in her capital: that theſe events could not fail of raiſing in the breaſts of Engliſhmen an emulation of rivalling the glories of their forefathers: that as the domeſtic diſſenſions of England had been the ſole cauſe of her loſing theſe foreign dominions, ſo he hoped her preſent union and harmony would prove the effectual means of their recovering them from the enemy: that brave men could never repine at contributing a ſmall part of their treaſure when ſo important an acquiſition, and honours of ſo ſtaple a nature were held out as the glorious prize contended for: and that he was determined to make the war maintain itſelf; hoping that the riches acquired by the plunder of ſo opulent a country would greatly enrich the kingdom of England.

This ſpeech gives us a true picture of Henry's deep diſſimulation; for hardly a word in it, except the hiſtorical obſervations was conſiſtent either with truth, or the ſentiments of his own heart. It was, however, artfully calculated to rouze in the breaſts of the Engliſh the indignation ſo natural to them againſt the French. They were ignorant that Henry had no real intention of executing his threatenings: that the power of the houſe of Burgundy was greatly inferior to what it was when the reins of government were held by the princes of that family: that the kingdom of France by the reconciliation of the houſe of Orleans with Charles, was more united and powerful than ever: that the king of Spain having glorioufly finiſhed his wars with the Moors by the conqueſt of Granada, was actually treating with Charles for the ſurrender of Rouſillon: and that the emperor had no paſſion but for money, nor any reſentment that could get the better of his avarice. Their ignorance, or not reflecting properly on theſe topics, induced the parliament to addreſs the king for a vigorous war with France, and voted him a large ſubſidy to defray the expences.

A. D. 1492. But as it had been found difficult on other occaſions for many ſubjects to furniſh their proportions, an act was paſſed by the legiſlature, to enable the barons and gentlemen of landed property, to ſell or mortgage their lands, without fines or licences for the alienation. But this act was confined to thoſe who ſhould enter into the army. This act gave a looſe to luxury. The prodigal, the brave, and the adventurous, ruſhed at once into extravagance; ſome through motives of luxury, and others of ambition; while the induſtrious commons made every day freſh acquiſitions of landed intereſt, and by that means threw an additional weight into the ſcale which Henry wanted to preponderate.

The lord Revenſtein, the perpetual partizan of France, and oppoſer of the houſe of Auſtria, had ſome time before ſurprized Sluys, whence, by the ſupport of France, he carried on a kind of piratical war upon the trading ſubjects of Maximilian and his ſon Philip. He was alſo ſupported by the inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges. But the duke of Saxony, who acted for Maximilian in Flanders, blocked up Bruges, and ſent to Henry for a maritime force in order to reduce Sluys, which, he imagined, muſt put an end to the rebellion againſt Maximilian in the Low Countries.

Henry was then aſſiduouſly employed in making preparations for his French expedition. The vaſt ſums

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Equinoctal Line

Meridian of London

Hudsons Bay

New South Wales

New Albion

New Navarre

GULPH or MEXICO

Bay of Honduras

Hispaniola or St. Domingo

Jamaica

Cuba

Bermudas or Summers Is.

Azores or Western Ils

Antilles

Labrador

Newfoundland

Great Bank

Quebec

Lake Ontario

Lake Michigan

Lake Superior

New York

Virginia

N. Carolina

S. Carolina

Georgia

Florida

Mexico

Havana

Panama

Carthagena

Porto Bello

Caracas

Surinam

Cayenne

Orenoko R.

Trinidad

Tobago

Barbadoes

Granada

St. Lucia

Martinico

Antigua

Guadaloup

Virgin Is.

Terceira

Florez

Graciosa

St. Michael

St. Mary

Jamaica

Madeira

Greenland

Davis's Streights

Baffins Bay

London Coast

James I.

Desolation I.

Cape Discord

Cape Farewell

Hudsons Streights

Resolution

Ref. of Good Fortune

Warwick Foreland

Cape Walsingham

Cape Southampton

Cape Farewell

Cape Mary

Cape Charles

Prince Charles Is.

White Bay

Cape Bonavista

Cape Race

Cape Sable

Cape Cod

Cape Hatteras

Cape Fear

Cape Florida

Cape Corrientes

Cape Blanco

Cape St. Lucas

Cape St. Augustine

Cape St. Thomas

Cape St. Antonio

Cape St. Lorenzo

Cape Mendocin

Port Monterey

Port St. Francis

Port St. Iago

Port St. Diego

Port de los Remedios

Port Conception

Acapulco

Guatulco

Guatimala

Nicaragua

Panama

Carthagena

Porto Bello

Havana

Campeachy

Vera Cruz

Mexico

Guadalajara

Zacatecas

Durango

Cinaloa

Monterey

Los Angeles

Sonora

Tarahumara

Chihuahua

Nova Biscaya

New Mexico

Louisiana

Florida

Apalachites

Mississippi R.

Missouri R.

Arkansas R.

Red R.

Ohio R.

Hudsons R.

Monks R.

Albany R.

Rupert R.

Moose R.

Severn R.

Nelson R.

Churchill R.

Whale R.

Magdalen R.

Rio Grande

Rio Bravo

Rio Colorado

Rio Gila

Rio Norte

Rio Del Norte

Rio Grande

Rio Del Spiritu Santo

Rio de la Magdalena

Rio de la Plata

Rio de la Trinidad

Rio de la Madre de Dios

Rio de la Buenaventura

Rio de la Canada

Rio de la Concepcion

Rio de la Asuncion

Rio de la Purificacion

Rio de la Santa Cruz

Rio de la Santa Maria

Rio de la Santa Rosa

Rio de la Santa Teresa

Rio de la Santa Ana

Rio de la Santa Barbara

Rio de la Santa Clara

Rio de la Santa Cecilia

Rio de la Santa Catalina

Rio de la Santa Margarita

Rio de la Santa Isabel

Rio de la Santa Lucia

Rio de la Santa Inez

Rio de la Santa Rosalia

Rio de la Santa Teresa

Rio de la Santa Ana

Rio de la Santa Barbara

Rio de la Santa Clara

Rio de la Santa Cecilia

Rio de la Santa Catalina

Rio de la Santa Margarita

Rio de la Santa Isabel

Rio de la Santa Lucia

Rio de la Santa Inez

Rio de la Santa Rosalia

Inlet discovered by Martin d'Aguilar

Quivira

Teguayo

Labrador

Esquimaux

Indians

Canadians

Iroquois

Hurons

Mohawks

Cherokees

Apalachites

Mexicans

Natchez

Chickasaws

Choctaws

Creeks

Seminoles

Catawbas

Tuscaroras

Delawares

Shawanese

Miamis

Illinois

Sioux

Assiniboils

Knistenaux

Chipewyans

Athapuscows

Dogribs

Copper Indians

Slave Indians

Beaver Indians

Rocky Mountains

Mountains of Apalachia

Mountains of Florida

Mountains of Mexico

Mountains of Nova Biscaya

Mountains of New Mexico

Mountains of Louisiana

Mountains of Canada

Mountains of Labrador

Mountains of Groenland

Mountains of Iceland

Mountains of Norway

Mountains of Sweden

Mountains of Finland

Mountains of Russia

Mountains of Tartary

Mountains of China

Mountains of Japan

Mountains of Kamtschatka

Mountains of Siberia

Mountains of Europe

Mountains of Asia

Mountains of Africa

Mountains of America

Mountains of Australia

Mountains of New Zealand

Mountains of Terra del Fuego

Mountains of Patagonia

Mountains of Chile

Mountains of Peru

Mountains of Bolivia

Mountains of Paraguay

Mountains of Brazil

Mountains of Guiana

Mountains of Venezuela

Mountains of Colombia

Mountains of Ecuador

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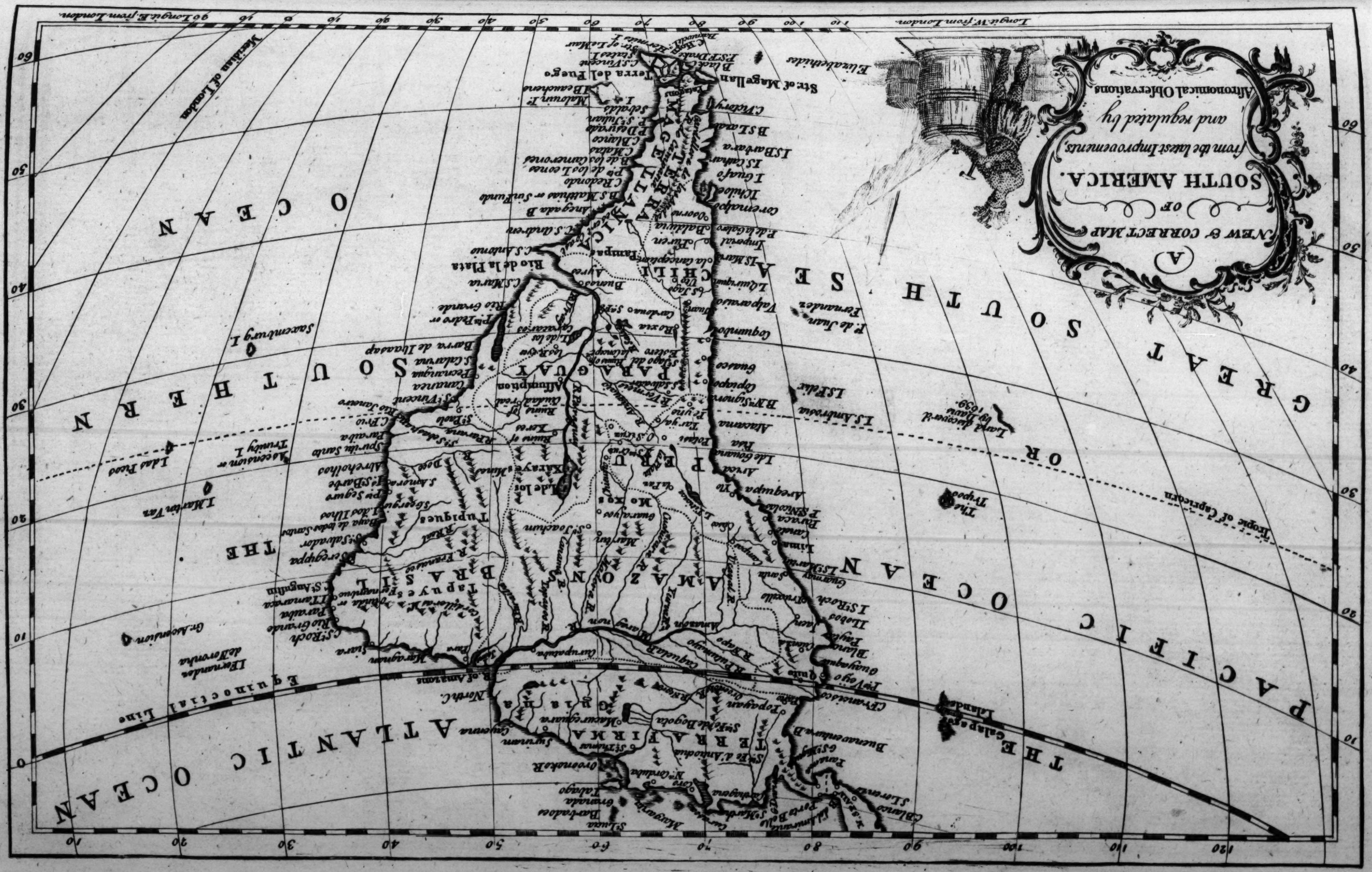
A
NEW & CORRECT MAP
OF
SOUTH AMERICA.
from the last Improvements,
and regulated by
Astronomical Observations
GREAT SOUTH SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
THE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTHERN
OCEAN
Terra del Fuego
Ste of Magellan
Falkland Is
Buenos Ayres
Rio de la Plata
Rio Grande
Rio de Janeiro
Cape Frio
Cape St Augustin
Cape St Roch
Cape St Antonio
Cape St Thomas
Cape Blanco
Cape Vert Is
Cape de Verd
Cape Horn
Cape Corrientes
Cape Blanco
Cape St Helena
Cape Gallinas
Cape Lopez
Cape of Good Hope
Tropick of Capricorn
Equinoctial Line
Meridian of London
Long. W. from London
Long. E. from London
CHILI
PERU
BRASIL
GUIANA
TERRA FIRMA
AMAZONIA
Lima
Quito
Rio Janeiro
Buenos Ayres
Rio de la Plata
Rio Grande
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Cape Frio
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PERU
BRASIL
GUIANA
TERRA FIRMA
AMAZONIA
Lima
Quito

ſums he had levied on his ſubjects, rendered it neceſſary for him at leaſt to make the attempt; and he well knew that the terms he obtained from France would be more or leſs advantageous in proportion as his army was more or leſs formidable.

Before Henry embarked he ſent a ſquadron of twelve ſhips, having on board two thouſand five hundred ſoldiers. The command of this fleet was given to Sir Edward Poynings, with orders to clear the coaſts of Flemiſh pirates, and block up Sluys by ſea. The admiral executed his commiſſion with great ability. Revenſtein's party, after a very dreadful attack, were obliged to deliver up the caſtle to the Engliſh, and the town to the duke of Saxony; and this was immediately followed by the ſurrender of Bruges.

Henry having, after many unneceſſary delays, provided every thing neceſſary for this expedition, embarked at Dover and landed at Calais on the ſixth of October, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, giving the command to the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford. In the mean time the people began to ſuſpect the real intentions of their monarch; and it was publickly ſaid, that there was no danger of the king's expoſing either himſelf or his army to the enemy. Henry was no ſtranger to theſe diſcourſes; but ſatisfied himſelf with replying, "that "as his intention in this expedition was to make an "entire conqueſt of France, which was not the work "of a ſingle campaign, it was of no conſequence "at what ſeaſon he began the invaſion, eſpecially "as Calais afforded winter quarters for his army".

Henry did not, however, continue long inactive; he marched immediately into the enemy's country, and inveſted Boulogne, after demoliſhing the ſmall towns of Ardreſs and Montery. The forming ſo important a ſiege at ſo advanced a ſeaſon of the year, the hardſhips which both officers and ſoldiers ſuffered, the inability of Maximilian, and the deſertion of Ferdinand from the common cauſe, were ſufficient proofs that Henry's conduct tended only to inſpire his ſubjects with a deſire of making a peace with France. Accordingly a petition was preſented to Henry, ſigned by the marquis of Dorſet, and twenty-three other perſons of rank, deſiring the king to conclude a treaty with the enemy.

The treaty was ſoon concluded; the king of France, who conſidered the acquiſition of Britany as equivalent for any demand Henry might think proper to make, raiſed no difficulty to impede the negotiation. He engaged to pay Henry ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns, about one hundred and eighty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling; partly as a reimburſement of the ſums advanced for Britany, and partly as arrears due to Edward the fourth: and alſo ſtipulated to pay Henry and his heirs an annual penſion of twenty-five thouſand crowns.

Thus ended this inglorious expedition, which fixed an indelible ſtain upon Henry's reputation. The people agreed that he had fulfilled his promiſe to the parliament of making the war ſupport itſelf; adding that the king knew how to draw profit from his ſubjects for entering into a war, and from his enemies for making a peace.

This year was diſtinguiſhed by an event which aſtoniſhed all Europe, the diſcovery of a new world by Chriſtopher Columbus, a native of Genoa. Europe had for near half a century paſt, abounded in men famous for arms, and who were not wholly ſtrangers to the uſeful arts. The ſpirit of invention and diſcovery moved upon the ſurface of the mighty chaos, and began to remove the darkneſs which had ſo long brooded on the human underſtanding. Every day produced ſome new improvements in fire-arms, though they were not yet brought to that perfection as to the render the ſmaller ſort comparable to the Engliſh long-bow, which was ſtill the terror of Europe. The art of printing was every day diſſeminating the ſeeds of knowledge, and the minds of men were in great expectation of mighty matters.

Columbus had obſerved the improvements made in navigation during their diſcoveries on the coaſt of Africa towards the Eaſt Indies, and had for ſome time projected on a deſign of making diſcoveries towards the Weſt; and laid his plan before the ſenate of Genoa. On his offer being rejected by his own countrymen, he applied to the king of Portugal, where his offers were examined by the miniſtry; but Columbus perceiving that the miniſtry acted very inſidiouſly; he repaired to the court of Spain, ſending his brother Bartholomew, a perſon of the ſame genius with himſelf, into England, with a commiſſion to lay his ſchemes before Henry. But Bartholomew meeting with many misfortunes during his voyage, and ſeveral difficulties in being introduced to Henry, his brother deſpaired of ſucceſs in England, and therefore applied to the court of Spain. In the mean time Bartholomew, having given a ſpecimen of his abilities, in a map of the world he publiſhed, obtained admittance to Henry, who was not at all averſe to converſe with him; and had actually entered into an agreement for employing his brother Chriſtopher in the propoſed diſcovery. But Henry's frugal caution, his deſire of being fully informed, and even of making himſelf maſter of the ſubject, together with the neceſſary affairs of government, occaſioned ſo many delays, in the execution, that Chriſtopher, deſpairing of encouragement from Henry, actually agreed with the king of Spain, and ſailed in the month of Auguſt on that important expedition, which added a new world to the old. It is not the part of an hiſtorian to examine the conſequences that may reſult from any diſcovery, but we cannot help obſerving on this intereſting ſubject, that all the riches acquired by Spain from her poſſeſſion of America, was far from compenſating for that gradual, and, at laſt, utter extinction of that ſpirit of induſtry which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed her ſubjects. The mines of Peru and Potoſi occaſioned the loſs of a treaſure far more valuable than any concealed in the bowels of the earth; while the happy diſappointment of the Engliſh, by labouring on a more barren ſoil, and cultivating a more fatiguing branch of commerce, has preſerved thoſe virtues, and acquired that power, which the Spaniards meanly bartered for the enjoyment of enervating indolence, and fooliſh grandeur. May the conſequences ſtill continue! May Engliſhmen never barter trade and induſtry for treaſure; nor luxury ever prove the deſtruction of commerce.

Henry ſeemed now to have ſilenced even the tongue of faction, and reconciled the jarring intereſts of parties. But it is not uncommon for the moſt violent ſtorm to ſucceed a calm, nor the moſt imminent danger a ſtate of tranquillity. Experience convinced Henry of this truth, at a time when

all the enemies to his government were, in appearance, laid at his feet. He had flattered himſelf that the remainder of his reign would glide on peaceably, and that the future years of his life would be employed in rectifying the errors in government, and convincing his people that ſolid happineſs could only reſult from a ſtrict obſervation of the laws.

In the midſt of theſe pleaſing ideas his peace was interrupted by the alarming news that Richard Plantaganet, duke of York, younger ſon to Edward the fourth, had eſcaped from the tower, when his elder brother was murdered, and that he was then carefully concealed in ſome of the courts of Europe. This report alarmed Henry, though he well knew that the perſon who had aſſumed the title muſt be an impoſtor: and before theſe fears ſubſided, a young man, who poſſeſſed as many external advantages of perſon and addreſs as ever fell to the ſhare of any youth, appeared in Ireland, a country entirely devoted to the houſe of York, under the name of Richard Plantagenet. He landed at Cork from the Continent, and immediately wrote letters to the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, requiring them to acknowledge him heir to the crown of England, as the only ſurviving ſon of Edward the fourth. But theſe noblemen, who ſtill remembered the ſevere ſufferings of their country for favouring Simnel's impoſture, paid very little regard to the ſummons; ſo that the young man was obliged to throw himſelf entirely upon the common people for protection. He ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a prodigious number of people; but being deſtitute of money he could do nothing more than ſcreen himſelf from the Engliſh government, and publiſh the beſt proofs in his power of his being really the perſon he pretended.

The report of this competitor for the crown of England ſoon reached the French court, and while this pretender reſided with doubtful ſafety in Ireland, one Frian, formerly a ſecretary to Henry, but had deſerted his ſervice and now employed by Charles, was diſpatched to Ireland in order to enquire into the truth of this relation, and invite him to the court of France. Frian, either convinced, or pretending to be convinced that this young man was no impoſtor, carried him to Paris, where he was received by Charles with all the marks of regard due to the houſe of York; he ſettled on him a handſome penſion, aſſigned him magnificent lodgings, and gave him a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon, under the command of lord Congreſall. The adventures and misfortunes of young Plantagenet now became the principal topic of diſcourſe in France, and the whole kingdom reſounded with the many accompliſhments and princely behaviour of this favourite. Nor was the news of theſe ſurprizing events confined to France; it ſoon reached England, and induced Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, with other perſons of diſtinction, together with above a hundred gentlemen, to repair to Paris, in order to offer their ſervice to the ſuppoſed duke of York, and ſhare in his fortunes.

In this ſplendid manner he lived at Paris till the peace was concluded between Henry and Charles, when the latter refuſed to deliver him up, but promiſed to ſend him out of the kingdom. Accordingly our young adventurer retired to the court of Burgundy, craved protection of the dutcheſs, ſiſter to Edward the fourth, offering to lay before her all the proofs in his power relative to his birth. The dutcheſs, though ſhe had ſeen him received by Charles, and owned by many of the Engliſh as duke of York, pretended to be ignorant of his pretenſions, and even treated him as an impoſtor. Among other reaſons for her conduct, ſhe mentioned the caſe of Lambert Simnel, the memory of whoſe impoſture was ſtill recent, and even went ſo far as to threaten the pretended Plantagenent with impriſonment. Not at all confounded at theſe threatenings, the young adventurer behaved with a modeſty which ſeemed to approve of her caution; but at the ſame time with a ſteadineſs which tended to verify his pretenſions. She told him that ſhe ſhould readily liſten to the voice of truth, and deſired that the whole world might be acquainted with the reaſons he had to offer in ſupport of the title of duke of York, which he had dared to aſſume. She examined every circumſtance with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs, put to him many particular queſtions of a domeſtic nature, ſeemed aſtoniſhed at his anſwers, and at laſt, after the moſt ſevere ſcrutiny, ſhe appeared ſo fully convinced of his being the real duke of York, that ſhe embraced him as her nephew; burſt out into acclamations of joy and admiration at his wonderful delivery; declared him the true image of Edward, the ſole heir of the Plantaganets, and the legitimate ſucceſſor to the Engliſh throne. She next aſſigned him apartments and an equipage ſuitable to his pretended birth; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and honoured him with the title of "The "white roſe of England."

A. D. 1493. In the mean time Henry purſued his former conduct, cautious but determined. He received immenſe ſums from the court of France, and his nobility were deeply polluted with the ſame corruption; his hereditary revenues were fixed, and daily increaſing; he was under no neceſſity of calling a parliament; he feared no ſubject, and he courted no ally. He was perſuaded it would render the impoſtor too conſiderable to take any public meaſures for deſtroying him. He was himſelf convinced that the real duke of York had periſhed in the tower, and therefore gave himſelf no great trouble at preſent to detect the falſhoods of this pretender. But though Henry himſelf was convinced of the duke of York's death, it was far otherwiſe with regard to the people in general. Ever ſince the death of Richard the third, a dark ſurmiſe had prevailed, and was ſoon after propagated, that one of Henry's ſons was ſtill alive. This report was revived by the news which now came from the court of the dutcheſs of Burgundy, and Henry had created himſelf ſo many enemies, that it was aſſiduouſly diſſeminated in every part of the kingdom.

A report of this nature could not fail of rouſing the ſeveral parties in England, and thoſe of the houſe of York, who had hitherto ſupported Henry's government on account of his marriage with the heireſs of that family; no ſooner ſaw a perſon appear, whoſe right was prior to that of Elizabeth, than they conſidered their relation and allegiance to Henry as diſſolved by nature. It is therefore no wonder that many of the Engliſh, on ſeeing this young man acknowledged as duke of York by a king of France, and when the intereſt of that monarch would not ſuffer him any longer to keep the young prince in his capital, diſmiſſed him with honour to the court of the dutcheſs of Burgundy,

Burgundy, who had acknowledged him as her nephew, ſhould be prepoſſeſſed in his favour, and ready to acknowledge a perſon who had eſcaped from the cruel hands of his unnatural uncle. It ſhould alſo be remembered that the young prince was old enough at the time of his ſuppoſed death, for his features to be recollected by many perſons who frequented the court of his father, and it was accordingly pretended that his identity was known even before his appearance in Ireland.

Such a concurrence of circumſtances ſunk deep into the minds of many, and particularly affected Sir William Stanley, to whom Henry owed his crown, the lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Simon Montfort, and Sir William Barley.

This defection of the Engliſh nobility alarmed Henry, who diſperſed his ſpies throughout all Europe, and he bribed every perſon who was not proof againſt corruption, in order, if poſſible, to detect this impoſtor, and trace his true origin. In conſequence of this artful contrivance, it was diſcovered that the pretender to the throne of England, was the ſon of one Oſbec or Warbec, a renegado jew of Tournay, who had been carried by ſome buſineſs to London in the reign of Edward the fourth. During the time of his reſidence in London his wife was delivered of a ſon, and Warbec being known to the king, prevailed upon that prince, ſo remarkable for affability, to ſtand godfather to his ſon, who was called Peter, which was afterwards, according to the Flemiſh manner, corrupted into Peterkin, or Perkin. A ſtory indeed prevailed at that time, that Edward, among his other amorous adventures, carried on a ſecret correſpondence with Warbec's wife, and from this incident the reſemblance afterwards obſerved between young Perkin and that monarch, was very naturally accounted for.

Soon after the birth of Perkin, his parents returned to Tournay, where they both in a few years paid the debt of nature. Perkin being thus deprived of his parents, led a kind of itinerant life, through the towns of Brabant and Flanders, and being extremely beautiful in his perſon, remarkably quick of apprehenſion, and a maſter of the Engliſh language, that he ſeemed formed by nature to act any part, or aſſume any character. The dutcheſs of Burgundy, extremely exaſperated at finding all her attempts to ſhake the throne of Henry rendered abortive, determined to have recourſe to another ſtratagem, and furniſh Perkin with proper inſtructions for perſonating the duke of York. This reſolution being taken, and Perkin properly inſtructed in the part he was to act, he was ſent with lady Brampton into Portugal, where he remained a year, at the expiration of which time he was ſent into Ireland as above related.

Such was the intelligence Henry received from his emiſſaries; who thought proper to publiſh an account of the death of the duke of York, as perpetrated in the tower by the brutal command of his unnatural uncle. Five perſons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews; Sir James Tyrrel, to whom he had committed the government of the tower for that purpoſe; Forreſt, Deighton, and Slater, who perpetrated the inhuman action, and the prieſt who buried the bodies. But of theſe perſons only Deighton and Tyrrel were alive, and both agreed in the ſame ſtory: but the prieſt being dead, and the bodies, on a very careful ſearch not being found, it was not in Henry's power to aſcertain the fact with all the preciſion neceſſary to deſtroy the belief of the duke of York's being ſtill alive.

A. D. 1494. Henry's next reſource was to ſend an embaſſy to Philip, archduke of Auſtria, ſon to Maximilian, and ſovereign of the eſtates poſſeſſed by the dutcheſs of Burgundy, in order to remonſtrate againſt the countenance and protection afforded to an infamous impoſtor, contrary to the treaties, and good underſtanding that had ſo long ſubſiſted between theſe two ſtates. But this embaſſy was rendered abortive by the intereſt of Margaret dutcheſs of Burgundy: for the miniſters of Philip told the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that their maſter would do every thing in his power to maintain the friendſhip of Henry, and therefore would not give the pretended duke of York any aſſiſtance: but as the dutcheſs dowager was abſolute in the lands of her own dowry, he could not pretend to preſcribe any rules for her actions.

Exaſperated at this treatment, Henry publiſhed a proclamation, ordering all the Flemings to leave England, recalling all the Engliſh merchants out of Antwerp, and removing the mart of Engliſh cloth and wool from that city to Calais. He alſo laid an embargo upon all the veſſels trading between England and Flanders: and the ſame prohibition was publiſhed by Philip. Henry doubtleſs imagined, that by cutting off ſo lucrative a branch of the Flemiſh trade, at the time when that country was engaged in a war with France, would either induce that turbulent people to rebel againſt their ſovereign, or oblige their prince to diſmiſs the pretender to the Engliſh throne. But a treaty being concluded at this critical juncture between Charles of France and Maximilian of Auſtria, Henry was apprehenſive that the commerce of the Netherlands might open itſelf channels into France while the prohibition continued with England, it was revoked, and Henry himſelf became a party in the treaty.

In the mean time Henry's agents continued to act with great addreſs with regard to Perkin Warbec. They not only aſſiſted at the councils of the pretended heir to the Engliſh crown, but Henry, in order to cut off all ſuſpicion, cauſed them to be publicly excommunicated by name, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, among his other enemies. Artifices like theſe could not fail of ſucceeding; they diſcovered effectually the ſtrength of Perkin's party. But their chief acquiſition was Sir Robert Clifford, whom they entirely detached from the pretender's party, and gained over to the intereſt of Henry. Theſe diſcoveries were, however, known only by their effects; not a ſyllable tranſpired, nor was any danger apprehended, till the lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William d'Aubney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Creſſenor, and Thomas Aſhwood were all arreſted on the ſame day. They were all immediately tried, convicted of high treaſon, and received ſentence of death. Montfort, d'Aubney and Ratcliff were beheaded. The lord Fitz-Walter was ſent to Calais, where he was ſoon after beheaded for attempting to make his eſcape: the reſt were pardoned.

Henry was now convinced, that it was neceſſary to have a more watchful eye than ever over Ireland; and determined to new model the very conſtitution of that kingdom. Prince Henry, the king's ſecond

ſon

ſon was created lord lieutenant, and Sir Edward Poynings appointed lord deputy. Henry Dean, biſhop of Bangor was made lord chancellor, Sir Hugh Conway lord treaſurer; and the ſeats of juſtice filled with Engliſhmen. Sir Edward, who was conſidered as one of the beſt ſoldiers and ſtateſmen of his time, was ordered by Henry to embark immediately for Ireland at the head of a thouſand ſoldiers, in order to quell the partizans of the houſe of York, and reduce the natives to ſubjection. But his forces were not ſufficient to complete the enterprize: the Iriſh by flying into their woods, moraſſes and mountains, eluded all his efforts. He therefore repaired to the capital, where he ſummoned a parliament, in order to ſettle the peace of the kingdom. The old Engliſh families, and thoſe of the native Iriſh who enjoyed large eſtates, had, for ſome time, conſidered their intereſts as the ſame, when they met in parliament; and ſuch laws had been paſſed as rendered Ireland rather burdenſome and dangerous, than advantageous to the crown of England. The famous ſtatute was therefore paſſed, ſtill called Poyning's act; the ſubſtance of which was; "that no parliament ſhould for the "future be held in Ireland, till after the chief go-"vernor and council have certified to the king, un-"der the great ſeal of the kingdom; the acts they "intended to paſs, and obtained the ſanction of the "Engliſh council, and that all the former laws of "England be of force in Ireland."

A. D. 1495. During theſe tranſactions in Ireland, Sir Robert Clifford arrived in England, and repaired privately to Henry in the tower, where he kept his court; and where it was agreed that he ſhould accuſe Sir William Stanley of high treaſon before the council. Accordingly Clifford came into the council chamber, and falling at the king's feet, accuſed Sir William Stanley, as one of Perkin's party. Henry affected the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at this accuſation, and ſeemed to be more concerned for Stanley's reputation, than for his own ſafety. He charged the informer to be very certain of what he advanced; telling him that his life ſhould pay the forfeit of this aſperſion of his friend's character ſhould he prove innocent. Clifford, however, perſiſted in the ſame poſitive aſſeverations, and Stanley was taken into cuſtody. On his examination before the council, Stanley acknowledged the crime with which he was charged by Clifford, namely that he had ſaid, in converſation, "If he was ſure that "Perkin was king Edward's ſon, he would never "carry arms againſt him." Though this could ſcarcely be conſidered as a ſufficient foundation for a charge of high treaſon, even in theſe arbitrary times, yet it ſhould be remembered that this aſſertion ſhook the very foundation of Henry's government, as it not only ſuppoſed the right of the houſe of York preferable to that of Lancaſter; but alſo ſuppoſed that the hereditary right in the houſe of York could ſet aſide the act of parliament which was the baſis of Henry's title. This was therefore an unpardonable crime, and ſufficient for his judges to find him guilty. But Henry had another reaſon for convicting Stanley: he was one of the moſt opulent ſubjects in the kingdom; he was poſſeſſed of above three thouſand pounds a year in land, and forty thouſand marks in plate and money, beſides other property of great value. The proſpect of ſo rich a forfeiture could not fail of a powerful temptation to Henry's avarice: perhaps the king alſo thought it neceſſary to make a ſtriking example of ſeverity, in order to quell the general diſcontent and mutinous diſpoſitions of the people. But whatever were the motives for Henry's conduct, Stanley was beheaded after his trial.

Theſe executions, eſpecially that of Stanley, ſeemed to bid fair for cruſhing all the hopes of Perkin in England: perhaps they might have done it, had not Henry's conduct given the pretender advantages he never could have hoped from his own friends. For the trial of Stanley being publiſhed, the people, often an impartial jury, could find no other cauſe for his execution, than his preferring the title of York to that of Lancaſter. This gave birth to a number of invectives againſt Henry and his government. Indignation awaked in the minds of the people; they declared freely and openly their ſentiments, which Henry vainly imagined would have been ſtiffled by fear. The memory of the houſe of York, ſtill dear to the populace, was, in thoſe pamphlets, warmly recommended, and touched Henry in the moſt ſenſible part. All means were uſed for diſcovering the authors, and no fewer than five were apprehended and executed.

At the ſame time pecuniary as well as ſanguinary ſeverities ſtained this period of Henry's reign. It was not the thirſt for revenge; it was not the frenzy of war; it was not the enthuſiaſm of religion: it was avarice, the meaneſt of all paſſions, that fired the heart of Henry. Exactions without neceſſity, occaſioned ſeverities without provocation. Though Henry was now maſter of more money than perhaps any preceding king of England had ever accumulated; yet enjoyment in him ſeemed only calculated to increaſe deſire. Nothing could ſtop his avidity. He opened the flood-gates of the penal laws, ſo that no ſubject, however exalted his ſtation, was ſafe from the fury of the current. Payments only could protect the rich, and inability defend the poor. Sir William Capel, alderman of London, was forced to pay a fine of ſixteen hundred pounds by an indictment on a penal ſtatute which had long been obſolete and forgotten. The oppreſſion of ſo conſiderable a man made others ſubmit through fear; and Henry's exactions became as univerſal as they were odious to his ſubjects.

A conduct like this could not fail of diſguſting the people, and giving new vigour to Warbec's faction, which was rather checked than ſuppreſſed. His party in the north began to be in motion; ſome foreigners having lately landed there, and endeavoured to animate the Scotch borderers to take arms and join the other friends of Perkin in the north. But the vigilance of Henry prevented the intended junction, and diſperſed the inſurgents. At the ſame time the king took particular care to guard all the ſea-coaſts to prevent any attempt or invaſion from the continent.

But notwithſtanding all his precautions Perkin found means to land in the beginning of July, upon the coaſt of Kent near the town of Sandwich. Fortunately for Henry the county where Perkin endeavoured to begin the rebellion, was the beſt affected to his government of any in the kingdom; and the pretender had no perſon of conſequence with him except foreigners.

Inſtructed by Henry's officers, the Kentiſhmen were ſo well prepared to receive them, that inſtead of oppoſing they invited the impoſtor to land, profeſſing their readineſs to join his ſtandard, as ſoon

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as they ſaw him at the head of his army. On the other hand, the perſons whom Perkin had ſent on ſhore, to diſcover the ſentiments of the people, magnified the power of their maſter, the ſtrong reinforcements he daily expected, and his readineſs to deliver them from every ſpecies of oppreſſion. But obſerved that the people collected together moved with a regularity that rather indicated the order of government and ſubordination than the ſpirit of rebellion. In conſequence of this obſervation they ſuſpected the truth of their offering to ſubmit, and ſent an account of their ſuſpicions to Perkin and his ſecretary; and it was reſolved, after mature deliberation, not to venture on ſhore. They could not, however, prevent about an hundred and ſeventy of their followers from leaving their ſhips; but they paid dear for their temerity. For the Kentiſhmen finding that the invaders could not be prevailed upon to leave their ſhips, immediately ſurrounded and took them all priſoners. They were ſent up to London chained two and two together, where they were ſoon after condemned, executed, and their bodies ſuſpended on gibbets along the coaſt of England, as monuments of an unſucceſsful invaſion.

During theſe alarming incidents, Cicely, the relict of Richard duke of York, and daughter of Ralph earl of Weſtmoreland, paid the debt of nature, at the caſtle of Berkhampſtead in Hertfordſhire. During the courſe of her long life, ſhe had ſeen her huſband murdered in the field, four princes of her body ſuffer violent deaths, three of them kings, and one of them a queen of England.

Soon after the diſappointment of Perkin on the Kentiſh coaſt, Henry ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, and among other laws paſſed an act, by which it was declared, "That no per-" ſon who ſhould by arms or otherwiſe aſſiſt the " king for the time being, ſhould ever afterwards, " either by courſe of law, or act of parliament, be " attainted for giving ſuch an inſtance of obedi " ence." This act was founded upon a maxim ſo plain and ſimple, that it could not be miſtaken or miſrepreſented by the moſt ignorant peaſant, namely, that whoever was ſeated on the throne was king. It owed its riſe to a reflection on the dreadful ſituation of the people of England, had Henry himſelf been unſucceſsful, and Richard victorious. Henry had already made a proper diſtinction between his followers before, and after he was king; the former being diſcharged by pardon in parliament, and the latter by declaration of law. This act therefore poſitively declared, that the king for the time being was the object of the people's allegiance; that this allegiance implied an engagement for the defence of the king and kingdom; and, that whatever was done in conſequence of ſuch engagements, could neither be treaſonable nor felonious.

But though this act carries all the marks of a noble and generous exertion of legiſlative authority in favour of the ſubject, yet its principal intention, at the time it was paſſed, was certainly to cancel in the minds of the people, every fear they could entertain with regard to their defending the king upon the throne againſt a pretender, even ſuppoſing him to have had every right, except that of actual poſſeſſion. By this act the ſubject was free from the terrors which the alternate ſucceſſes of the houſes of York and Lancaſter had given to each other's followers. For whatever party prevailed, the ſubjects fighting for the king, were ſafe. With regard to the clauſe intended to bind the legiſlature itſelf, by preſcribing rules for future parliaments, it was evidently contradictory to the fundamental principles of political government, and therefore void of itſelf.

This parliament alſo paſſed an act ordaining that a weight and meaſure of each kind in uſe, according to the ſtandard of the exchequer, ſhould be ſent to every city and borough in the kingdom, and that no commodity ſhould be ſold but with weights properly ſealed by officers appointed to take care of the ſtandards, and ſee that the weights and meaſures made from them were perfect. But this parliament likewiſe paſſed an act impowering the king to levy, by courſe of law, all the ſums which any perſon had agreed to pay by way of benevolence.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the whole continent of Europe was thrown into confuſion by the French invaſion of Italy, and by the rapid ſucceſs which attended Charles in that raſh and ill-concerted enterprize. After ſurmounting ſeveral difficulties, he entered the ſtate of Florence, and obliged the duke, Peter de Medicis, to ſubmit, and the ſtate of Sienna to receive a garriſon. He next entered Rome at the head of his army, while the pope ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of St. Angelo. Having proceeded ſo far with ſucceſs, he invaded the kingdom of Naples, and made himſelf maſter of the capital, while Alphonſo of Arragon, after putting the crown of Naples on the head of his ſon, Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, embarked on board his gallies, and retired to Sicily.

The conſtant ſucceſs that attended his arms rendered his ſoldiers ſo exceſſively haughty, that their behaviour made them odious to the Italians. Nor had Charles men to ſpare for garriſoning the places which had ſubmitted; he could not truſt the natives, and knew not how either to retain or part with his conqueſts. At laſt, after taking the uſual oaths as king of Naples, he made preparations for returning to France, without uſing the leaſt precaution for ſecuring his conqueſt except the oaths and aſſurances of the natives.

But the ſtates and princes of Italy, alarmed at his ſucceſs, had formed a confederacy for ſtripping him of his conqueſts, and cutting off his retreat to France. The parties who engaged in this confederacy were the pope, the emperor Maximilian, who had lately ſucceeded his father Ferdinand in the empire, the kings of Spain and Naples, the archduke of Auſtria, the duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice. This formidable confederacy induced Charles to make a precipitate retreat out of Italy, and the kingdom of Naples ſoon returned to its allegiance under Ferdinand.

A. D. 1496. Perkin, after his repulſe from the Kentiſh coaſt, returned to Flanders, but finding it would be impoſſible for him to find ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his followers in that country, he embarked for Ireland, where he hoped to be joined by the numerous partizans of the houſe of York. His ill fortune, however, ſtill purſued him; for on his landing he found, that Poynings had been ſo active in the diſcharge of his duty, that no aſſiſtance could be expected in that kingdom. He therefore ſailed from thence with about ſix hundred followers, and landed in Scotland, where he was

received with open arms, and a reſolution was immediately taken in the Scottiſh council to ſupport him with all their forces.

During the ſtay of Perkin at the Scottiſh court, James, whom years had not yet taught diſtruſt and caution, appeared every day more and more convinced of his being the true duke of York. He even carried his confidence ſo far as to give him in marriage, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and a near relation of his own. She was eſteemed one of the moſt beautiful ladies of the age, and equally eminent for her virtues.

As ſoon as the ceremony of the marriage was over, the Scottiſh army took the field, and proclamations diſplaying the pretended duke of York's title to the crown, every where diſperſed. James, who commanded his troops in perſon, was at firſt contented to enter England, and take up his quarters quietly, without committing any act of hoſtility. He had indeed imagined that on his entering the northern counties of England, all the friends of the York family would immediately declare in favour of Perkin. But he was deceived: the Engliſh in the north had too great a regard for that family to adopt the cauſe of any perſon, while the leaſt doubt remained of the validity of his pretenſions; and the dreadful example that had been made of Perkin's followers, added terror to caution. At laſt James, loſing at once all hopes and patience, and conſcious that there was now no meaſures to be kept with Henry, iſſued orders for his troops to lay the country waſte, and gave up the whole plunder to his ſoldiers. While thoſe orders were executing with the utmoſt rigour, the pretender gave a very ſenſible and affecting evidence either of his concern or art. For he came into the tent of James, and conjured him, in the moſt affecting manner, to take compaſſion upon his deluded ſubjects; adding, that he had rather abandon his pretenſions, than ſee them oppreſſed for his ſake. This behaviour drew from James a very ſevere reply; he told Perkin, that he was ſurprized to ſee him ſo much concerned about a people, who, perhaps, were none of his own, and if they were, declared themſelves in the intereſt of an uſurper.

A. D. 1497. Henry no ſooner received authentic information that the Scots had invaded England, than he ſummoned a parliament, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſevere ſpeech againſt the perfidy, and barbarous cruelty of the Scots. The parliament, in order to ſupport the king effectually in ſuppreſſing this rebellion, granted him a ſubſidy of two fifteenths, beſides the ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. This was all the buſineſs tranſacted during this ſeſſion of parliament, and the aſſembly was accordingly diſmiſſed.

But though Henry found no difficulty in obtaining this grant from the parliament, it was not ſo eaſy to levy the tax upon his ſubjects. The inhabitants of the weſt, particularly thoſe of Cornwall, who thought themſelves in no danger from the irruption of the Scots. One Michael Joſeph, a blackſmith of Bodmin, a buſy, talkative fellow, had, by his being the moſt forward upon every occaſion, and loudeſt in every complaint againſt the government, acquired a conſiderable authority among theſe people, and by his continual invectives againſt the injuſtice of Henry and his miniſtry kept up the ill humour of theſe ferocious people. Theſe ſeditious principles were alſo greatly increaſed by the harangues of Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, and the oracle of the neighbourhood. He endeavoured to prove that the tax, though impoſed by the authority of parliament was abſolutely illegal, becauſe the northern nobility were obliged, by their tenures, to defend the nation againſt the inroads of the Scots. He added, that if they tamely ſubmitted to this flagrant impoſition, they would be for ever harraſſed with ſubſidies, as the avarice of Henry and his courtiers were inſatiable. But it was not enough to convince the ruſtics that the tax was illegal, it was alſo neceſſary to point out a method that ought to be purſued for redreſſing this grievance. Accordingly he propoſed that a petition ſhould be drawn up, ſigned by the inhabitants, and delivered to the king, by perſons ſelected for that purpoſe, and attended by ſuch a force as would give it the neceſſary weight. At the ſame time he told them that the utmoſt care would be neceſſary with regard to their conduct: nothing alarming, nothing licentious, muſt appear in their behaviour: the happineſs of the whole kingdom in general, not their own private emolument, muſt be the object of their attention.

Fired by theſe ſpeeches, the people armed themſelves with axes, bills, bows, and other ruſtic weapons; and having made choice of Flammock and Joſeph for their leaders, marched through Devonſhire to Taunton, where they killed an officious collector of the ſubſidy, and proceeded to Wells. On their reaching that city, their appearance was ſo formidable, that the lord Audley, a popular nobleman, deſcended from an ancient family, but vain, ambitious and reſtleſs in his temper joined them. Audley deſigned to have kept his followers from committing any diſorders, and to have marched directy to London, which was left defenceleſs by the king's army being marched againſt the Scots. He ſucceeded ſo far, that his men committed no kind of violence in their rout to Wincheſter. But finding on their arrival in that city, that their numbers were conſiderably decreaſed, they determined to march directly into Kent.

This ſtrange reſolution was taken in conſequence of a ridiculous prepoſſeſſion of Flammock, that the Kentiſhmen, who had ſo bravely maintained their independency at the Norman conqueſt, could not fail of joining them, as their ſole intentions were to promote the good of the nation, and ſecure the liberty of the ſubject. Flammock knew that the inhabitants of Kent had often oppoſed the tyranny of government, and obtained their own terms from kings and conquerors, and therefore vainly imagined that the ſame ſpirit ſtill ſubſiſted among them; that thouſands would immediately join them, and that, with this powerful reinforcement, the capital muſt fall an eaſy prey to their arms. But he ſhould alſo have remembered that the inhabitants of Kent had very lately diſtinguiſhed themſelves by repelling the invaſion of Perkin, received many acknowledgments from the king for their ſervice, and were now firm friends to the government.

But theſe conſiderations were either ſlighted or forgotten: the rebels purſued this ſtrange reſolution, ſupported by a ſpirit of infatuation, and marched towards Kent, where they were ſoon convinced of their miſtake.

Henry, by his late condeſcending behaviour, had conciliated

conciliated the affections of the Kentiſhmen, and in a particular manner attached himſelf to all the leading men of the county, at the head of whom were the earl of Kent, the lords Abergavenny and Cobham, Sir Edward Poynings, Sir Richard Guilford, Sir Thomas Bouchier, and Sir John Peachy. It is therefore no wonder that the rebels, on their entering the county of Kent, found the gates of every place of conſequence ſhut againſt them, and that the people conſidered their attempt as an act of rebellion, tending to involve their country in all the horrors of a civil war.

In the mean time the king's troops acted only as an army of obſervation. The people obſerved, without emotion, the march of the rebels, who ſtill obſerved the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and as the royal army did not offer to moleſt them, increaſed in ſpirits, while they diminiſhed in numbers. At laſt, upon a general muſter they found themſelves ſtill ſixteen thouſand ſtrong, hardy, determined men, who could truſt one another, and without any danger of further deſertion. But at the ſame time they perceived it would be impracticable to preſerve themſelves at once in a body, and obſerve a ſtrict diſcipline. They therefore reſumed the firſt intention of their leaders, and determined to indemnify themſelves for all their ſufferings by the rich plunder of London, or force the king to give them battle.

In the mean time Henry found himſelf expoſed at once to the three moſt fatal incidents that can befal a monarchy; a foreign enemy, a domeſtic rebellion, and a pretender to his throne; but at the ſame time he enjoyed great reſources in his army, his treaſures, and, above all, in the courage and intrepidity of his own temper. His prudence, however, bridled the impetuoſity of his military ſpirit. It had been hitherto his conſtant maxim to terminate every inſurrection as ſoon as poſſible; but he acted in a very different manner on this occaſion. He perceived that the Corniſh inſurgents behaved in a very innoffenſive manner, that they committed no depredations on the country, and that they had received no acceſſion of force either during their march, or in their encampments. He therefore determined to inſure the victory by taking every prudent method for increaſing his army, and ſuffering this popular tumult to diminiſh by delay.

The rebels were now advanced to Black-heath, where they lay encamped between Greenwich and Eltham. Perhaps Henry's prudence carried him too far in ſuffering the rebels to inſult even the gates of his capital. The citizens of London ſaw with terror and indignation, the bands of the inſurgents diſplayed before them. The diſaffected took the opportunity of increaſing both theſe paſſions, while even the friends of Henry could not help blaming his conduct, and giving up his government as indefenſible, unleſs he ſpeedily had recourſe to meaſures at once effectual and deciſive.

Henry was not unacquainted with the ſentiments of the public, and had now an opportunity of exerting all the great talents he poſſeſſed. After taking care to provide for the quiet of the city, he ordered his army to take the field, and divided the troops into three bodies, one commanded by the earl of Oxford, a ſecond by himſelf, and the third by lord d'Aubeney, an officer diſtinguiſhed for his courage. The earl of Oxford was ordered with his diviſion, to take poſt with his left wing near Lewſham, and to extend his right towards Footscray, in order to ſecure all the roads and defiles, through which the rebels could eſcape on that ſide. The lord d'Aubeney was ordered to march againſt the front of the rebels, his right wing forming an angle with the earl of Oxford's left; Henry himſelf encamping in St. George's Fields, with a ſtrong body of troops, forming a reſerve. It is evident from this diſpoſition, that Henry was determined to put an end to the inſurrection at once, by ſuffering as few as poſſible of the rebels to eſcape. In the mean time the rebels ſhewed great ſpirits and alacrity, they declared they were now arrived at the end of all their labours or their lives: each encouraged the other, and all appeared ready to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible, or gain the victory. Henry, whoſe prudence always guided his actions, did all in his power to draw the rebels from their guard, by giving out a falſe day in which he intended to fight them, and by making marches and countermarches, with an intention to diſconcert their meaſures. On Saturday the twenty-ſecond of June, the day that Henry really intended to give the rebels battle, they were fully perſuaded there would be no engagement till Monday, eſpecially when the morning paſſed without their perceiving the motions in the royal army.

This deception was fatal to the rebels; for while their main body lay encamped between Woolwich and Shooters-hill, their advanced guard lay at Deptford-bridge, without any intermediate line between them and the main body. About four in the evening the lord d'Aubeney made a ſudden motion, and attacked the rebels advanced body at Deptford-bridge. He indeed expected to have met with very little reſiſtance from this ſmall part of the rebel army, but he was deceived: they ſtood firm for a very conſiderable time, and even gained ſome advantage over the aſſailants, but being overpowered by numbers, they were at laſt driven from their poſt, and cloſely purſued up the hill by Henry's forces.

By this time the alarm had reached the main body of the rebels, and they were drawing themſelves up in order of battle when lord d'Aubeney appeared at the head of his diviſion on the top of the hill. This inexcuſable overſight in not oppoſing d'Aubeney before he had gained the ſummit of the hill, gave the enemy an advantage which had almoſt proved fatal to their leader. For thinking to prevent the rebels from forming, and perhaps looking upon their numbers with contempt, d'Aubeney advanced againſt them with ſo much fury, that his men being unable to keep pace with their leader, he was ſurrounded and taken priſoner, but ſoon after ſet at liberty by the courage of his own men. The king's troops now poured in from all quarters, ſo that the rebels who had never been properly formed, and many of them without arms, were broken and diſperſed. About two thouſand of them periſhed on the field of battle, and about three hundred of the king's forces, many of whom were killed with arrows a yard in length.

Lord Audley, Flammock, and Joſeph, were all taken priſoners, and executed ſoon after the battle. The latter ſeemed to exult over his misfortune, and boaſted, with a prepoſterous ambition, that he ſhould make a figure in hiſtory. The greater part of the

rebels

ebels were alſo taken priſoners, but Henry, either ſatisfied with the victims that had fallen in the field, or moved with pity on account of the ignorance and ſimplicity of the multitude, immediately diſmiſſed them without any farther puniſhment. Indeed the rebels ſeem to have been entitled to mercy, as their rebellion had been attended with many alleviating circumſtances. They had abſtained from all acts of depredation, paſſed peaceably through the country, and pretended to nothing more than a redreſs of grievances. They had never, during the whole time of their inſurrection, diſputed Henry's title, ſhewn the leaſt attachment to the houſe of York, or pretended to eſpouſe the cauſe of Perkin. Oppreſſion, the pretence for their inſurrection, will always excite compaſſion in the minds of Engliſhmen; and perhaps other counties, not knowing how ſoon the caſe of the Corniſhmen might be their own, had diſcovered no great alacrity to act againſt the rebels. Henry therefore purſued a prudent method in pardoning the rebels; eſpecially as his troops were wanting to repel another invader in the northern parts of the kingdom.

During theſe commotions in England, the Scots had gained conſiderable advantages, raiſed a powerful army, and invaded the biſhopric of Durham. Doctor Fox, who had been lately advanced to that ſee, had wiſely ordered all his tenants to drive all their cattle to the ſouthward, and carry all their valuable effects into fortified places. This prudent precaution produced the deſired effect; for though the Scots met with no oppoſition in the field, yet being diſappointed of their uſual plunder, they laid ſiege to Norham caſtle, which they found ſo well provided both with men and ammunition, that they made very little progreſs in the ſiege. About the time they inveſted this fortreſs the Corniſh rebellion was ſuppreſſed; and Henry immediately ordered the beſt of his troops to advance, with all expedition, to the northward, and join the earl of Surry in Yorkſhire. As ſoon as this junction was compleated, that nobleman found himſelf at the head of an army, much ſuperior to that of the Scots, who on receiving information that the earl was in full march to relieve Norham, raiſed the ſiege and retired to the northward with ſo much ſpeed, that the earl could not overtake them. He, however, followed them, and took the ſtrong caſtle of Ayton, ſituated between Berwic and Edinburgh. Theſe unſucceſsful or frivolous attempts on both ſides, prognoſticated a ſpeedy end to the war; and Henry, notwithſtanding his ſuperior force, was equally deſirous with James of terminating the difference between the two nations. Accordingly, on the earl of Surry's return from his expedition, Henry employed Peter Hialas, ambaſſador from Ferdinand and Iſabella, in this friendly office, his own dignity not ſuffering him to make the firſt advances towards a peace. Hialas, was a perſon of great addreſs and learning, and on his arrival in Scotland, was readily admitted by James as a mediator between himſelf and Henry. A truce was accordingly made for ſeven years between the two kingdoms. This great point being gained, the commiſſioners proceeded to ſettle the other matters in debate. The firſt demand of the Engliſh was, that Perkin ſhould be delivered into their hands: but this James abſolutely refuſed. He ſaid that he did not pretend himſelf to be any judge of Perkin's pretenſions, but having received him as a ſupplicant, and promiſed him protection, he was determined not to betray a man, whatever he was, who had truſted to his good faith and generoſity. Nor did their ſecond demand meet with any better reception: they required reparation for the ravages committed by the Scots, in their late inroads into England. The Scots commiſſioners replied, that their maſter had reaped no benefit from the ſpoils; that they were ſhared among the ſoldiers, and, like water, ſpilt upon the ground, could not again be recovered; and that Henry's ſubjects were much better able to bear the loſs, than their maſter was to repair it. Thus all endeavours for concluding a ſolid peace were rendered abortive; and James reflecting, that the friendſhip of Henry was of much greater value to him and his kingdom, than his protecting Perkin, he determined to ſend him out of Scotland in an honourable manner.

Accordingly Perkin was, in the ſofteſt manner poſſible, informed of the neceſſity of his quitting the kingdom of Scotland. He received the news with unaffected magnanimity and reſignation. He threw the whole blame on his own ill fortune, which would not ſuffer his royal friend to follow the ſentiments of his generous ſpirit, or, with ſafety to his crown, permit him to afford any farther protection to an unhappy mortal. James therefore furniſhed him with three ſhips, furniſhed Perkin with every thing proper for a perſon of royal birth, and embarking him and his family on board, diſmiſſed them from the kingdom.

Abandoned now by all the world, Perkin knew not what part to chuſe for ſafety. The Flemiſh merchants, who had felt ſeverely the loſs reſulting from their being debarred all commerce with England, had prevailed upon their duke to conclude a treaty with England, in conſequence of which all Engliſh rebels were excluded from the low countries, and even from the demeſnes of the dutcheſs dowager of Burgundy. Perkin well knew that he ſhould find a cold reception, if not bad uſage, from a people, who were determined to live in friendſhip with the Engliſh; and therefore choſe rather to hide himſelf for a time in the wilds and faſtneſſes of Ireland. Accordingly he ſteered for that iſland, and landed ſafely at Corke on the twenty firſt of July.

But though deſtitute of friends, of money, and of ſupport, Perkin remained ſtill a moth, that preyed upon Henry's quiet. He was no ſooner landed in Ireland, than the citizens of Waterford, who had always diſtinguiſhed themſelves in favour of the crown, ſent advice of Henry that Perkin was at Corke, and that his principal friends were Henry, a broken mercer, Skelton a taylor, and Aſtley, a ſcrivenor.

The meanneſs of his abettors gave Henry ſufficient reaſon to think, that the pretended duke of York would now ſink into total oblivion, and never more raiſe any diſturbances in his government. But he was miſtaken. The reſtleſs diſpoſition of Perkin, together with his uncomfortable retreat, which was at once diſagreeable and dangerous, induced the adventurer to hold frequent conſultations with his friends; and by their advice, reſolved to try the affections of the Corniſh, whoſe mutinous diſpoſition, notwithſtanding the king's lenity, ſtill continued.

A. D. 1498. This reſolution being taken, Perkin embarked, with a few perſons of deſperate fortunes, who had joined him in Ireland, and landed ſafely

ſafely in Cornwall. He immediately repaired to Bodmin, where about three thouſand men flocked to his ſtandard. Elated with this ſucceſs, Perkin immediately took upon himſelf the appellation of Richard the fourth, king of England; and diſperſed proclamations, filled with the moſt bitter invectives againſt Henry, while every place where the rebels had any intereſt, was filled with alarming complaints againſt the tyranny and exactions of Henry's government.

To ſupport this ſpirit, give an eclat to the newly aſſumed dignity of their prince, and furniſh money for their undertaking, it was reſolved to make themſelves maſters of Exeter, a city abounding in wealth. The ſiege was ſoon formed, and every art practiſed, in order to induce the inhabitants to ſurrender the city. They painted, in the moſt pleaſing colours, the many advantages that muſt accrue to Exeter, by its being the firſt place of importance in England that had ſubmitted to their king, who would certainly make it at once the ſeat of commerce and of government. The citizens ſeemed for ſome days to liſten to theſe offers, in order to give Henry, whom they had found means to apprize of their danger, time for marching his army to their relief. As ſoon as the rebels ſuſpected their deſign, they immediately prepared to aſſault the city. Being deſtitute of artillery and other engines neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege in a regular method, they propoſed to ſcale the walls, and force open one of the gates. In the mean time the citizens took all the meaſures proper for making a vigorous defence. The attempt to ſcale the walls and break open one of the gates, was made at the ſame time and both with great courage, though neither of them ſucceeded. The rebels were driven from the walls with the loſs of two hundred of their beſt men.

During this ſiege Henry was drawing together a formidable army. And for this purpoſe he uſed more than common diligence, and he now hoped to deſtroy that worm which had ſo long preyed upon his ſpirits. The lord's d'Aubeney and Broke, with Sir Rice ap Thomas, haſtened forwards with a ſmall body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The earl of Devonſhire, with moſt of the conſiderable gentry in the county of that name, took up arms of their own accord, and marched to join the king's generals. The duke of Buckingham put himſelf at the head of a troop of young nobility and gentry, who ſerved as volunteers, and who longed for an opportunity of diſplaying at once their courage and their loyalty. The king himſelf prepared to follow at the head of a conſiderable army; and thus all England ſeemed united againſt a pretender, who at his firſt appearance had engaged their attention, and divided their affections.

Informed of this ſtrong combination againſt him, Perkin raiſed the ſiege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. His followers ſtill amounted to near ſeven thouſand men, all deſirous of defending him to the laſt extremity. Perkin, however, himſelf deſpaired of ſucceſs, and after making all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for giving battle to the royal army, he fled with threeſcore horſe, to the ſanctuary of Beaulieu in the New-foreſt, where he regiſtered himſelf and his retinue, as perſons entitled to the benefit of that aſylum.

As ſoon as lord d'Aubeney was informed of Perkin's flight, he immediately diſpatched a company of light horſe in purſuit of him; but they arrived too late; he was already regiſtered in the books of the ſanctuary. The Corniſhmen finding themſelves abandoned by their leader, ſubmitted to the royal mercy, and found that it was not yet exhauſted, notwithſtanding they had ſo ſoon taken up arms againſt him. The lady Catherine Gordon, wife to Perkin, had been left at St. Michael's mount, whether Henry diſpatched a party of horſe, with orders to bring her to his preſence. When the lady arrived Henry was ſtruck with her beauty and modeſt deportment. He received her with compaſſion and affection; he ſoothed her ſorrows with many tokens of regard, placed her in a reputable ſtation about the queen, and aſſigned her a genteel penſion, which ſhe enjoyed even under his ſucceſſor.

Henry having thus put a final end to the rebellion, entered Exeter in triumph, and preſented the ſword he wore to the Lord-mayor, at the ſame time giving him and his ſucceſſors the liberty of having it carried before them; together with a right to uſe a cap of maintainance, and beſtowed great commendations on all the inhabitants, for the courage and loyalty they had ſo lately diſplayed in defending their city againſt the rebels.

While Henry remained in Exeter he ſummoned a council to deliberate on the meaſures proper to be purſued with regard to Perkin. Some were of opinion, that in exigences like theſe, the privileges of the church ought to yield to reaſons of ſtate, and that Perkin ſhould be taken by force out of the ſanctuary, that he might receive the puniſhment incurred by his temerity. The king was, however, perſuaded that the matter was not of ſufficient importance to merit ſo violent a remedy. He therefore ordered his officers who guarded the avenues to the ſanctuary, to promiſe him his life and pardon, if he would deliver himſelf into Henry's hands. Perkin, who had now been ſufficiently acquainted with the world to know, that no promiſes, no ſanctuary was ſufficient to protect him againſt the head of royalty, armed with the treaſures of a kingdom, readily accepted the offer; he ſurrendered himſelf to the king's troops, and was conducted to the king at Exeter.

Henry having thus reſtored the tranquillity of the nation, and acquired the poſſeſſion of the pretender's perſon, he ſet out for London, and conducted Perkin into that capital in a kind of mock triumph. It is impoſſible to expreſs the curioſity and diverſity of ſentiments of the people on this occaſion. They flocked to ſee this ghoſt of royalty, and the lower claſs treated, with the higheſt deriſion his fallen fortunes. The man, whom a little time before they conſidered as the deſcendant of Edward the fourth, and the true heir to the crown of England, was now beheld with contempt, and treated with indecency, for no other reaſon than becauſe he had been unfortunate.

A. D. 1499. But though Perkin's life was granted, he was detained in cuſtody, and keepers were appointed to guard him. In this ſtate Perkin continued for ſome time, till impatient of confinement he found means to break looſe from his keepers, and retired to the houſe of Bethlem, called the priory of Sheen, which enjoyed the privilege of a ſanctuary, and begged the priors interceſſion for Henry's pardon. The prior readily undertook the humane office, and Henry was prevailed upon to promiſe the pretender his life: but Henry no longer ſhewed him the leaſt reſpect, he even purſued every method in

his power to render him ſtill more contemptible; he was ſet in the ſtocks at Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, and afterwards thrown a priſoner into the tower, where he was obliged to make a confeſſion of his life and adventures. This account was immediately publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the public. But his regard to decency made him ſuppreſs entirely the part which the dutcheſs of Burgundy had acted in this ſtrange ſcene of affairs; the people, who well knew that ſhe had been the chief inſtrument in contriving and conducting this impoſture, were inclined, from the narrative's being ſilent in that particular, to pay the leſs regard to the authenticity of the whole.

While Perkin continued a cloſe priſoner in the tower, he inſinuated himſelf into the intimacy of four ſervants belonging to Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the tower, and by their aſſiſtance opened a correſpondence with the unfortunate earl of Warwick, who had been long confined in the ſame priſon. This correſpondence ſoon introduced confidence, and it was agreed to take the firſt opportunity of making their eſcape, though they perceived this could not be done without killing Sir John Digby. Had this deſign been effected, had Perkin, acknowledged by many to be the real ſon of Edward the fourth, been joined by an earl of Warwick, ſon to the duke of Clarence, and both eſcaped from the tower, it is probable they would yet have ſhaken the foundations of Henry's throne; but the invariable fortune of that monarch protected him; the deſign was diſcovered only a few hours before it was intended to have been executed.

Perkin was ſoon after brought to Weſtminſter-hall, where he was arraigned, condemned, and ſentenced to be executed at Tyburn. The mayor of Cork, who had been the conſtant companion of his fortunes, ſuffered with him. Two only of Digby's ſervants, who were concerned in the above attempt, were executed, the other two were never examined, which has given riſe to a ſurmiſe that the whole was planned and conducted by Henry himſelf. But perhaps his lenity was owing to his deſire of keeping theſe perſons as witneſſes againſt the earl of Warwick.

For this incident ſerved Henry as an apology for deſtroying that young nobleman, who had long deſtroyed his quiet. Accordingly he was brought from the tower to take his trial before the earl of Oxford, created lord high ſteward of England for that purpoſe. There was perhaps never a greater ſtretch of law, than was made uſe of on this occaſion. As the earl had not been committed for treaſon, his attempt to eſcape could not be treaſon. He therefore loſt his life by the artful inſtigations of Henry's creatures, who perſuaded him to confeſs the truth of his indictment, which was, his conſpiring with Perkin to raiſe a ſedition, and deſtroy the king. The poor earl, a ſtranger to the deceit of mankind, received ſentence of death, which the unrelenting monarch ſuffered to be executed upon him on Tower-hill, on the twenty-eighth of November; and with him periſhed the laſt male heir of the houſe of York. The ſhedding this innocent blood cried loudly for vengeance. Henry endeavoured to drown the clamours of the people, by throwing the whole blame on the king of Spain, who had inſiſted upon this ſacrifice in order to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the throne to the poſterity of his daughter, contracted in marriage to prince Arthur, Henry's eldeſt ſon. Queen Catherine herſelf was afterwards often heard to bemoan this barbarous rigour, and to ſay, with tears, it was no wonder if her marriage with Henry did not proſper, ſince her firſt marriage with Arthur, his elder brother, was founded on the blood of an innocent prince.

But the people conſidered the inflexibility of the Spaniard as no excuſe: the prince of Wales, and the princeſs Catherine having been actually married by proxy five months before the execution of Warwick.

This diſcontent, however, though it feſtered in the minds of the people, produced no alarming effects. Henry's ſteady ſeverity and watchful policy checked every attempt, ſo that the murmurings of the people ſeemed to have no effect in weakening his government. Foreign princes therefore, now conſidering his throne as eſtabliſhed on a permanent foundation, paid him the greateſt attention, and courted his friendſhip. The arch-duke, Philip in particular, deſired an interview with the king, who was now paſſed over to Calais, and Henry agreed to meet him at St. Peter's church near that city. The arch-duke, on his approaching the king, haſtened to alight, and offered to hold Henry's ſtirrup, a mark of condeſcenſion which that prince refuſed to receive. He called the king, "Father, patron, protector," and by his whole behaviour expreſſed the ſtrongeſt deſire of conciliating the friendſhip of England.

Nor was Philip the only prince that courted the friendſhip of Henry. The duke of Orleans had ſucceeded to the kingdom of France, under the name of Lewis the twelfth, and having carried his arms into Italy, and conquered the dutchy of Milan, his progreſs excited the jealouſy of Maximilian, Philip's father, as well as in Ferdinand, his father-in-law. By the counſel, therefore, of theſe monarchs, the young prince endeavoured by every art to acquire the friendſhip of Henry, whom they conſidered as the principal counterpois to the greatneſs of France. But notwithſtanding theſe deſires, no plan of alliance was concerted between theſe two princes in their interview. Nothing paſſed but reciprocal profeſſions of friendſhip and regard; at laſt it was confined to the future intermarriages of their children, who were then in a ſtate of infancy.

A. D. 1500. A new century now commencing, the ſee of Rome did not neglect the opportunity of enriching itſelf at the expence of the people, publiſhed a jubilee. An opinion then prevailed that all the Chriſtians in Europe, ought to aſſiſt at this ſolemnity; but as their attendance would have been nothing more than an unprofitable compliment to the pope, he ſent a nuncio to England, with two bulls, one for giving the people a power of being excuſed from the journey, on paying a ſum of money; the other for raiſing a cruſade againſt the Turks. Henry thought it prudent not to diſcourage the buſineſs of the nuncio, who collected very conſiderable ſums from the people for the uſe of the papal ſee. The nuncio did not, however, ſucceed ſo well with regard to his ſecond bull. He informed Henry that his holineſs, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the infidels, was reſolved to hazard his own perſon, and had accordingly diſpatched his nuncios to all the princes of Chriſtendom

Chriſtendom to inform them of his reſolution, and ſollicit their aſſiſtance in ſo glorious an expedition. Henry pretended to have a great zeal for theſe pious enterprizes; but, at the ſame time regretted the diſtance of his ſituation, which rendered it very inconvenient for him to expoſe his perſon in defence of the Chriſtian cauſe. He, however, promiſed his utmoſt aſſiſtance by aids and contributions, adding, that rather than the pope ſhould go alone to the holy wars unaccompanied by any monarch, he would himſelf attend him in perſon. But required as a neceſſary condition, that all differences between the Chriſtian princes ſhould be previouſly terminated, and that ſome of the ſtrong ſea-port towns of Italy ſhould be put into his hands as places of ſafety for his fleet and forces.

Though it was ſufficiently plain from this anſwer that Henry both declined and deſpiſed the propoſal, yet the court of Rome was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he was conſidered as the principal leader of the cruſade, which greatly advanced his reputation in Europe; and the knights of Rhodes, then eſteemed the bulwark of Chriſtendom, choſe Henry protector of their order.

A. D. 1501. Henry had now the ſatisfaction of compleating a marriage, which had been negotiating for ſeven years between Arthur, prince of Wales, and the infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, he was ſixteen years of age, and ſhe eighteen; a marriage which, in the iſſue, proved unproſperous. The young prince a few months after ſickened and died, greatly regreted by the whole nation. Deſirous of continuing his alliance with, and, at the ſame time unwilling to reſtore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thouſand ducats, Henry obliged his ſecond ſon, afterwards Henry the eighth, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the princeſs. Young Henry made all the oppoſition which a youth of twelve years of age was capable of making; but the king perſiſting in his reſolution, the eſpouſals were at length, by means of the pope's diſpenſation, concluded between the parties, an event which afterwards produced the moſt important conſequences.

A. D. 1502. By this time the progreſs of the infidels was become too formidable for Henry to remain any longer an unconcerned ſpectator. He therefore now entered into a league with Ladiſlaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, to whom he paid a conſiderable ſubſidy inſtead of ſending men againſt the Turks.

About the ſame time Henry married his daughter Margaret, to James king of Scotland, an incident, which, in the ſucceeding century produced great events. This alliance had been negotiating ſeveral years, but interrupted by ſeveral miſunderſtandings that had happened between the two nations. Henry hoped by this alliance to remove, for the future, all broils between the two neighbouring kingdoms. The animoſities that had ſubſiſted for ages between England and Scotland, had been attended with the moſt unhappy conſequences to both, and both the northern parts of the former, and the ſouthern diſtricts of the latter, had been often deluged by the blood of their inhabitants.

A. D. 1503. But amidſt theſe proſperous events, the king met with a domeſtic calamity, which however made a much leſs impreſſion on him than it merited. His queen died in child bed, and the infant did not long ſurvive the misfortune. All her virtues, her beauties and her merits, could never conquer that innate averſion Henry entertained for the blood of York. But the affection he well knew both the nobility and people bore to that houſe, kept him within the bounds of a cold civility to his queen. It was, however, Henry's misfortune to realize the phantoms of troubles, where there were no ſolid grounds for apprehenſions. The earl of Suffolk, having by his extravagance conſiderably impaired his fortune, had ſome time ſince retired to the court of the dutcheſs of Burgundy. This gave Henry great uneaſineſs: he could not think the earl was idle; and therefore privately employed Sir Robert Curzon to watch attentively the earl's motions. Curzon was governor of the caſtle of Hammes near Calais, affecting to be diſſatisfied with the government, left his poſt and retired to Flanders, where he found means to introduce himſelf to the earl, and the dutcheſs of Burgundy's court. Not ſuſpecting his treacherous deſign, the earl made him acquainted with all his ſecrets, which the knight as faithfully communicated to Henry. In conſequence of this, all the earl's correſpondents were immediately ſeized; and, among others, the lord Courtney, ſon and heir to the earl of Devonſhire, and huſband to the lady Catherine, daughter to Edward the fourth, William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir John Wyndham, the lord Abergaveny, and Sir Thomas Green; but the two latter were ſoon diſcharged. Sir James Tyrrel and Sir John Wyndham were beheaded, and ſome of leſs conſideration executed at Tyburn. In the mean time the earl of Suffolk, finding himſelf betrayed, and receiving but ſmall encouragement from the dutcheſs of Burgundy, threw himſelf upon the protection of the archduke of Auſtria, who, received him, notwithſtanding his treaties with Henry.

A. D. 1506. Henry, having now nothing to fear from either foreign or domeſtic enemies, applied himſelf more cloſely than ever to ſatisfy the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, that of heaping up enormous ſums of money, though he was already immenſely rich, and engaged in no expenſive enterprizes. But while he was employed in theſe tranſactions, an event happened which gave him great uneaſineſs. Iſabella queen of Caſtile paid the debt of nature; and it was foreſeen that this incident would greatly affect the fortunes of her huſband. Henry was not only attentive to the fate of his ally; but afraid leſt the general ſyſtem of Europe ſhould be affected by ſo important an event. Ferdinand ſoon became very unpopular in Caſtile, and the ſtates of the kingdom diſcovered evident marks of preferring the title of Philip and Joan. Theſe favourable diſpoſitions were not to be neglected by the archduke, now king of Caſtile, and he accordingly embarked with his conſort for Spain during the winter ſeaſon; but meeting with a violent tempeſt in the Engliſh channel, he was obliged to put into the harbour of Weymouth. As both the armament and embarkation had been carried on with great ſecrecy the Engliſh were terribly alarmed by this appearance on their coaſt. Sir Thomas Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in Dorſetſhire, hearing that ſome perſons were landed at Weymouth, came immediately thither with all the forces he could collect, and was followed by Sir John Carey, at the head of another body. Finding that Philip, in order to relieve his ſickneſs and

fatigue,

fatigue, was already come on ſhore, Trenchard invited him to his houſe, and immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the court to inform Henry of this important incident. The king diſpatched the earl of Arundel with a retinue of three thouſand horſe to compliment the archduke on his arrival in England, and to inform him that he intended to pay him a viſit in perſon, and give him a ſuitable reception in his kingdom. The earl did honour to his maſter's choice; and, for the greater magnificence waited, with all his retinue, on the archduke, by torch light, and acquitted himſelf with the greateſt politeneſs. Philip well knew that he could not now depart without the king's conſent; and therefore determined, for the ſake of diſpatch, to anticipate the viſit, and have an interview with the king at Windſor, where Henry then kept his court.

The meeting between the two princes was ſuitable to their dignity. Philip was received about ſeven miles from Windſor, firſt by the prince of Wales, attended by a retinue of five hundred horſe, among whom were five earls and ſeveral other noblemen. And about a mile diſtance from the palace he was met by Henry himſelf attended by the greater part of the nobility of England, where he received the archduke with the moſt cordial friendſhip. The prince told Henry, that he was now ſufficiently puniſhed for refuſing, at their laſt interview, to meet him within the walls of Calais. To which Henry anſwered, "that walls were nothing, "where hearts were open; and that he was now in "the utmoſt ſafety, and would be treated with all "the honours due to his birth."

But notwithſtanding all theſe marks of cordiality and friendſhip, Henry was reſolved not to neglect his own intereſt, but extract ſome advantage from this involuntary viſit paid him by his royal gueſt. Accordingly, he procured a treaty of commerce to be ſigned by Philip between England and Caſtile, highly advantageous to the former. This treaty being concluded, Henry complained to Philip of the kind reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "I thought, replied the king of Caſ-"tile, that your greatneſs and felicity had placed "you above entertaining any apprehenſions from a "perſon of ſo little conſequence: but if it will "give you any ſatisfaction I will baniſh him from "my dominions." Henry replied, "that baniſh-"ment is not ſufficient; ſuch hornets, added he, "are beſt in their neſts, and moſt miſchievous when "they fly abroad, and that he deſired to have the "earl of Suffolk put into his hands." "I ſhould "make no difficulty," anſwered the king of Caſtile, "of ſatisfying your requeſt; but a meaſure of this "kind muſt reflect diſhonour upon us both: you "will be thought to have uſed me as your pri-"ſoner." "Then that difficulty is removed, re-"turned the king, I will take the diſhonour upon "myſelf, and take care that your own honour be "preferred inviolate." Philip perceived that he was under a neceſſity of complying with Henry's requeſt; but exacted a promiſe from Henry, that he would not put the earl to death. Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, the earl was invited over to England by the king of Caſtile, who intimated that the king would, at his interceſſion, grant him a pardon. Suffolk immediately obeyed, but on his arrival was committed to the tower.

The king of Caſtile having thus complied with Henry's deſires, was permitted to embark and purſue his voyage to Spain, where he was joyfully received by the Caſtilians, and put in poſſeſſion of the throne. Soon after the arrival of this prince, Ferdinand ſaw his court a deſart; grandees, clergy, and people flocked to their young king and queen, and Ferdinand was obliged to put on an air of affection and complaiſance for his daughter and her huſband. An interview was held between them, when it was agreed that Ferdinand ſhould retire to Arragon, and reſign the government of Caſtile entirely into the hands of Philip and his conſort. But Philip died ſoon after, and Joan, his widow, falling into a deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again reinſtated in his authority, and governed, till the day of his death, the whole kingdom of Spain.

A. D. 1507. The ſweating ſickneſs now once more prevailed in England, and among ſeveral other perſons who fell victims to its fury, was the lord Giles d'Aubeney, one of the greateſt ſtateſmen and generals, that England had ſeen for many years. This dreadful diſtemper did not, however, rage with ſo much violence as it did before. Henry was himſelf ſafe from its attacks; he had been for a long time afflicted by a phthiſical diſorder, which kept him at as great a diſtance from the ſmoke of London as his affairs would permit.

A. D. 1509. Henry had for ſome time, every day freſh proofs of the increaſe of his diſtemper, which gave him continual intimations of his mortality; and on the twenty-ſecond of April he paid the debt of nature at his favourite palace of Richmond, in the fifty-ſecond of his age, after reigning twenty-three years and eight months.

Henry's genius for government was great and extenſive, it was not confined to one particular branch of politics; it comprehended the whole, and digeſted every thing in a clear, compact, and uniform method. His laws carried with them a dignity, which he ſupported by the gravity of his council, by the regularity of his troops, and the auſterity of his own manners. His profeſſed plan of government was pacific, and therefore generally employed eccleſiaſtics in his negotiations. His ſcheme for reducing the feudal powers, convinced his ſubjects that he thought money of more real advantage to the ſtate than their perſonal ſervices; that a body of regular troops were a much better defence, than a much greater number of militia, deſtitute of diſcipline, and ſtrangers to ſubordination. He was a great encourager of commerce, and the riches of the world now flowed into England from every quarter, through channels which Henry's penetration had diſcovered, and his labours opened. He well knew his diſputed title to the crown, and the dangers which ſurrounded him on that account, and therefore took care to keep a ſufficient quantity of treaſure in his own coffers, which enabled him, on the ſhorteſt warning, to put ſwords into the hands of fifty thouſand men. He balanced the influence of a nobility who hated him, by the great abilities of a miniſtry, whom he ſupported. He encouraged the arts of peace, becauſe he was deſirous of exterminating the fatal ſpirit of party, by acts of policy, rather than of power. His ſtudy was to form a connection, rather than a deſpondency of intereſt among his people; to introduce ſubordination inſtead of ſlavery, and to encourage diſcipline rather than puniſhment. Tho' he loved and cultivated peace, he was not intimi-

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dated by war; though agitated with continual ſuſpicions of his ſervants and miniſters, he diſcovered no timidity either in the conduct of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and though often ſevere in his puniſhments, he was generally leſs actuated by revenge than by policy.

If we conſider Henry either as a man or a king, we ſhall find him in ſeveral reſpects, inferior to many of his predeceſſors, and even cotemporaries; we ſhall find him excelled by more than one in ſome important reſpects, but none of them poſſeſſing ſo many excellences as he did upon the whole. If his ſpirit was not ſo ſoaring as that of Edward I. his judgment was more ſolid; if his power was not ſo extenſive as that of Henry II. it was more compacted; if his glory was not ſo intenſe as that of Edward III. his happineſs was more durable; if Henry IV. was ſuperior to Henry VII. in perſonal accompliſhments, he fell ſhort of him with acquired abilities; if Henry V. knew how to lay the foundation of a great and extenſive empire, Henry VII. knew how to give it embelliſhments and duration: if the ſeventh Henry was not ſo amiable in his perſon as the fourth Edward, he was more graceful in his dignity. As to his cotemporaries, there is a wonderful ſimilarity both with regard to their fortunes and characters. But Henry excelled Lewis XI. of France in addreſs, and Ferdinand of Caſtile in penetration. Though Lewis was ſuperior in his knowledge of mankind, and Ferdinand in the conduct of war; yet Henry was a better general than Lewis, and knew how to eſtabliſh conqueſt better than Ferdinand.

The ruling paſſion of Henry was avarice; and had he not died ſo exceſſively rich, he might have been deemed magnificent both with regard to his endowments and edifices. He was difficult of acceſs, but affable when approached. He was at once ceremonious and ſincere in religion; and was perſuaded that the exteriors of devotion formed a ſucceſsful inſtrument of government. He was more ſollicitous to conceal injuſtice than diſplay virtues. He, however, practiſed virtues, for he was ſcrupulouſly juſt in diſcharging his moſt ſhameful and venal engagements.

The great lord Bacon, who has given us a very particular account of this reign, has concluded his work with the following character of Henry, and which it would be unjuſt to the reader not to inſert.

"The king, ſays that able and maſterly writer, to ſpeak of him in terms equal to his deſerving, was one of the beſt ſort of wonders; a wonder for a wiſe man. He had parts, both in his virtues and his fortune, not ſo fit for a common place as for obſervation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and obſervance; but as he ſaw clearly for thoſe times, through the veil of ſuperſtition, ſo he was ſometimes blinded by human policy. He advanced churchmen; he was tender in the privileges of ſanctuaries, though they often occaſioned great miſchief and uneaſineſs. He built and endowed many religious foundations, beſides his memorable hoſpital of the Savoy; and yet his charities in ſecret were extenſive; a ſufficient proof that his public works were rather dedicated to the glory of his maker than his own. He profeſſed always to love and ſeek peace; and it was his uſual preface to his treaties, that when Chriſt came into the world, peace was ſung; and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed. Nor could this virtue proceed from fear, or effeminacy; for he was valiant and active, and therefore was doubtleſs truly chriſtian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace, and never ſeemed deſirous of avoiding war; he therefore often new modelled the offers, and ſchemes of war, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was alſo remarkable, that ſo great a lover of peace ſhould be ſo fortunate in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil commotions, were never unfortunate, nor did he know what a diſaſter meant. The war at his landing, and the rebellions of the earl of Lincoln and lord Audley, were terminated by victories; the wars of France and Scotland, by peace requeſted by his enemies; that of Britany by the duke's death; the inſurrection of lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exeter, and in Kent, by the flight of the rebels, even before the battles became general; ſo that the fortune of his arms was ſtill inviolate. And certainly the rather, as in allaying the commotions of his ſubjects he always went in perſon; ſometimes reſerving himſelf to aſſiſt and ſecond his lieutenants; but always in action; nor was it merely intrepidity, but partly from a diſtruſt of others.

"He maintained and countenanced his laws in a particular manner, though the laws themſelves were no impediment to his own actions; for neither prerogative nor profit were neglected, as he would ſometimes ſtrain his laws to ſupport his prerogative, ſo he alſo leſſened his prerogative with regard to his parliament. His title, wars, and martial diſcipline, objects of abſolute power, he always ſubmitted to his parliament. Juſtice was impartially adminiſtered, except in cauſes where the king was a party. In the framing and paſſing laws he excelled: nor did his juſtice prevent his being a merciful prince; for only three of the nobility ſuffered in his whole reign, the earl of Warwick, the lord chamberlain, and lord Audley. Though the two firſt affected the people as much as numbers; but there never were ſo great rebellions expiated with ſo little blood ſhed by the hand of juſtice, as the two inſurrections of Blackheath and Exeter. With regard to the ſeverity inflicted on thoſe who were taken in Kent, it fell only on the loweſt claſs of people. His pardons always went both before and after his ſword: but then he always exchanged large and unexpected pardons, for ſevere executions; which his wiſdom conſidered, could not be imputed to an inconſtancy or ineqnality, in his diſpoſition, but either to ſome reaſon unknown to us, or a maxim he had laid down to himſelf, that of varying and trying both methods alternately. At the ſame time it muſt be remembered, that the leſs blood he ſhed, the greater quantity of treaſure he amaſſed; and, according to ſome writers of thoſe times, he was more ſparing of the former, that he might be more preſſing for the latter: for both would have been intollerable. He certainly coveted to accumulate treaſure, and rendered himſelf poor by admiring riches.

"The people who are always deſirous of preſerving the characters of their princes, though at the expence of accuſing their counſellors and miniſters, imputed this conduct in Henry to cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, though it afterwards appeared that as counſellors of great authority with him, they only ſeconded his natural inclinations, and endeavoured to mitigate his paſſi-

ons. Whereas Empſom and Dudley, who afterwards directed the adminiſtration, being perſons of no great authority with him, except in their ſervily following his inclinations, did not, like the former, merely give way to his paſſions, but endeavoured to augment them. At his death he was ſorry for having liſtened to their ſervile flatteries, and his ſucceſſor renounced and endeavoured to obliterate their conſequences. This part of Henry's conduct, was conſtrued in a very different manner by different perſons. Some were perſuaded, that the continual rebellions which attended his government, had induced him to hate his people. Some pretended it was deſigned to mortify and depreſs the vulgar. Some, that the ſole motive that directed his conduct, was his deſire of leaving his ſon immenſely rich: while others ſuſpected he had formed great deſigns for making foreign conqueſts. But perhaps thoſe came much nearer to the truth, who imputed the whole, to age, a deſire of peace, and a mind fixed upon no other object than that of increaſing his treaſure. Add to this, that having every day occaſion to remark the difficulties that attended other princes in procuring the neceſſary ſupplies, he was furniſhed with frequent opportunities of felicitating himſelf on his own prudent conduct. But he never ſpared his treaſures when the exigence of his affairs required it; his ſtructures were very magnificent; but his rewards confined within very narrow limits. His liberality tended more to preſerve his own grandeur and tranſmit his memory to poſterity, than reward the deſerts of others. He was fond of his own opinions, and his own meaſures; was determined to rule himſelf, and not truſt his ſceptre in other hands. Had he been a private man, he would have been called proud; but in a great prince it was termed a regard to his own dignity. He ſuffered neither his power nor his ſecrets to be attempted: he was governed by none. Even his queen, though ſhe had brought him ſeveral children, and even a crown, had no influence over him. He reverenced his mother, but without regarding her counſels. He had no favourites; his miniſters were his inſtruments, rather than his friends. He ſupported the dignity of a monarch, without vanity: the former he knew excited the reverence of the people; the latter procured their contempt.

"To his foreign confederates he was conſtant and juſt, but not open and unreſerved. His inquiries and ſecrecy were ſo remarkable, that he knew their deſigns, while his own were effectually concealed. He had neither envy nor emulation with regard to foreign princes; but employed his whole attention to promote his own intereſt. Tho' his reputation was great at home, it was much greater abroad: for foreign princes, who were ignorant of the proceedings of many tranſactions, and formed their judgments entirely upon their iſſue, remarked, that though he was often encompaſſed with difficulties, he was always victorious. Sometimes their opinions were formed from the advices they received from their retainers and ambaſſadors, who attended the Engliſh court in great numbers, and whom Henry took care to reward by ſecret gratifications. From them he learned many particulars relating to the affairs of foreign ſtates, and obtained ſo univerſal a knowledge of the affairs of Europe, that he aſtoniſhed the world, and obtained the higheſt character for wiſdom and his great knowledge in the arts of governments.

"He was very deſirous of obtaining the beſt intelligence from abroad, and was very liberal in rewarding thoſe who furniſhed him with it. He employed a great number of ſpies both at home and abroad, and had always from them very early intelligence of every league and conſpiracy forming againſt him. He was never fond of his queen, hardly indulgent. But his children experienced every happineſs of paternal affection. He was careful of their education; ſtudious of their advancement, and careful to ſee them honoured and reſpected.

"He was of a very ſerious and penſive turn of mind, and always made memorandums with his own hand, with regard to perſons who he ought to employ, reward, or avoid. But he was rather ſtudious than learned, rather dextrous in averting, than prudent in foreſeeing his dangers.

"His perſon was comely, a little above the middle ſize, and his limbs ſtrait but ſlender. His countenance was ſerious, and more reſembled that of a prelate than a king: he lived with employment, and died with repentance."

Soon after Henry's death, his body was brought into the great chamber, where it reſted three days, during which time ſolemn maſſes and dirges were ſung by a mitred biſhop. Thence it was removed into the hall, where the ſame ſervice was performed during an equal interval of time, and thence into the chapel where it alſo continued three days longer with the ſame ceremonies, while in every place a hearſe, adorned with banners, eſcutcheons, and pencils; and mourners, gave their attendance. On Wedneſday the ninth of May, it was placed in a chair, covered with black cloth of gold, drawn by five beautiful courſers, covered with black velvet. Both the chair and horſes were decorated with eſcutcheons of burniſhed gold, and on the top of the former his effigies, dreſſed in rich robes, with a crown on the head, a ſceptre in one hand and a globe in the other, was placed on a cuſhion of gold, and ſurrounded with banners of the arms of all his dominions, titles, and genealogies; a great number of prelates walked praying before the body, attended by all the king's ſervants in black, and behind it nine mourners, followed by about ſix hundred torches. In this order the proceſſion paſſed to St. George's Fields, where it was met by all the religious orders in and about the city, with the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons in black. In this manner the ſolemnity proceeded to St. Paul's church, where the body was placed in the choir, on a ſtately catafalco of wax, and a ſolemn ſermon was preached by the biſhop of Rocheſter. The next day it was conveyed, with the ſame ſtate to Weſtminſter Abbey, where it was placed on a curious catafalco filled with lights, the effigy lying on the coffin; ſolemn maſſes and dirges were ſung, and the next interred with the uſual ſolemnities, in a chapel he had himſelf erected, and thence called Henry the ſeventh's chapel.

We have already mentioned the application that Bartholomew Cabat made to Henry, with regard to the ſcheme of his brother Columbus for diſcovering the weſtern world, and the reaſons why the king was not a ſharer in theſe diſcoveries. Henry was not, however, diſcouraged by this diſappointment;

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pointment; he engaged Sebaſtian Cabat, a native of Venice, but who had for ſome years reſided at Briſtol in ſearch of new countries. He ſailed from England in the year 1498, and directing his courſe to the weſtward, diſcovered Newfoundland, and all the eaſtern coaſt of North America, but returned without making any conqueſt or ſettlement. Elliot, and other merchants of Briſtol, made a ſimilar attempt in 1502.

But this was the greateſt diſcovery made during this period, there were others of almoſt equal importance to ſociety. The love of letters, and a deſire of learning was diffeminated through every part of Europe: the art of printing, diſcovered about this time, greatly facilitated the progreſs of literature, and improvements in the uſeful arts were continually made in almoſt every nation of Chriſtendom; and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world, and men attained, by degrees, that ſituation, with regard to commerce, arts, ſciences, government, policy, and cultivation, in which they have ever ſince perſevered.

Henry had ſeven children by his conſort Elizabeth, viz.

1. Arthur Tudor, prince of Wales, eldeſt ſon to Henry VII. was born at Wincheſter on the twentieth of September 1486; was married on the fourteenth of November 1501, to the princeſs Catherine of Spain, and died ſoon after at the caſtle of Ludlow in Shropſhire, on the ſecond of April 1502, and buried in the cathedral at Worceſter.

2. Henry Tudor, ſecond ſon to Henry VII. was born at Greenwich, on the twenty-eighth of June 1491, and ſucceeded his father by the name of Henry VIII.

3. Edmond Tudor, third and youngeſt ſon to Henry VII. was born at Greenwich on the twenty-firſt of February 1498, and dying ſoon after, was buried in Weſtminſter abbey.

4. Margaret Tudor, queen of Scotland, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. was born on the twenty-ninth of November 1489; ſhe was firſt married to James IV. king of Scotland, in the year 1503, and afterwards to Archibald Douglas earl of Angus, in the year 1514, and left children by both.

5. Elizabeth, ſecond daughter to Henry VII. was born the ſecond of July 1492, and died at Eltham the fourteenth of September 1495, and was buried at Weſtminſter.

6. Mary Tudor, third daughter to Henry VII. was firſt married to Lewis king of France, by whom ſhe had no iſſue, and was afterwards married to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

7. Catherine, fourth daughter of Henry VII. was born the ſecond of February 1503, and died ſoon after.

HENRY VIII.

A. D. 1509. HENRY the eighth mounted the throne, with the greateſt advantages of fortune and of nature. His acceſſion and coronation ſpread a viſible joy and unfeigned ſatisfaction through the whole nation. He was only nineteen years of age when his father paid the debt of nature, and therefore the levities of youth were very readily forgiven; while the advantages of a fine perſon, a lively converſation, great proficiency in learning, added to a generous diſpoſition, rendered him an univerſal favourite with the public. Perſons of ſenſe and prudence promiſed themſelves the ſatisfaction of ſeeing on the throne, a prince in whom all the excellences of his predeceſſors were united, without their blemiſhes; while the vain, the gay, and the giddy, circulated the fame of his qualifications, in courts, in corners, and in companies, where the voice of wiſdom is ſeldom heard.

His council, which was choſen by the advice of his grandmother the counteſs of Richmond, who was ſtill alive, and much celebrated for her prudence and virtue, conſiſted of Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and chancellor; the earl of Shrewſbury, ſteward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, maſter of the wards, and conſtable of the tower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy, Thomas Ruſſel, doctor of laws, and Sir Henry Wyat. All theſe perſons had been long acquainted with buſineſs under Henry VII. and were the leaſt unpopular miniſters employed by that monarch.

The firſt important act of his government was equally juſt and prudent, and tended to eſtabliſh his popularity in the hearts of his ſubjects. This was the apprehending the two execrable lawyers, Empſon and Dudley, and inviting, by proclamation, all his ſubjects who had been injured, to prefer informations againſt theſe two delinquents; propoſing to make the ſufferers reſtitution.

In conſequence of this invitation many informations were lodged againſt them, and a few of the ſufferers whoſe injuries were moſt glaring, received ſatisfaction in money. But this increaſed the number of complainants ſo enormouſly, that the council wiſely reſolved to make the two delinquents pay the penalty of their offences with their blood. They were accordingly brought before the council, and the charge againſt them reduced under diſtinct heads. They were accuſed that they had committed ſeveral perſons to priſon, without ſuffering them to anſwer the charge againſt them, before they had paid large fines into the treaſury: that they had obliged many to pay heavy fines and ranſoms, under falſe pretences, of their holding their tenures in capite: that they had obliged wards to pay exceſſive compoſitions, before they were ſuffered to ſue out liveries for their eſtates: that they had exacted half the profits of their eſtates for two years, from all outlawed perſons, before they could obtain their charters of pardon: that they had invaded the juriſ-

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diction of other courts, by preſuming to judge of matters not within their cognizance: and that a priſoner having been indicted for theft in the city of Coventry, to the value of one pound, was acquitted by the jury; but Empſom, conceiving the verdict to be wrong, committed the jury to priſon, and obliged them to enter into a bond to appear before the king's council, where, the matter being again conſidered, they were condemned to pay a fine of eight pounds: a proceeding conſidered as ſo alarming, that at a ſeſſion held afterwards at Coventry, a particular indictment was preferred againſt him, and he was found guilty.

Empſom made a very artful, but general defence to theſe articles. He complained that he was expoſed by the king to the malice of his enemies, for no other crime than that of obeying his father's commands. He reaſoned on the injuſtice of proſecuting him for enforcing thoſe ſtatutes, which the legiſlature had enacted, and which, as they had never been repealed, remained in full force and virtue. This reaſoning he enforced with great ſpirit, and in a very pathetic manner. But the council rightly diſtinguiſhed between the ſpirit and the letter of the law; and tho' they did not chuſe to eſtabliſh ſo dangerous a precedent as to puniſh a perſon for acting conformable to the letter of the law, under pretence that it was contrary to its ſpirit, and deſtructive of the maxims of equity; yet they thought it equally dangerous to ſuffer miniſters to eſcape, who, they were convinced, had uſed the laws as inſtruments for effecting their own wicked purpoſes. Empſom and Dudley were therefore remanded back to priſon, while their creatures, who acted by their authority, were every day diſcovered and puniſhed.

It was now reſolved to proceed capitally againſt the two principals, but not upon their former accuſation. Dudley was tried at Guildhall, on the ſixth of July, and Empſom at Northampton on the firſt of October. They were indicted for having, during the king's illneſs, ſummoned many of their friends to be in arms at an hour's warning, and haſten to London. It was eaſy for an artful council to aggravate this charge, when ſwelled with other circumſtances, particularly that of ſeizing the king's perſon, and taking poſſeſſion of the government. Both were found guilty of treaſon, and both remanded back to the tower, where they were confined till the meeting of the parliament, when a bill of attainder being paſſed againſt them, their heads were ſtruck off on Tower-hill.

But while the king puniſhed the inſtruments of former tyranny, he ſtill paid ſuch deference to prior engagements as to deliberate immediately after his acceſſion to the throne, on the propriety of his conſummating his marriage with the infanta of Spain, to whom he had been affianced during the life of his father. Her former marriage with his brother, and their inequality of years, were the principal objections urged againſt his marrying her. On the other hand the advantages of her known virtue, modeſty, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, were greatly inſiſted on; the affection ſhe bore the king, the large dowry to which ſhe was entitled as princeſs of Wales, the intereſt of cementing a cloſe alliance with Spain, the neceſſity of finding ſome confederate to counterbalance the power of France, and the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king. Theſe conſiderations being weighed in the balance of political juſtice, determined the counſel, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to adviſe Henry to complete the marriage: and the ceremony was accordingly performed. Soon after the marriage of the king was celebrated, the counteſs of Richmond, who had concurred with the council, paid the debt of nature.

Henry had hitherto proceeded with a ſtrict attention to the laws of juſtice and diſcretion, without diſcovering any of thoſe youthful extravagancies ſo dangerous in well regulated governments. He found himſelf maſter of more ready money, than perhaps all the reſt of the princes of Europe poſſeſſed, and his ſubjects ready to adore him; at the ſame time his mind was active, his paſſions were ſtrong, and his power almoſt unbounded. Theſe were circumſtances which gave the moſt terrible alarms to a council, compoſed of men, trained up under the late Henry, to auſterity, to gravity, to œconomy, and to a ſtrict conformity with the ſevereſt maxims of ſtate. It was in vain for them to attempt the taſk of diſguiſing Henry's ſituation from himſelf, by changing the nature of his ſtudies from books and diſputations, to men and politics. Henry refuſed all ſubmiſſion to their power. The more ſtrictly he had been confined under his late jealous father, the more he taſted the pleaſures of a court, and the ſweets of freedom. Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by his piety, his wiſdom, his moderation, and candor, maintained the greateſt authority at the council; but neither the duties of his function, nor the dignity of his office, ſuffered him to have any ſhare in the low intrigues practiſed by courtiers. But the two perſons who moſt contended for the king's favour, were Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary of ſtate, and lord privy ſeal, and Thomas earl of Surry, treaſurer. The prelate, who had enjoyed great credit during the former reign, had acquired ſuch habits of caution and frugality as he could not eaſily lay aſide, and ſtill oppoſed by his remonſtrances, thoſe ſchemes of diſſipation and expence, which the youth and paſſions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surry was a more artful courtier; and though few had borne a greater ſhare in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himſelf to the humours of his maſter. None were ſo forward to promote that liberality, pleaſure and magnificence which now began to prevail in the court of the young monarch. He ingratiated himſelf by this dextrous conduct into the favour of Henry, he profited, as well as the other courtiers, by the laviſh diſpoſition of his maſter; engaged him in ſuch a courſe of diſſipation, and idleneſs, as ſoon rendered him entirely heedleſs of his own concerns, and willing to intruſt the adminiſtration of affairs entirely to the care of his miniſters. The immenſe treaſures amaſſed by the late king, were gradually diſſipated in the giddy expences of a thoughtleſs monarch. One party of pleaſure ſucceeded another: tilts, tournaments, and carouſals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of that age; and as the preſent tranquillity of the nation, permitted to indulge itſelf in every amuſement, buſineſs of a ſerious nature was very little attended to. Or if the king intermitted the courſe of his feſtivity, he applied himſelf chiefly to muſic and

and polite literature, his favourite purſuits, and well adapted to his genius.

But while the face of affairs in England wore the ſmiles of peace and feſtivity, that of the continent was deformed with alarms reſulting from the confederacies of different powers. Julius the ſecond then filled the papal chair. He was a very warlike, turbulent prelate. He beheld with envy, all the great powers of Europe, particularly the ſtate of Venice, which, by availing itſelf of the diſtractions, then reigning in Italy, had taken ſeveral places belonging to different kingdoms, and particularly that of France, who now poſſeſſed the dutchy of Milan. The pontiff was indeed, at firſt, jealous of French ſucceſs, and had endeavoured to alarm the princes of Germany, with the apprehenſions, that Lewis aimed at univerſal monarchy, and that he deſigned to make himſelf maſter of the territories of the church. The Venetians artfully joined in this alarm, and a diet of the ſeveral powers was held at Conſtance, where a league offenſive and defenſive, was ſigned by the pope, the Venetians, and the princes of Germany, for reducing the power of France, and making the Alps the ſouthern boundary of her monarchy. But this project was rendered abortive by the arts of Lewis, who after the conqueſt of Genoa diſmiſſed his army without having any interview with the king of Spain. This conduct, together with a large diſtribution of money, ſilenced the clamours, and diſſipated the fears of the German princes; and the Venetians being abandoned by theſe allies, found themſelves greatly embarraſſed.

Maximilian, the emperor, who always hated France, was deſirous of taking advantage of theſe difficulties, and demanded, not only a paſſage for his troops through the Venetian territories, but alſo propoſed an offenſive league againſt Lewis: but this propoſal meeting with a ſtrong oppoſition in the ſenate, through the arts of the French miniſters, it was, after great debates, reſolved by the Venetians, to join the French againſt the emperor, but before this alliance could be formed, they determined to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. Though this reſolution greatly affected, yet he continued firm in his deſign of attacking the French in Italy. In order to this he endeavoured to gain over the pope to his intereſt, but could not ſucceed, the French king and the Venetians having informed his holineſs of Maximilian's deſigns, and in conſequence of this diſcovery the emperor's troops were refuſed a paſſage to any part of the papal dominions. This diſappointed Maximilian's deſigns upon Genoa; and after various ſucceſſes and defeats, he was obliged to make a truce for three years with the Venetians.

By purſuing theſe meaſures, the Venetians loſt all their allies. Lewis was enraged againſt them for the acquiſitions they had made in the Milaneſe, and for agreeing to the late truce without his knowledge or conſent, though contrary to the treaty they had lately concluded with that monarch. Maximilian was provoked by the obſtructions they had lately made to his ſcheme, and for the conqueſts they had made to his prejudice. The reſentment of theſe two powerful princes, was greatly augmented by the intrigues of the pope, who had formed a plan for recovering all the dominions that had formerly belonged to the holy ſee, while the king of France, was animated by the hopes of re-conquering all the Venetians had taken in the Milaneſe. Maximilian was deſirous of recovering all the territories which that republic had taken from his family. Theſe powers therefore agreed to enter into an alliance, for overwhelming with their united arms, the ſtate of Venice, and the plan being digeſted, was acceded to by Ferdinand of Spain, who was deſirous of recovering a depoſit of ſome of his Italian dominions which he had placed in the hands of that republic. The confederacy was ſecretly ſigned at Cambray by the contracting powers, under pretence of regulating ſome differences that had ariſen between Margaret of Savoy, and the duke of Gueldres.

A. D. 1510. Apprized of the impending danger, the Venetians made preparations for reſiſtance. They provided every means of defence except the moſt eſſential, brave and warlike forces, which can never be raiſed in a country where the ideas of military glory are extinguiſhed, and men, from long habit, have acquired other objects of ambition. They ſent into the field an army of forty thouſand men, under experienced leaders, the count Pitigliano, and Bartholomew Alviano, hoping that ſo great a force would ſecure them from the invaſion of Lewis, who firſt appeared in Italy at the head of his army. But they were totally miſtaken: the martial nobility of France, headed by their gallant ſovereign, entirely routed their enervated forces, and in the action of Ghieradadda the power and glory of Venice, the reſult of conſummate wiſdom, and the work of ages, ſuffered in one day a check, which it has never yet been able thoroughly to recover. The Venetians, terrified at this misfortune, took a haſty reſolution of abandoning all their dominions on the continent of Italy; and accordingly withdrew their garriſons from every place, and freed their ſubjects from the oath of allegiance.

This haſty ſtep was improved by Lewis, who immediately took poſſeſſion of Cremona, Burgamo, Breſcia, Creme, and all the other places which had been diſmembered from the Milaneſe. Even Verona, Padua, Vicenza, and other towns, which by the treaty of Cambray, fell to the ſhare of Maximilian, offered to open their gates to the French monarch. Had the emperor, inſtead of waſting his time at Trent, led his forces early into Italy, the power and dominion of Venice had been no more. But Lewis, who was no ſtranger to the inconſtancy of that prince, was determined to give him no pretence for deſerting his alliance; and in conſequence of this reſolution, ordered the magiſtrates of thoſe towns to make their ſubmiſſions, whom he informed them they were now to regard as their lawful ſovereign.

In the mean time the ſenate, obſerving the delays of Maximilian, and the extreme regret which their ſubjects diſcovered at being deprived of the mild and equitable government of the republic; reſumed their courage, and again garriſoned theſe cities, with the beſt troops in their pay. This change of ſentiments, checked the aſſuming behaviour of their enemies: they voluntarily delivered to Ferdinand the towns he had claimed, and by that condeſcenſion detached him from the confederacy. By a ſimilar ſacrifice they gratified the ambition of his holineſs; and, at the ſame time, flattered his vanity by making the moſt dutiful ſubmiſſions. They had recourſe to the ſame arts

with regard to Maximilian; but finding his demands ſo very exorbitant, they determined to reſiſt his attempts to the utmoſt of their power. Had their ſoldiers ſeconded this noble reſolution of the ſenate, the ſucceſs would have done honour to the moſt warlike people.

Henry availed himſelf by a wiſe neutrality of thoſe quarrels which employed all the powers formidable to England, at a great diſtance from that iſland. Every day was ſpent in acts of popularity, or in diſplaying thoſe ſhining qualities which attract the reverence of the people. Juſts and tournaments, concerts, pageants, coſtly devices, and all kind of diverſions were encouraged at the Engliſh court, by Henry's preſence and example. The king, in imitation of his father on a ſimilar occaſion, inſtituted a troop of body-guards, conſiſting of fifty men, all of them perſons of diſtinction; each having under him an archer and an equerry. All of them were mounted on horſeback, and had each three led horſes. Bourchier earl of Eſſex, was captain, and Sir John Peachy lieutenant. The people of England, however, were far from being eaſy under this inſtitution. They had ſeen the dreadful effects of ſtanding armies in other countries, from as ſmall, and as plauſible beginnings. They found themſelves yet free, and, encouraged by their prince's affability, expreſſed their apprehenſions of the council's deſign. On the other hand, Henry, though exceſſively vain, profuſe, and voluptuous, found the expence too great to be ſupported, and weighing the gratification of his own vanity, againſt the danger of loſing the affection of his people, he aboliſhed the inſtitution.

In the mean time Lewis, king of France, found that the confederacy was at an end, and therefore applied himſelf to eſtabliſh a balance of power in Italy on ſuch a ſolid foundation, as to render it ſecure for the future. But this was now oppoſed by the pope and Ferdinand, who were determined to render the power of France leſs formidable in that country. In order to this they attempted to detach him from his engagements with the emperor. It was eaſy for Lewis to perceive that this was the intention of his holineſs. He found that the emperor, notwithſtanding his reſentment againſt the Venetians, was, at leaſt a dilatory, if not an uſeleſs ally; being always deſtitute of money for paying his troops. He had already perceived the inveſtiture of the dutchy of Milan, and that Ferdinand had abandoned the confederacy of Cambray. Lewis therefore determined not to attempt the ſiege of Venice, but content himſelf with the acquiſitions he had already made, and diſmiſs his army. This reſolution being taken, the king of France retired to Milan, where he was received with triumphal honours, and afterwards returned to France.

A. D. 1511. A ſhort time was ſufficient to convince Lewis that the real deſign of his holineſs, was no other than that of driving the French entirely out of Italy; for in order to complete this ſcheme he had declared war againſt the duke of Ferrara, the principal confederate of Lewis. At the ſame time he ſollicited the favour of England, by ſending Henry a ſacred roſe, perfumed with muſk, and anointed with chriſm. He engaged in his intereſt Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, Henry's ambaſſador at the court of Rome, and ſoon after created him a cardinal. He gained over Ferdinand to his party, though that politic prince made no declaration of his intentions. But what he conſidered as of ſtill more importance, he concluded a treaty with the Swiſs Cantons, who enraged at a defiance, accompanied with contumelious expreſſions, ſent them by Lewis, had deſerted the alliance of France, and waited impatiently for an opportunity of retaliating upon that nation the injurious treatment they had ſuffered.

But Lewis was not to be intimidated, though he dreaded more the eccleſiaſtical thunders of his holineſs, than the troops he could bring into the field againſt him. He knew that the duke of Ferrara was attacked merely for his engagements with France, and therefore neither common honour, nor common honeſty would ſuffer him to abandon an ally, who had ſacrificed every thing for fulfilling his engagements. He therefore ſent orders to Chaumont, his lieutenant in the Milaneſe, to march immediately to the aſſiſtance of the duke, and defeat the deſigns of Julius. Chaumont, deſirous, if poſſible, of terminating the war by one artful ſtroke, ſurrounded, by one unexpected movement the pope and his whole court, in the city of Bologne. Artifice now ſupplied the want of force: the pope had recourſe to negotiation, and the profound reſpect which Chaumont bore to the head of the church, prompted him to liſten to the offers of Julius. He ſoon found himſelf deceived: the pope was no ſooner eſcaped from Bologne, than reſuming all the imperiouſneſs of his undaunted ſpirit, he renounced all his engagements, and ſet the French monarch at defiance.

Agitated with the moſt violent regret, and expoſed to the ſevereſt cenſures, Chaumont fell into a languiſhing illneſs, of which he ſoon after expired. The king of France, enraged at the perfidious treatment of the haughty pontiff, and the loſs of his general, determined to call a general council in order at once to check the alarming behaviour of the holy father, and reform the church. Accordingly a council was ſummoned to be held at Piſa, at which ſome cardinals, diſguſted at the violent behaviour of Julius, and a few biſhops, more immediately under the influence of Lewis, aſſiſted. But the thunder of the Vatican, ſoon rendered this attempt abortive. Piſa was laid under an interdict, and the inhabitants treated the prelates with ſuch contempt, that they found it neceſſary to remove their ſeſſion to Milan, as they began to fear even their own perſons were in danger. They ſoon found from the behaviour of the people, that little more ſafety was to be expected at Milan than at Piſa, and therefore removed to Lyons. But the prelates were ſoon convinced that their deliberations would be ineffectual. The queen of France was very uneaſy at this attack on the head of the church, and as ſhe had great authority with the king, nothing concluſive could have been tranſacted in this council, even if all the biſhops ſummoned had attended. Senſible of this, the members ſuſpended their ſeſſion, without attempting to limit the power of the Roman Pontiff.

Julius was now determined to take advantage of this incident: he ſummoned a council to meet at the Vatican, where all the places who had given ſhelter to the ſchiſmatical council, were laid under an interdict. Nor did Julius ſtop here: he levelled his

his thunder againſt the perſons that compoſed it: he excommunicated all the cardinals and prelates that attended it; and abſolved all the ſubjects of thoſe princes, under whoſe protection the council was aſſembled, from their oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to any power, who ſhould think proper to take poſſeſſion of them.

While theſe reſolutions were forming in the vatican, the armies of France were in full march to attack the combined army of the pope and Venetians. The armies ſoon met, and a battle was the conſequence, in which the latter were totally defeated. Had this advantage been improved, Lewis might have made himſelf maſter of Rome, which muſt have been followed by a conqueſt of the whole kingdom of Naples. But Lewis, who was a prince of great moderation, trembled at the proſpect of his own ſucceſs. He had reaſon to ſuſpect the friendſhip of the emperor, and he dreaded the conſequences of Henry's joining openly with the pope and the king of Spain. He therefore thought it the moſt prudent meaſure to check the progreſs of his army, and contented himſelf with ſettling the family of Bentivoglio, who had formerly been ſovereigns of Bologne, in the poſſeſſion of that city.

Lewis, who feared that Henry would ſoon join the confederacy formed between the pope, the king of Spain, and the ſtate of Venice, was deſirous of engaging James of Scotland to give a powerful diverſion to Henry, if he made any attempt to invade the territories of France. James, who was naturally inclined to join Lewis in his deſigns of fruſtrating the attempts of the Engliſh, was now ready to ſacrifice the tranquillity of his kingdom to revenge himſelf for the death of Sir Andrew Barton, one of his ſea officers, who had loſt his life in an engagement with the Engliſh. A ſhip belonging to that gentleman's father having been plundered in the port of Sluiſe, by the captains of two Portugueſe veſſels, he obtained letters of marque for his two ſons to make repriſals upon the ſubjects of Portugal. But they made a very bad uſe of their authority, by interrupting the Engliſh navigation, ſearching or plundering all ſhips ſuſpected of having Portugueſe goods on board. Repeated complaints of this inſolence being laid before the Engliſh council, the earl of Surry declared, that while he had an eſtate ſufficient to furniſh a ſhip, or a ſon capable of commanding one, the narrow ſeas ſhould not be infeſted by the pirates of any nation in Europe. In conſequence of this noble and generous declaration, letters of marque were granted him by Henry, and two ſhips, commanded by his two ſons, Sir Thomas, and Sir Edward Howard, ſailed immediately in queſt of the enemy. But a dreadful ſtorm ſoon ſeparated the two brothers, and alſo Barton's two ſhips. Sir Thomas Howard, however, ſoon came up with the Lion, which was commanded by Sir Henry Barton himſelf; and about the ſame time his brother, Sir Edward, fell in with Barton's other ſhip, which was called the Unicorn. An obſtinate engagement enſued, in which Barton was killed in encouraging his men to continue the fight to the laſt extremity. But the fortune of the Engliſh at laſt prevailed, and both the Scottiſh ſhips, with the remaining part of their crews, were brought priſoners into the river Thames.

James, who was now more than ever ſollicited by the court of France, could not help diſcovering his reſentment at this conduct of the Engliſh. He made heavy complaints of it to Henry, but was told, that the king of England had done nothing more than deſtroyed a neſt of pirates, the general enemies of mankind; a proceeding that merited the thanks, inſtead of the reſentment of foreign princes. James, however, could not be prevailed upon to conſider this ſtep as an act of national juſtice: he continued to cheriſh his reſentment, tho' it afterwards proved fatal to himſelf.

A. D. 1512. Ferdinand of Arragon, the moſt artful, and moſt inſincere prince of the age, laboured inceſſantly to gain Henry, his ſon in-law, over to his intereſt. Henry, naturally ſincere and ſanguinary in his temper, was moved by a hearty deſire of protecting the pope from that oppreſſion to which he believed him expoſed from the ambitious enterprizes of Lewis. At the ſame time he was impatient of acquiring that diſtinction in Europe, to which his power and opulence entitled him. He could not therefore any longer continue neuter amidſt the claſh of arms, and the conteſts of nations; and the natural enmity of England againſt France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, was another motive which led Henry to join that alliance which the pope, Spain, and Venice had formed againſt Lewis. A herald was accordingly ſent to Paris to exhort the French monarch not to wage an impious war againſt the pope, and on his returning without ſucceſs, another was ſent to make a demand of the ancient patrimonial provinces, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This meſſage was underſtood as a declaration of war, and a parliament being ſummoned, readily granted ſupplies, for a purpoſe ſo much favoured by the Engliſh nation.

A very conſiderable army was now raiſed in England, conſiſting of ten thouſand men, the greater part infantry, commanded by the marquis of Dorſet, the lord Howard, ſon to the earl of Surry, the lord Broke, lord Ferrars, and many others of the young nobility and gentry accompanied him in this ſervice. All were on fire to diſtinguiſh themſelves by martial atchievements, and to make ſome conqueſt of importance for their maſter.

The politic Ferdinand having ſucceeded in perſuading Henry to take up arms, was deſirous of employing the Engliſh forces in making acquiſitions of advantage to himſelf. He had now little apprehenſions with regard to the king of Naples; but he had for ſome time formed a plan for conquering Navarre, and hoped now to compleat the deſign by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh. John d'Albrette had married the princeſs of Navarre, heireſs of that crown, by which Ferdinand loſt all hopes of its deſcending to his family. He had therefore for ſome time endeavoured to gain over to his intereſt, the nobles of Navarre, and had formed a ſtrong party againſt d'Albrette. To aſſiſt the views of Ferdinand, the pope had laid Navarre under an interdict, on account of d'Albrette's attachment to the crown of France. This gave Ferdinand a pretence for engaging Henry to act againſt Navarre, in a war, profeſſedly undertaken in defence of the holy ſee.

But Henry, though a ſtranger to the arts of princes, would not perhaps have been deceived by this

this pretence, had not ſomething more engaging been propoſed. Ferdinand offered to tranſport his troops in veſſels of his own; and perſuaded him to let them be landed in Fontarabia, whence he could eaſily make a conqueſt of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the Engliſh had ſtill ſome adherents. At the ſame time it was agreed that the Engliſh ſhould be joined by the Spaniſh forces, on the confines of Guienne: and that both armies ſhould join before the operations commenced. In purſuance of theſe regulations the Engliſh troops landed in Guiſpiſcoa. The biſhop of Siguerre was immediately ſent to compliment the general, and to aſſure him, that he ſhould be immediately joined by ſeven or eight thouſand rectéral troops. But compliments were not the ſole motive of the prelate's journey; he had the addreſs to engage the marquis of Dorſet, to ſend a meſſage to the king of Navarre, demanding his acceſſion to the holy league, and a renewal of all the engagements, between the court of England when poſſeſſed of the dutchy of Guienne, and the crown of Navarre. At the ſame time Ferdinand required that John ſhould engage to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the preſent war; and that prince expreſſing his willingneſs to enter into an engagement of that nature, he alſo required that he ſhould give ſecurity for his ſtrict obſervance of it. John, having alſo agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded that he ſhould put into his hands, ſix of the moſt conſiderable places in his dominions, together with his eldeſt ſon as a hoſtage. Theſe were not conditions to be propoſed to a ſovereign; and as the Spaniſh monarch expected a refuſal, he ſent immediate orders to his general the duke of Alva, to invade Navarre, and reduce the whole kingdom to ſubjection. Alva ſoon made himſelf maſter of all the ſmall towns; and being ready to form the ſiege of Pampeluna, the capital, he ſummoned the marquis of Dorſet to join him with the Engliſh army, and to concert a plan for their future operations.

But the Engliſh general was not deceived by the artifices of the Spaniard. The marquis of Dorſet kept his men within their camp at Fontarabia, and bravely demanded a catagorical anſwer from the king of Spain, whether he would or would not proceed on the intended expedition againſt Guienne. Startled at this proceeding, Ferdinand endeavoured to perſuade the marquis, by telling him that d'Albrette was ſecretly deſirous that the confederates ſhould attack his dominions, in order to give him a plauſible excuſe at the court of France, for ſuffering their army to paſs through his territories. But the marquis could not be perſuaded to adopt any part of this ſcheme, which was entirely foreign to his commiſſion. He therefore repeated his demand; Ferdinand perceiving the marquis was not to be deceived by his artifices, endeavoured to convince him, that according to the rules of military expeditions, they ought to make themſelves ſure of the king of Navarre, before they ventured to advance into Guienne; ſince the paſs between Fontarabia and the foot of the Navaraſſe mountains was ſo narrow, that if John ſhould declare in favour of the French, it would be eaſy for him to cut off the retreat of the allied army. The marquis declared, that as he had no authority for acting hoſtilly againſt the king of Navarre, he could only demand, that the Engliſh army ſhould march to Bayonne, and that the Spaniards ſhould enter Guienne through Navarre, the paſſage being by no means impracticable. Ferdinand, though he thought nothing could prevent him from ſeizing the crown of Navarre, was extremely deſirous of preſerving appearances with the Engliſh court and general. In order therefore to prevent an open rupture with the marquis, which he well knew would encourage the French and the Navareſſe to unite againſt him, he aſſured Dorſet that he would immediately diſpatch a meſſenger to England, in order to procure more ample inſtructions, and hoped that the marquis would not in the mean time, take any violent reſolutions in prejudice of the holy league. The marquis was ſufficiently convinced of the inſincerity of Ferdinand; but at the ſame time, diſtant from all relief; his money, his men, and his proviſions were daily waſting, and he knew it would be madneſs in him to attempt the ſiege of Bayonne without the concurrence and aſſiſtance of the Spaniards. He was therefore obliged to make a virtue of neceſſity; but could not conceal his reſentment when he ſaw the whole Spaniſh army employed in beſieging Pampeluna. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of that capital, and purſued their conqueſts with ſuch rapidity, that the king of Navarre himſelf narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner, and was obliged, notwithſtanding the duke de Longueville lay with a French army in the neighbourhood, to make application to Ferdinand for terms of accommodation. But the ambitious Spaniard would grant none to the ſupplicant monarch, but what were equivalent to a ſurrender of his crown and kingdom. John therefore fled to the court of France, while Ferdinand finiſhed his conqueſt of Navarre, and annexed it for ever to the crown of Spain.

In the mean time d'Albrette put the town of Salvatierra into the hands of the French, which rendered any attack upon Bayonne more difficult than ever. Ferdinand, however, continued to treat the Engliſh general with great reſpect, aſſuring him that he would join him with his whole army as ſoon as the affairs of Navarre were ſettled. But the marquis, with ſome indignation, gave the deceitful monarch to underſtand, that he was ſufficiently acquainted with his deſigns, which were to prevail upon the Engliſh to join the Spaniſh army, in order to make a conqueſt of Berne, the only part of theſe dominions that belonged to the king of Navarre, and which was now covered by the duke de Longueville, at the head of a French army. Ferdinand, however, ordered the duke of Alva to ſeize St. Juandel Puerto, the key to Berne. This ſervice the Spaniſh general fortunately performed; and this action occaſioning ſome motions in the French army, Ferdinand again preſſed the marquis of Dorſet to join him, and offered to advance immediately into Guienne. But the Engliſh general well knew that this was now impracticable; the French were maſters of Salvatierra, and their army intrenched between that place and Bayonne, having the river Bidaſſoa in front, and which it was impoſſible for him to paſs, eſpecially as the defiles through which he was to march were impaſſable either for the horſe or artillery. The marquis was convinced that Ferdinand made this offer only to ſave appearances with Henry, and that he neither wiſhed nor expected it ſhould be accepted. He therefore continued in his camp, and by that means proved undeſignedly of great ſervice to Ferdinand, by keeping the French army

army in awe, and preventing the duke de Longueville from advancing to the relief of the king of Navarre's dominions.

In the mean time Ferdinand diſpatched Martin de Ampios, as his envoy to London; and that artful miniſter had the addreſs to perſuade Henry that by the refractory and ſcrupulous humour of the Engliſh general, the moſt favourable opportunities were loſt, and that it was neceſſary that he ſhould, in all things, act in concert with the Spaniſh commander, who was beſt acquainted with the ſituation of the country, and the reaſons of every operation. But before any orders of this kind could reach Spain, Dorſet was become extremely impatient, and obſerving that his longer ſtay ſerved only to promote the undertakings of Ferdinand, and that his army was daily periſhing by want and ſickneſs, he demanded ſhipping from the Spaniſh monarch, to bring the remains of his troops back to England. This demand embarraſſed Ferdinand, who was obliged by treaty to furniſh the tranſports whenever requeſted. He was therefore, after many delays, obliged to yeild to his importunity, and Dorſet embarking his troops prepared for the voyage. But before the tranſports left the harbour, orders arrived from Henry, that the troops ſhould remain in Spain. Theſe orders, however, could not be complied with; the ſoldiers were ſo diſcontented with the treatment they had received, that they mutinied, and obliged their general to proceed on his voyage. At their arrival the marquis repaired to court, where he laid before Henry the treatment he had met with, and exhibited the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand in ſo ſtrong a light, that the king's reſentment at the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize was appeaſed, and Dorſet ſtill retained the favour of his maſter.

But while the Engliſh were making ſo inglorious a figure on the continent, they made a more conſpicuous appearance on the ocean. The active Sir Edward Howard, after his convoying the Engliſh troops to Spain, landed on the coaſt of Britany, and plundered ſome of the towns near the coaſt. Alarmed at this deſcent, Lewis ordered all the ſhips he had in readineſs, to put to ſea immediately, and drive the Engliſh out of the channel. This could not, however, be done before Henry received information of the deſign, and haſtened directly to Portſmouth, where he perſonally gave orders for fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron, which was accordingly done before he left the place. It conſiſted of twenty-five large ſhips, of which the two principal were the Regent and the Sovereign, the former commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet, maſter of the horſe, and the latter by Sir John Carew. This ſquadron being joined by that commanded by Sir Edward Howard, compoſed a noble fleet of thirty-five ſail. As the French fleet had not yet ſailed from Breſt, the Engliſh rode, for ſome time, maſters of the ſea. But it was not long before the enemy appeared, conſiſting of about thirty-nine ſail, under the command of Primauget, called by the Engliſh ſailors Sir Pierce Morgan.

As ſoon as the French appeared, the Engliſh bore down upon them, and a very fierce engagement began. The French admiral's ſhip, which carried twelve hundred marines beſides ſailors, was attacked and boarded by Sir Thomas Knevet, in the Regent. Primauget's ſhip was ſoon ſet on fire, and finding his deſtruction inevitable, he determined not to periſh alone. He accordingly ſuffered the flames to rage with all their violence, while he continued cloſe grappled with the Regent, and in this condition they both exhibited the moſt terrible ſpectacle. The ſhips of both fleets lay for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, as ſpectators of this dreadful engagement; and all the men ſaw with horror, the flames which conſumed both veſſels, and heard the cries of fury and deſpair which came from the miſerable combitants. At laſt the French ſhip blew up, and in the ſame moment deſtroyed the Engliſh. This terrible blaſt ſent, in one inſtant, above two thouſand men to the ſhades of eternity. This dreadful encounter ſhook the courage of both the Engliſh and French; while the latter, ſeizing this interval of aſtoniſhment, made their eſcape into Breſt, leaving the Engliſh maſters of the ſea.

We have ſeen that the war which England carried on againſt France was of very little advantage to the former; but the latter felt the conſequences very ſeverely. Lewis was obliged to withdraw his troops from Italy, in order to ſecure his own dominions. By this means he loſt the ſuperiority he had obtained at the beginning of the campaign. Gaſton de Foix, duke of Nemours, and nephew to Lewis, commanded the French troops in Italy, and diſplayed all the prudence and conduct of a conſummate general. But his career of glory was ſoon finiſhed. He fought a moſt obſtinate battle in the neighbourhood of Revenna, and gained a complete victory over the Spaniſh and papal armies; but he fell in the conflict, at the very moment when his victory was complete, and with him periſhed the fortune of the French arms in Italy.

Perhaps the bloody victory at Revenna might have been fatal to Europe, had not the king of England been ſincerely diſpoſed to act vigorouſly againſt France. A deſpondency had ſeized the minds of all the allies, except that of the pope, whoſe ſpirit grew with his danger. At this critical juncture Henry ordered the cardinal of York, his ambaſſador at the papal court, to make, in his name, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his inviolable attachment to the holy ſee, and of his reſolution to make a powerful diverſion in favour of the allies. This declaration revived the courage of the confederates, and they determined to exert their whole power to drive the French out of Italy. At the ſame time the Swiſs invaded the Milaneſe with a numerous army, and raiſed up that inconſtant people to a revolt againſt their new maſters. Their example was followed by that of the republic of Genoa, ſo that Lewis, in a few weeks, loſt all his Italian conqueſts; and the pope, in a congreſs he held at Mantua, reſtored Sforza to the government of Milan, and the family of Medicis to that of Florence.

A. D. 1513. The pope did not long ſurvive this happy turn of affairs; and John de Medicis was choſen his ſucceſſor in the papal chair. On his election he took the name of Leo the tenth, and proved one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that ever ſat upon that throne. He was at once humane, beneficent, and affable; the patron of every art, and the friend to every virtue. His ſoul was equal to that of his predeceſſor, for forming great deſigns; but he was more gentle, pliant and artful, in carrying them into execution.

Henry, in order to fulfil his engagements, ſummoned a parliament, who very readily granted him a very large ſupply, which joined to the treaſure left by his father, and which was not yet diſſipated, he was ſoon enabled to levy a powerful army, and render himſelf very formidable to Lewis.

But before an invaſion of France could be undertaken, with any hopes of ſucceſs, it was neceſſary to ſettle the peace with Scotland. In order to this the lord Conyers and Sir Robert Drury, were appointed to treat with the Scottiſh commiſſions, while the lord Dacres and Dr. Weſt were ſent to that court, to treat with the king in perſon; but it ſoon appeared that neither the Engliſh or the Scots were ſincere. Henry was deſirous of avoiding a rupture, but not at the expence of his French expedition. James, on the other hand, who was ſtrongly tinctured with romantic heroiſm, flattered himſelf with the glory of effectually ſupporting his ancient ally; but as his own country could not furniſh every thing neceſſary for the great deſign he meditated, he was willing to gain time, that he might be ſupplied from other countries. In the mean time James fitted out a ſtrong fleet, on board of which were embarked three or four thouſand men, who were to ſerve as auxiliaries in France, under the command of the earl of Arran. This proceeding ſufficiently convinced the Engliſh ambaſſador, that notwithſtanding all the pretence of the Scottiſh monarch to obſerve a neutrality, that a war with that kingdom was inevitable. They accordingly ſent warning to Henry of his danger, and that prince diſpatched the earl of Surry to put the borders in a proper ſtate of defence, and reſiſt any attempts that might be made by the enemy for invading the northern counties.

But no apprehenſion of danger from the efforts of James could divert Henry from his deſign of invading France, in which he hoped to be aſſiſted by all the conſiderable powers of Europe. A treaty of alliance againſt Lewis had been ſigned by Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Henry: the pope continued to thunder out his excommunications againſt the French monarch, and the Swiſs cantons profeſſed the moſt violent animoſities againſt France.

Dr. Wolſey, afterwards ſo famous by the name of cardinal Wolſey, was now the favourite, and indeed the abſolute miniſter. His great capacity was known to Henry VII. who would doubtleſs have promoted him had not death put a period to all his deſigns. But the uncontrouled authority he now enjoyed gave his genius full opportunity to diſplay itſelf. Inſatiable in his acquiſitions, but ſtill more magnificent in his expences: of extenſive capacity, but of ſtill more unbounded enterprize: ambitious of power, but ſtill more deſirous of glory: inſinuating, engaging, perſuaſive, and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding: haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants: oppreſſive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than graceful; leſs moved by injuries than by contempt; he ſeemed framed by nature to take the aſcendant in every intercourſe with others, but exerted this ſuperiority with ſuch oſtentation as expoſed him to envy, and made every one willing to recall the original inferiority, or rather meanneſs of his fortune. For he was no other than the ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich, but having acquired a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorſet's family, as tutor to that nobleman's children, and ſoon gained the friendſhip and countenance of his patron. By the intereſt of that marquis he was made chaplain to Henry the ſeventh, and roſe gradually in the church, being now dean of Lincoln, as well as in the ſtate, which he now ruled at his pleaſure.

Great preparations had been making during the whole winter for an invaſion of France, and powerful armaments, both by ſea and land were provided. The command of the fleet was intruſted to Sir Edward Howard, who, after ſcouring the channel, formed a deſign of burning the French fleet in the harbour of Breſt; but the attempt miſcarried, the French continuing cloſe under the fortifications, where it was impracticable to attack them. Sir Edward, however, inſulted them, landed his men upon their coaſt, laid ſeveral towns in aſhes, and challenged the French admiral to a combat. But the wary Frenchmen, expecting a reinforcement of gallies from Toulon, under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, an able officer, wiſely kept within the harbour. Soon after Prejeant, with ſix gallies and four tenders appeared off Breſt, but perceiving the Engliſh fleet cruiſing before that harbour, he put into Conquet bay, in order to wait an opportunity of entering Breſt.

Sir Edward, who ſoon received intelligence of Prejeant's arrival, diſpatched a frigate to obſerve the ſituation of the enemy, whom he determined to attack. They were perceived at an anchor between two rocks, on each of which was planted a battery of large cannon, and ſo far up the bay, that it was impoſſible to bring any of their force near enough to hurt them. But theſe difficulties ſerved only to increaſe the ardour of the Engliſh admiral: he manned the only two gallies he had in his fleet with his beſt men, taking the command of one of them himſelf, and giving that of the other to Devereux lord Ferrars. With this ſmall force, two row-barges, and two tenders, under the command of Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir William Sidney, and other officers of courage and experience, he entered Conquet bay. As the wind was fair the Engliſh ſoon approached the enemy, and the admiral ran his gally cloſe to that which Prejeant himſelf commanded, and as ſoon as the grappling tackle was fixed, leaped on board of her, followed by one Carroz, a Spaniſh cavalier, and ſeventeen Engliſhmen. But he was hardly on board before the grapling tackle gave way, the Engliſh gally ſeparated from the French, and the gallant admiral left to the mercy of the enemy. He, however, diſdained ſafety, when it could be purchaſed only by captivity. He continued the unequal conteſt with the greateſt intrepidity, till both himſelf and his men were puſhed overboard by the pikes of the French. Lord Ferrars, ſeeing the admiral's gally fall off, followed with the other veſſels, and the Engliſh were ſo confuſed at the death of their brave commander, that they left their ſtation, and returned to England. Sir Thomas Howard, the elder brother of the late admiral, being appointed to ſucceed him, was extremely ſollicitous of taking ample revenge on the enemy.

In the mean time the French fleet came out of Breſt, and Prejeant ventured to make a deſcent on the

the coaſt of Suſſex; but was ſoon repulſed, and he himſelf loſt one of his eyes by an arrow ſhot from the bow of an Engliſh archer. Sir Thomas put to ſea with all the expedition poſſible, but not ſoon enough to intercept the French fleet in their return. He, however, ſcoured the channel, and blocked up the ſhips of the enemy in their harbours; but found it impracticable to deſtroy the Breſt fleet, that harbour being now defended by ſeveral additional fortifications.

Every thing being ready for the Engliſh army, the firſt diviſion of Henry's troops embarked about the middle of May for Calais. This diviſion conſiſted of eight thouſand men, commanded by George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, accompanied by Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwalter, Haſtings, and Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horſe. The next diviſion, which conſiſted of ſix thouſand men, was commanded by lord Herbert, aſſiſted by the earls of Northumberland, Kent, and Wiltſhire, the lords Audley and Delewar, and ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction.

They continued at Calais till the ſeventeenth of June, when orders arrived for their marching towards Terrouenne, a town ſtrongly fortified, and garriſoned with two thouſand men, under the command of Seligni Seneſchal of Rovergne, and Anthony de Crequi. The place was ſoon inveſted, but the garriſon made ſo brave a reſiſtance, that the ſiege was protracted for a month, when the garriſon began to ſuffer more for want of proviſions than from the attacks of the Engliſh.

In the mean time Henry landed at Calais with a numerous retinue, and the laſt diviſion of his army which conſiſted of about twelve thouſand men. The vanguard was commanded by Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle, and the earl of Eſſex; the main body by the king himſelf in perſon, aſſiſted by the duke of Buckingham, and Sir Edward Poynings. With reſpect to the rearguard, it ſerved rather for parade than uſe, being chiefly compoſed of retinues attending the two great churchmen, Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, and the favourite miniſter doctor Wolſey. Henry, on his arrival was complimented by the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the dutcheſs of Savoy, and the duke of Brunſwick. But of all the allies on whoſe aſſiſtance the Engliſh monarch ſo much depended, the Swiſs alone fully performed their engagements. Incited by their victories in Italy, their animoſity againſt Lewis, and put in motion by a ſum of money, ſent them by Henry, they were preparing to enter the French dominions with an army of twenty-five thouſand men.

Henry did not make any long ſtay at Calais; he marched in a few days to join his forces before Terrouenne, every day bringing freſh advices of the great preparations making by the enemy for raiſing the ſiege. The garriſon was indeed by this time reduced to extremity for want of proviſions; and had found means to inform Lewis, who was advanced with his army to Amiens, of their deplorable ſituation. Lewis gave immediate orders for throwing relief immediately in the place; and accordingly Fontrailles, an Italian partizan, remarkable for his addreſs and intrepidity, was detached at the head of eight hundred horſemen, each of whom carried a ſack of gunpowder and a flitch of bacon behind him. With this ſmall force he made a ſudden and unexpected irruption into the Engliſh camp, and ſurmounting all reſiſtance, advanced to the foſſee of the town, where each horſeman threw down his burden. They immediately returned on a full gallop, and were ſo fortunate as to break once more through the camp of the Engliſh, and rejoin the army of Lewis with very little loſs.

About this time the emperor Maximilian, who had received one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns from Henry, arrived in the Engliſh camp, with a conſiderable number of German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were very uſeful in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new raiſed forces. The emperor himſelf ſerved as a volunteer in the Engliſh army, wore the croſs of St. George, and received from Henry one hundred crowns a day for his ſubſiſtence. At the ſame time he was treated with the higheſt reſpect, and was in reality the director of all the operations of the combined army. But he did the Engliſh a ſtill more important piece of ſervice; for upon Henry's promiſing that his ſoldiers ſhould pay for every thing they received, he engaged all his grandſon's ſubjects in the neighbourhood to furniſh the Engliſh with whatever proviſions and other neceſſaries they might want.

The town of Terrouenne, had never yet been completely inveſted by the Engliſh; there was ſtill a communication open on the ſide of the river Lys, by which the garriſon received ſupplies. Maximilian, who was an able ſoldier, took notice of this neglect to Henry, upon which five bridges were immediately thrown over the river, and the Engliſh encamped between it and the town. The French generals knowing that by this diſpoſition the town muſt ſoon fall into the enemy's hands, formed a deſign of cutting off the communication of the Engliſh with their bridges, by throwing themſeves between the enemy and the river, and, by the aſſiſtance of a powerful ſally from the garriſon, attacking them both in front and rear. Maximilian had foreſeen this, and took proper methods of preventing it. In a few hours the whole French army appeared, divided into two bodies, one compoſed entirely of horſe, intended to cut off the communication of the Engliſh with their bridges; while the other, which conſiſted of infantry, covered a large convoy, which they intended to throw into the town. The Engliſh army, on the appearance of the enemy, was alſo divided into two bodies; the Engliſh archers were ordered to take a large compaſs, in order to flank the French cavalry, while the horſe, and the remainder of the infantry charged them in front. Accordingly, a party of the Engliſh archers having reached the village of Berry, lined one of the hedges, which flanked the enemy, and from thence diſcharged upon them a dreadful ſhower of arrows. As the French had not foreſeen this motion of the Engliſh, had taken no care to take poſſeſſion of the village, and were wholly employed in taking the beſt meaſures for oppoſing the Engliſh cavalry ſupported by the German foot, who were now mounting the hill to attack them in front. They had therefore ſent orders to the infantry, who were marching towards the town, to ſecure their convoy, and rejoin the cavalry; but before this could be effected, poured on them a ſecond ſhower of arrows, which galled them ſo exceedingly that moſt of the Engliſh cavalry had mounted the hill and were ready to attack them before they were able to form. On ſight of the enemy, the French cavalry, though they conſiſted chiefly of gentlemen, who had behaved

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with great valour in many desperate actions in Italy, were seized with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with considerable slaughter by the English. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the army, Bussi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, were taken prisoners. This action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but generally the "Battle of spurs," because the French that day made more use of their spurs than of their swords. The victory was gained almost without blood, on the side of the English, and the disgrace of the French was much greater than their loss.

This defeat so intimidated the French, that Henry, who was now at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, might have spread confusion through the greater part of the kingdom; but instead of pushing his advantage, the king returned to the siege of Terrouenne, the garrison of which soon after capitulated, and Henry, after a siege of nine weeks, became master of the place.

During these transactions on the continent, the northern parts of England became the theatre of war and devastation. James the fourth of Scotland might have swayed the sceptre with honour to himself, and happiness to his people, had he not been engaged in a rebellion against his father, which drove him into a contrary extreme, an invincible hatred to the English, to whose designs he imagined his father fell a victim. His kingdom was now in a flourishing condition; his nobility united among themselves, and also with the crown; so that had not that romantic passion which attached him to France prevailed over the dictates of common sense and common honesty, James might have made a figure in Europe far superior to what his country was entitled to from the advantages of situation or nature.

The inhabitants of Yorkshire and Durham were greatly exasperated at a tax imposed by the late parliament, and even refused to pay it, nor did Henry think it prudent to have recourse to violent measures in order to force a compliance. This doubtless encouraged James to execute a project he had long formed for invading England. He had troops, arms, and ammunition, with every other necessary requisite for such an expedition. The English council were no strangers to James's dispositions, and therefore, at Henry's departure, appointed the earl of Surry to command in the northern counties, with an unlimited commission of acting as he thought proper, provided the Scots made any irruption into England.

Henry was hardly landed in France, before James determined to carry his designs into execution. He accordingly sent the lord Hume, warden of the marches, at the head of seven or eight thousand men, to ravage the northern parts of England. Hume executed his commission with great address and rapidity, and committed terrible ravages, before the earl of Surry was in any condition to oppose him; and was returning home with his plunder when the English general marched to give him battle. Surry soon perceived that his army would never be able to overtake the Scots, who marched with great celerity, and therefore detached Sir William Bulmer at the head of a thousand of his best archers, with orders to seize the pass of Broomhouse, and attack the Scots suddenly in their march. Sir William followed the earl's directions, and as soon as the Scots entered the pass, the English archers plied them so warmly with their arrows, that they were totally routed, five hundred were killed on the spot, four hundred taken prisoners, and the greater part of the booty they had taken recovered.

James, exasperated at this defeat, passed the Tweed, at the head of a brave, though turbulent army of about fifty thousand men; ravaged the parts of Northumberland which lay nearest to that river, and employed himself in taking the castles of Norham, Etal, Werk, Ford, and other places of very little importance. The castle of Ford was the seat of one Heron, a northern baron, who was taken and sent prisoner to Scotland: but his lady and daughter sufficiently retaliated on James for the injury he had done the baron. The king fell desperately in love with the young lady, who, with the assistance of her mother, so far prevailed upon the thoughtless monarch, that he wasted in idle pleasures, the critical opportunity of marching into the heart of England, and pushing his conquest before the earl of Surry was in a condition to meet him in the open field. The English general was too prudent to neglect the opportunity of opposing the progress of the Scots, he marched at the head of six and twenty thousand men, and determined to give the northern invaders battle, as he knew that the Scotch discipline was extremely relaxed, their army pinched for want of provisions, and the authority of James but feeble, and therefore inadequate.

The earl soon approached the Scottish army, which was encamped on some eminences near the Chiviot hills. The river Till ran between the two armies and prevented any engagement. Surry therefore sent a herald to the Scots camp, challenging the enemy to descend into the plain of Milfield, which lay to the southward of their camp, and there try their valour on equal terms. James received the herald with great politeness, and returned for answer, that he would give the English battle by the Friday following; adding, that had he received such a message from the earl, even in his own castle at Edinburgh, he would have come and fought him. The earl, who mistrusted the answer of the Scottish monarch, made a feint of marching towards Berwic, as if he intended to enter Scotland, lay waste the borders, and cut off the provisions of the enemy. In order to prevent this design, the Scots put themselves in motion, and having set fire to the huts in which they had been quartered, they descended from the hills; taking advantage of the smoke, which being blown towards him concealed his motions. The earl of Surry passed the Till with his artillery at the bridge of Twisel, sending the rest of his army to find a ford higher up the river.

As soon as the smoke was over, James perceived the English army drawn up in order of battle at the foot of the hill, but so near the Scottish army, that their artillery, which was planted upon the declivity of the hill, and consisted of two and twenty pieces of cannon, could not be brought to bear upon the enemy. James being thus deprived of the advantage of his artillery, offered the English battle on equal terms, and would gladly have drawn

drawn up his men in the open plain, had the Engliſh been imprudent enough to have ſuffered him.

A battle was now inevitable, and both ſides prepared for the important deciſion with great order and tranquillity. The right wing of the Scottiſh army was commanded by the earl of Huntley, aſſiſted by lord Hume; the center by the king in perſon; and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle; while the earl of Bothwel headed a body of reſerve. The Engliſh army was divided into two lines: lord Howard, admiral of England, headed the main body of the firſt line, Sir Edward Howard the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Conſtable, the left. The earl of Surry himſelf commanded the main body of the ſecond line, Sir Edward Dacres the right wing, and Sir Edward Stanley the left. Before the battle began the admiral made a ſudden motion to the right, and ſeized a paſs at Milford, where he planted his artillery, and where the aſcent to the Scottiſh camp was more gradual. As James had depended greatly upon this paſs, and alſo upon the Till's not being fordable on that ſide, his men were expoſed to the fire of all the Engliſh artillery, while they were deſcending from the brow of the hill into the plain, where they intended to form the line of battle. But notwithſtanding this diſadvantage the earl of Huntley drew up his men with great preſence of mind, and immediately began the attack on the admiral's diviſion, with ſo much fury, that the wing gave way, and the ſoldiers were driven a conſiderable diſtance from their poſt. But the lord Dacres, with admirable preſence of mind, covered Howard ſo effectually with a ſquadron of horſe he commanded on the right flank of the ſecond line, that his men were again quickly formed; while the earl of Surry advancing in the center, between the right and the left of the ſecond diviſion, the whole army formed one line, and the battle became immediately general. In the mean time the diviſion under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the ſucceſs of Huntley's diviſion, had broke their ranks, and notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambaſſador ruſhed headlong upon the enemy, who cut them to pieces. The battle, however, continued long doubtful; the Scots had, as yet greatly the advantage of the ground, for cloſe fight, and the Engliſh therefore endeavoured to keep them at a diſtance, by dreadful diſcharges from their bows and artillery. But the impetuoſity of the Scots was not to be reſtrained. They broke in upon the main body of the Engliſh, and were like their companions cut to pieces, Not only Sir Edward Howard at the Head of his diviſion, received them with great valour; but Dacres wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the ſword without reſiſtance. The diviſion under the king himſelf, and that under Bothwel, animated by the valour of their leaders, ſtill made head againſt the Engliſh, and throwing themſelves into a circle, protracted the action till night ſeparated the combatants. It was yet doubtful for whom victory had declared: each army had loſt about five thouſand men. But the morning ſoon diſcovered that the advantage was entirely on the ſide of the Engliſh; they had loſt no perſon of note: the flower of the Scots nobility, together with their king had fallen in the battle.

The Scottiſh writers have indeed doubted whether he actually fell in the action, or eſcaped from the field of battle. Some will have it that he fled to the caſtle of Hume, where he was ſecretly murdered by the vaſſals of that nobleman, who had been inſtigated to commit ſo deteſtible a crime: and others that he left his army in the heat of the action, and ſet out in diſguiſe on a pilgrimage to the Holy-land: but theſe are chimeras common to all nations, who by immature death loſe an admired prince. It is, however, certain that his body, at leaſt one that reſembled it in every particular, and dreſſed in ſimilar arms, was found among the ſlain on the field of battle; and as numbers in the Engliſh army, particularly the earl of Surry, were perſonally, ſome of them intimately acquainted with him, it could not be miſtaken. But what deſtroys all ſurmiſes of the Scots, is a letter wrote by the queen of England to Henry, informing him of the victory obtained at Flouden, and requeſting inſtructions with regard to her burying James's body; becauſe that prince died under the ſentence of excommunication. Henry, accordingly diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome for obtaining the pontiff's permiſſion to inter the body. This requeſt was immediately granted, the pope ſaying, in his bull of diſpenſation, "that James having, in the agony of death "given ſigns of repentance, for the crime which "had occaſioned his excommunication, he em-"powered Henry to bury the body." Nor did Henry take any advantage of the battle of Floudon; though moſt of the Scottiſh nobility fell in the action. His conduct on that occaſion diſcovered a mind truly great and generous. He liſtened to the application of Margaret queen of Scotland, who was created regent of the kingdom during the infancy of her ſon; pitied the helpleſs condition of his ſiſter and nephew, and readily concluded a peace with the Scots. The earl of Surry, was reſtored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father, for joining with Richard the third. Lord Howard his ſon, was created earl of Surry; Sir Charles Brandon, the king's favourite, duke of Suffolk; lord Herbert earl of Worceſter; and Sir Edward Stanley, lord Monteagle.

In the mean time the taking of Terrouenne, the loſs of the Battle of the ſpurs, the revolt of the Milaneſe, the irruption of the Swiſs into the dutchy of Burgundy, and the ſignal defeat and death of the Scottiſh king, made Lewis tremble on his throne. But his good fortune by meaſures as equally unforſeen as thoſe which had plunged him into danger, extricated him from all his difficulties. The Swiſs had formed the ſiege of Dijon, and reduced the town to extremity, when Trimouille, who commanded a fort in the neighbourhood, found means to gain over ſome of the principal Swiſs officers, at the very time when Ferdinand threatened to make an irruption into Guienne, which muſt have given a new diverſion to the French army, and opened a paſſage to Henry and the Swiſs to march to the very gates of Paris. But before Trimouille could prevail upon the Swiſs to retreat, many difficulties were to be adjuſted; but the Frenchman ſurmounted every difficulty, and at the expence of twenty thouſand crowns, and very large promiſes, prevailed upon the Swiſs to retire from the territories of France.

Though this retreat of the Swiſs was of the laſt importance to Lewis, yet Henry's ſucceſs greatly alarmed him; and would perhaps have greatly curtailed the power of France, had not Maximilian, who, had acquired great weight in Henry's coun-

cils, acted from intereſted motives, and freed Lewis from all his apprehenſions. The emperor never deſigned that Henry ſhould exert his force againſt France; he was deſirous of making the Engliſh arms ſerviceable to the houſes of Auſtria and Burgundy, united in the perſon of his grandſon. Tournay was in the poſſeſſion of France, but lay in the heart of the Burgundy eſtate, and Maximilian rightly perceived, that if a place of ſo much importance to his grandſon was once taken, it would not be difficult to re-annex it for ever to his family, by treaty. But he artfully concealed his real motives from Henry, and filled the mind of that prince with notions of the great honour which the taking of ſo ſtrong a fortreſs muſt reflect upon his arms and conduct. Elated with the hopes of glory, without ſuſpecting the treacherous deſigns of Ferdinand, the thoughtleſs monarch embraced the propoſal, and on the fifteenth of September formed the ſiege of Tournay. The king himſelf encamped on the north, the earl of Shrewſbury on the ſouth, and the lord Herbert on the weſt ſide of the town; batteries were immediately erected, and the artillery played furiouſly on the place.

The city of Tournay was, by its ancient charters, exempted from the burden of a garriſon; and the burgers, even againſt the remonſtrance of their ſovereign, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on maintaining this dangerous privilege, and engaged to make by themſelves, unaſſiſted by a military force, a vigorous defence againſt the enemy. But they ſoon perceived it was more eaſy to promiſe than to perform: the city capitulated in three days, upon condition of preſerving its ancient privileges, and a garriſon was immediately quartered in it, under the command of Sir Edward Poynings.

It was doubtleſs Henry's intereſt that the fortifications of Tournay ſhould be demoliſhed; but this was not agreeable to the views either of Maximilian or Wolſey; the former being perſuaded it would be for the intereſt of his grandſon, that the city ſhould continue in a defenſible ſtate; and the latter, who had an eye upon the biſhopric, conſidered the fortifications as neceſſary to the preſervation of his power. The biſhop of Tournay had lately paid the debt of nature, and a new biſhop was already elected by the chapter, but not inſtalled in his office. Henry therefore beſtowed the adminiſtration of the ſee on his favourite Wolſey, and put him in immediate poſſeſſion of the revenues, which were very conſiderable.

The ſeaſon not permitting of any further expedition, Henry prepared for his return to England, greatly elated with his apparent proſperity, though it was ſufficiently evident that the campaign had been to him both ruinous and inglorious. Soon after his arrival he received advice of the inſincerity of his allies. The pope was never deſirous of puſhing the French to extremity, and, provided they renounced the dutchy of Milan, and abandoned the ſchiſmatic council of Lyons, his intentions were ſatisfied; and he thought his intereſt induced him to preſerve the balance between the contending parties, eſpecially as he was now as jealous of the power of the houſe of Auſtria, as he had been before of that of France. Ferdinand's ambition was ſatisfied provided he could keep the kingdom of Navarre, which he had ſubdued by his arms and his policy, and therefore readily conſented to prolong the truce for another year. Lewis, taught by former experience of the dangerous ſituation of his kingdom from this powerful alliance, was determined, at any rate, to prevent a return of ſuch alarming circumſtances. He was therefore highly delighted with the peaceable diſpoſitions of theſe three powers, and hoped by their mediation to recover the friendſhip of Henry. Hints were therefore given by the French monarch, that he intended to marry his ſecond daughter Reneé, either to Charles, prince of Spain, or his brother Ferdinand, both grandſons to the king of Spain, and to beſtow upon her his claim to the dutchy of Milan, as her portion. This was too great an offer to be reſiſted by Ferdinand; he embraced the ſcheme with avidity, and even engaged Maximilian to join in a treaty that muſt conſer great honours and advantages on their families.

But however ſecretly theſe negotiations might be carried on at the courts of Spain and France, they did not eſcape the penetration of Aſton, Henry's ambaſſador at Ferdinand's court, and that miniſter did not fail to acquaint his maſter of this ſecret treaty; he diſplayed all its articles, and expatiated on their fatal tendency. Exaſperated at this injurious and deceitful treatment, Henry ſent for the Spaniſh miniſter, reproached him in the ſtrongeſt terms, and threatened to take revenge on Ferdinand for his treacherous conduct; particularly with regard to the marriage of Charles with a princeſs of France: for Charles had, during the lifetime of the late king, been affianced to Mary, Henry's ſecond ſiſter, and for whom he entertained a very tender affection.

A. D. 1514. The duke de Longueville had been a priſoner in England ever ſince the battle of the Spurs, and was thoroughly acquainted with all the intrigues and parties in Henry's cabinet. He eaſily perceived that Wolſey was no friend to Maximilian, who laboured aſſiduouſly to deprive him of the biſhopric of Tournay, by perſuading Henry to re-annex it to his grandſon's dominions. He informed Lewis of his diſcovery, and that monarch, in conjunction with the pope, determined to fix the miniſter in their intereſt. Accordingly a rapid profuſion of papal honours were conferred on Wolſey. His holineſs confirmed Henry's nomination of him to the ſee of Tournay, and gave him the adminiſtration of that ſee, both in ſpirituals and temporals. His next promotion was to the ſee of Lincoln, which the pope conſented he ſhould hold, and preſented Henry with a conſecrated cap and ſword, as a mark of peculiar eſteem.

The Engliſh monarch being thus ſincerely diſpoſed to make a peace with France, Longueville ventured to make the grand propoſal he had been intruſted with by his maſter. He began with repreſenting to Henry, that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, it was not impoſſible to form a laſting friendſhip between the two crowns, from the conſequences of that event, and which might ſerve to terminate honourably all the differences ſubſiſting between Lewis and Henry: that ſhe had left the king no male children, and as he had always entertained a ſtrong deſire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage ſeemed more ſuitable to him than that with the princeſs of England, whoſe youth and beauty afforded the moſt flattering hopes, with regard to that particular. He added, that though it might appear to careleſs obſervers,

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that a princeſs of ſixteen was an improper match for a king of fifty-three; yet when the advantages reſulting from this alliance were maturely weighed, they would be found abundantly ſufficient to balance this inequality of years, and that by contracting a cloſe connection with Lewis, who had always maintained the ſtricteſt character for probity and juſtice, he would feel no loſs in looſing his connections with Ferdinand, from whom he never experienced the leaſt advantage.

Henry liſtened to this diſcourſe of Longueville, who immediately informed his maſter of the great probability there was of making a firm alliance with England. Nothing could be more agreeable to Lewis than this intelligence. He knew that it would be impoſſible for him to ſupport himſelf againſt the confederacy that had been formed againſt him, and that Henry was the principal ſupport of the allied army. He therefore diſpatched full powers to Longueville for concluding the treaty. The articles were ſoon adjuſted between the two monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh; that Richard de la Pole, ſhould be baniſhed to Metz, and reſide there on a penſion aſſigned him by Lewis; that Henry ſhould be paid a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty, to his father and himſelf, and that the princeſs Mary ſhould bring four hundred thouſand crowns, and enjoy as large a jointure as any of the queens of France, not even excepting the laſt, who was heireſs of Britany. By the ſame treaty the number of forces which each prince was to ſend to the other, in caſe either of them was attacked by the enemy, was determined.

As ſoon as this treaty was concluded, the princeſs Mary ſet out for the court of France: ſhe was conducted to Dover by the king and queen, where ſhe was committed to the care of the duke of Norfolk, who attended her to Abbeville, and received at the gates of that place by her huſband, who was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accompliſhments of his young queen.

A. D. 1515. But he did not long enjoy the happineſs he ſo ardently ſought, for he died in leſs than three months after his marriage, to the infinite regret of his ſubjects, who gave him the glorious title of the "Father of his people."

On the death of Lewis, Francis, duke of Angouleſme, who had married the eldeſt daughter of Lewis, was placed on the throne of France. He was only twenty-one years of age, when Lewis paid the debt of nature; but his virtues, notwithſtanding his youth, promiſed a proſperous and glorious reign. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who was then at the court of France, was conſidered as the moſt comely perſonage of his time, and, at the ſame time, the moſt accompliſhed in all the exerciſes then thought proper for a courtier and a ſoldier. He was the chief favourite of the Engliſh monarch, and who had once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his ſiſter, ſo that a mutual affection had grown up between them. The young king of France was ſtruck with the charms of the Engliſh princeſs; but reaſon and prudence ſoon got the better of his paſſion, and even watched the young dowager with a very careful eye, during the firſt months of her widowhood.

Henry on the firſt news of the death of Lewis ſent his ſiſter letters of condolence; and thoſe letters was a plain intimation that ſhe ſhould not diſpoſe of herſelf in marriage without his conſent. She was no ſtranger to Henry's tenderneſs for her, nor to his friendſhip for the duke of Suffolk, yet ſhe could not be ſure whether her own inclinations might not be again ſacrificed to his ambition. She would willingly have obſerved the hint of her brother, but her paſſion proved too ſtrong for her caution. She aſked Suffolk, whether he had now the precaution, without further reflection, to marry her; adding, that ſhe was ſure her brother would more eaſily forgive him for not aſking his conſent, than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk could not refuſe ſo inviting an offer; and the ceremony of the marriage was ſecretly performed at Paris.

Francis no ſooner diſcovered that the marriage was conſummated, than he immediately diſpatched a courtier to Henry to inform him of the event; but was ſurprized to find by Henry's anſwer, that he approved of the connection. Francis was highly pleaſed with Henry's declaration, as he was now freed from all his apprehenſions of the queen's marriage with the prince of Spain.

Henry's cabinet council was at this time compoſed of Wolſey, the old biſhop of Winchester, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Wareham archbiſhop of Canterbury. Though the four latter were extremely devoted to the king, yet they could not forget that they were Engliſhmen. The intereſt of their country was conſidered in all their councils; and their having no connection with the continent made them ſollicitous only that the king ſhould be careful both of his treaſure and his reputation. Wolſey's views were very different: he had ſtrong connections with the continent; he flattered himſelf with having a cardinal's hat, and was actually in poſſeſſion of the rich biſhopric of Tournay. The detention of that city by the king of England was extremely diſagreeable to the French monarch, and ſeveral exchanges had been propoſed, but without the deſired effect. Henry had demanded a territory round Guiſnes and Ardres; but this was ſtill more diſagreeable to France than even his poſſeſſion of Tournay. Francis offered to purchaſe Tournay for a ſum of money, but Wolſey refuſed the offer, as it would have deprived him of a great revenue, and a conſiderable power. All the negotiations were therefore rendered abortive, and the city of Tournay became a ſubject of contention between the courts of England and France.

During theſe tranſactions Francis diſcovered that a league had been formed againſt him by the pope, the emperor Maximilian, the king of Spain, and the Swiſs. The French monarch had determined to make another irruption into Italy; but before he marched to execute his deſign, he was informed of the above league. Ferdinand's principal motive for acceding to this treaty aroſe from apprehenſions leſt the French ſhould turn their arms againſt Navarre inſtead of Milan. But he was no ſooner convinced that his fears had no foundation, than he ſent orders to his generals for their remaining inactive. Maximilian and the pope followed his example, ſo that the Swiſs were left to oppoſe the French army without any hopes of aſſiſtance.

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They, however, disdained to fly; and a general engagement happened soon after at Marignan, where the Swiss army was cut to pieces. This victory opened a passage to Francis for attacking Rome itself, and soon after obliged the Swiss to retreat towards their own country. This unexpected success of the French arms produced considerable alterations in the politics of Europe. The pope could no longer refuse the sollicitations of Francis for reinstating Guillard, the former bishop of Tournay in the diocese. A bull was accordingly issued for that purpose, and obtained before Wolsey knew any thing of the matter. His first information seems to have been from Dr. Sampson, who acted as administrator of that diocese. For Sampson coming to Ghent, and other towns in the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Tournay, found that they refused to pay any regard to his commission.

All those engagements of Francis could not fail of producing very disagreeable effects upon Henry's spirits, especially when connected with the daily alarms with which he was filled by the cardinal, of a diversion from Scotland and Denmark. But the sentiments of Francis were very different from what either Henry or his minister conceived. He never had any intention of breaking with Wolsey, whose friendship was so necessary to him about Henry's person. He imagined that the English favourite having no other view than interest to gratify, it was easy for to indemnify him by something of equal or greater value. Convinced of this, Francis had no sooner reconciled affairs with the pope, than he laboured to procure for Wolsey a cardinal's cap. Wolsey, before this, had made several advances to obtain that honour. Upon the death of cardinal Bambridge, he had employed de Castallo, who was bishop of Bath, and collector for the pope in England, to sollicit it for him. But de Castallo was so far from serving him faithfully, that he acted as Wolsey's enemy, which exasperated the latter so much, that he threw Polydore Virgil, who was sub-collector to de Castallo, into the tower, from whence he was, with great difficulty, afterwards released. Wolsey's disappointment in this sollicitation made him the more joyfully accept the cardinalship which Francis at this time procured him; but could not erase from his mind the enmity he had conceived against that prince, on account of the affair of Tournay. He looked upon the favour as due to his merit; and instead of shewing himself grateful to Francis, he did all in his power not only to exasperate Henry, but to promote a general league in Europe against him. But as Francis had hitherto behaved with seeming good faith towards England, and as Henry had many just causes of dissatisfaction both with Maximilian and Ferdinand, the other counsellors of Henry saw no reason for indulging so much malevolence against France. Perhaps this backwardness in breaking with the king, might be owing to Wolsey's so thoroughly engrossing Henry, that they had kept the whole of Francis's designs against England a profound secret. This Wolsey seems to have done on two accounts, first because it was dangerous to reveal any part of his management by spies, and secondly, because it served to give Henry the higher opinion of the cardinal's honesty, and his own superiority in judgment, while no one besides himself was in Wolsey's secret. The duke of Norfolk continued still to be a pliable, but plausible minister. He had, by his offices, amassed a large estate, and thought, after the important and glorious service he had lately done the crown, he had a right to give his opinion, even in contradiction to the cardinal. Fox, bishop of Winchester, to whom Wolsey owed so much, could not behold his greatness without repining. He saw a thousand Surrys in one Wolsey, and this naturally produced a reconciliation between him and the duke of Norfolk. But Wolsey saw, and despised, the coalition. In vain did Winchester form cabals, and endeavour to balance parties; for Wolsey possessed the king, and persuaded Henry they could not strike at him but through the vitals of government itself. Henry adopted this maxim, and imagined he could not discover his own greatness to more advantage than by displaying the power of his minister. At last, Winchester lost all patience, and bluntly asked the king "If he would suffer the servant to "be greater than the master?" to which Henry replied, "That he would take care his subjects "should obey, and not command." This stung Fox so much that he asked, and easily obtained, leave to retire to his bishopric. He was followed by the duke of Norfolk, who likewise withdrew from court. The duke of Suffolk also was no friend to Wolsey's violent measures, which he discovering, gave the duke to understand that the king expected payment of a large sum of money he had borrowed from the crown, to support the great figure he had made in France. This was not in Suffolk's power to do; he had no share of credit in the cabinet, equal to Wolsey; he durst not trust to Henry's personal friendship, and therefore was obliged to yield to the stream, and to rid Wolsey of all apprehension of opposition by retiring from court.

But the most formidable of Wolsey's rivals was the archbishop of Canterbury. He had hitherto supported himself by the dignity, the disinterestedness, and the prudence of his conduct; he had entered into no court intrigues, but being possessed of the great seal as chancellor, he was often uneasy to Wolsey. But the great credit of the latter, not only with the king, but with foreign powers, soon made the archbishop weary of his virtuous opposition. He had been so unblameable in his administration, that Wolsey could lay nothing to his charge, nor durst he venture so far upon his ascendancy over Henry, as to act against him in any violent manner. But he compassed his ends in another way, and obliged Warham to resign the great seal. This he effected by assuming such state, and by making such encroachments upon the archbishop in his ecclesiastical capacity, as rendered the latter a mere cypher at court. He saw the most valuable rights and privileges of his primacy invaded and trampled upon by the insolent minister, and justly concluded, that he could only be of significancy by retiring to his see, and practising the duties of his function. He accordingly resigned the great seal into Henry's hands, who two days after, bestowed it upon Wolsey.

Wolsey had now no other check upon his conduct than Henry himself, whose dispositions he could never so thoroughly manage as to prevent their sometimes clashing with his designs. He had a great and important point in view, the breaking with

with the king of France, a young prince, brave, magnificent, victorious, the darling of his ſubjects, the terror of Europe, and the maſter of the pope, who trembled at his progreſs, and was ſubdued by his generoſity. Before Francis had entered upon his Italian expedition, he had concluded a treaty of ſtrict friendſhip with the prince of Spain, whoſe court was, at this time, under French influence, and Francis was therefore entirely ſafe on that ſide, while England was thus deprived of her ſtrongeſt and moſt natural ally; nor had Henry any ſuch ſure hopes of foreign aſſiſtance as thoſe founded upon Maximilian's venality.

Maximilian was apprehenſive that the balance of power muſt be ruined in Italy, by the ſucceſs of Francis, unleſs he could ſet up a pretender to the dutchy of Milan. That duke, Maximilian Sforza, was a ſlave to pleaſure, and for the quiet enjoyment of it, reſigned to Francis all his pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, and accepted of a private retreat in France. The Swiſſes complained that they had been ſacrificed, through the cardinal of Sion's perſuaſions, to the backwardneſs of Maximilian; but the latter had made ſure of Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, who now aſſumed the title of duke of Milan, and it was by means of this pretender, who had a ſtrong party in the Milaneſe, that Wolſey and Maximilian propoſed to diſturb Francis in his new conqueſt. The danger of England lay in the other princes on the continent, being able to drive Francis out of Italy; for while his arms were employed there, England was ſafe. Perhaps Wolſey, therefore, was not to blame for adopting the cauſe of this pretender, without meaning to ſerve him any farther than as a tool of his ambition. But the motive had been too refined, and too weak to have made Henry abridge his pleaſures, by the immenſe ſums which he was to ſpend on this account, had not a much ſtronger one co-operated, ariſing from the great hopes which Maximilian gave him that he would reſign the empire in his favour. This was a matter that could bear no explanation, nor admit of the leaſt diſcovery. Henry was vain and weak enough to be caught in the ſnare; and the connections which the prince of Spain had entered into with the court of France, gave ſome colour to Maximilian's reſentment.

Wolſey having thus with ſome ſolidity, but with much greater art, laid the foundation of his vaſt deſign, proceeded to carry it into execution; but foreſeeing innumerable difficulties attending it, he was too wiſe to take the whole burden upon himſelf. He affected great diffidence of his own abilities, and pretended to act with the utmoſt impartiality. He firſt took care to convince Henry of the neceſſity of what he propoſed, and then ventured to have it canvaſſed by his enemies. He was ſure of carrying his point, as well as of being oppoſed in the council; but as he ſhould himſelf be only one of the majority, he ſhould be in no danger of being hereafter charged with being the ſole author. Wolſey foreſaw another effect from this artful conduct; he well knew that the oppoſing this meaſure would ruin the credit of his antagoniſts with Henry. He was not miſtaken. Henry ſummoned the duke of Norfolk, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſeveral others, who were Wolſey's enemies, to attend the privy-council. Wolſey opened the ſubject of their deliberations in a very nervous ſpeech, in which he clearly gave his opinion, that a breach with France was abſolutely neceſſary. He expoſed the practices of Francis with de la Pole, and with the duke of Albany, who by the intereſt of France had wreſted the government of Scotland from the hands of a princeſs deſcended from the royal family of England: and concluded with obſerving, that if there were no incidental reaſon, the very progreſs of the French arms ought to alarm the minds of all true lovers of their country. The counſellors who oppoſed the cardinal, endeavoured to ſhew, that the provocations Henry had received were not ſufficient to juſtify a breach with France: they obſerved that there was no evidence before them of the reality of any meaſures entered into by France againſt England; and therefore it was unjuſt to blame Francis for giving ſhelter to de la Pole, an unfortunate nobleman, and for taking advantage of the two factions which had divided Scotland.

Theſe reaſons, however, had very little effect either upon the king or his miniſter; though Henry preſerved great appearance of moderation. He declared himſelf indeed of the miniſter's opinion, but added, that he did not intend to engage as a principal in ſo expenſive a war; he meant nothing more than to ſupport the Sforza family againſt the power of France.

This reſolution being taken, Richard Pace, formerly ſecretary to cardinal Bembridge, and now ſecretary of ſtate, was diſpatched to the court of Maximilian, who was ready to embrace every propoſal for a new enterprize, eſpecially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was extremely neceſſitous. Pace had alſo a commiſſion to propoſe ſome conſiderable payments to Maximilian. He thence made a journey into Switzerland, and by ſimilar motives, engaged ſome of the Cantons to furniſh the emperor with a body of troops.

Aſſiſted by theſe hardy mountaineers, the emperor entered Italy at the head of a powerful army, but being repulſed before Milan, he retreated into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, delivered Verona to that republic for a ſum of money, and thus excluded himſelf, in ſome meaſure, from all future acceſs into Italy. Henry therefore ſoon found, that, after expending five or ſix hundred thouſand ducats, in order to gratify Wolſey's reſentment, he had only looſened his alliance with Francis, with diminiſhing the power of that prince.

We have already mentioned that Lewis was accuſed of having aſſiſted the duke of Albany in depriving Margaret, queen of Scotland, of the regency. James, when he fell at the battle of Floudon, left only one ſon not two years of age, and by his will declared Margaret regent of the kingdom, during the minority of her ſon; but limited her authority to the condition of remaining unmarried. A powerful party was, however, ſoon formed in oppoſition to the queen's government, at the head of which was the lord Hume, one of the moſt powerful chieftians in the kingdom. Having himſelf no pretenſions to the regency, he entered into a correſpondence with the duke of Albany, ſon to that aſpiring duke of Albany, brother to James the third, then reſiding in France, where he was greatly eſteemed by Francis. It was not long before the queen's party diſcovered

this correſpondence, which greatly alarmed them; for the duke being the next in ſucceſſion to the crown, his pretenſions were very formidable, eſpecially as the Scots were poſſeſſed with a notion, that their country had never been governed by a woman. The queen, knowing that aſſiſtance from England would rather increaſe than leſſen her difficulties, ſought ſupport from a very different quarter; ſhe deſcended from being the wife of a king to be that of a nobleman. Douglas, earl of Angus, one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen in the kingdom, was the perſon ſhe reſolved to honour with her hand. As ſoon as this marriage was known, ſome of the nobility propoſed that the earl of Angus ſhould be choſen regent, as the only means of preſerving peace with England, and preventing the horrid effects of a civil war in Scotland: but the jealouſy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the ambitious family of Douglas prevailed, and a meſſage was ſent to the duke of Albany, inviting him into Scotland, in order to take upon himſelf the regency of that kingdom. Albany, though the firſt prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ingorant of their ſituation, and unpractiſed in their language; yet ſuch was the favour attending the French alliance, and ſo great the authority of the leaders in the oppoſition, that a meſſage was immediately diſpatched to that prince at the court of France. Francis, however, thought proper, in order, if poſſible, to avoid a breach with England, and to detain Albany ſome time in France; but, ſenſible how important it was to keep Scotland in his intereſt, he at laſt permitted him to repair to that kingdom, and take poſſeſſion of the regency.

A. D. 1516. The beginning of this year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of the famous king Ferdinand, who left behind him the character of a conſummate politician and a fortunate prince; if good fortune can be ſaid to attend a monarch who acquired power at the expence of perfidy, enjoyed it with diſquiet, and exerciſed it with hypocriſy. By his death Charles, his grandſon, ſucceeded to all his extenſive dominions. That young prince, who had not yet reached his ſixteenth year, was already a great ſtateſman from the excellent education he had received, and from the mature and ſolid judgment conferred upon him by nature. He was very ſenſible how neceſſary it was for him to preſerve peace with foreigners till he ſhould have eſtabliſhed his authority in his new dominions; and finding Francis deſirous to take advantage of his unſettled ſituation, he offered him ſuch terms as gained him the friendſhip and alliance of that monarch. He engaged to marry the daughter of Francis, though only one year old; to receive as her dowry all her father's pretenſions to the crown of Naples; to pay him a hundred thouſand crowns a year till the conſummation of the marriage, and to give the king of Navarre ſatisfaction with regard to his dominions. This treaty was concluded at Nyon, and eſtabliſhed a ſhort peace between the two monarchs. England alſo enjoyed the greateſt bleſſings that can be wiſhed by a trading nation, an uninterruped tranquillity both at home and abroad.

The cardinal's poſt, as lord high chancellor, placed him at the fountain of juſtice, which never flowed in purer ſtreams than under his adminiſtration. When virtue and vice are indifferent to the worſt of men, there is an irriſiſtible charm in the former, that renders it much preferrable to the latter. This was the caſe with Wolſey. Henry's heart was as yet good; it had indeed been touched but not tainted by adulation. He had a regard for virtues he could not practiſe, and his own pride was concerned in the proſperity of his people. The texture of civil practice was not yet free from the chicanery of law, which ſtill impeded its meaſures; but Wolſey ſoon removed this impediment. Perjury, that comprehenſive and deteſted evil, which can, by one breath, blaſt the good name, take away the life, and deſtroy the fortunes of the beſt and greateſt ſubjects, was too common; but never met either with countenance or pardon from the cardinal, who generally ſat in perſon in the court of chancery. He was the conſtant protector of the poor againſt the rich, and even formed a ſcheme, which was for ſome time practiſed, though afterwards abuſed, of erecting courts of conſcience for their relief, and the more eaſy diſpatch of their buſineſs. Wolſey had therefore the honour of completing that plan which the Engliſh government had ſo long deſired, the protection of the mercantile and induſtrious ſubject, againſt his oppreſſive ſuperior. Several tracts for this purpoſe had, indeed been paſſed in parliament, but the laws had been defeated in Weſtminſter hall, by the arts of the lawyers, and the relief of the poor as tedious and precarious as ever. But Wolſey had greater reaſon than any preceeding miniſter for putting this ſcheme in practice. The Engliſh had by this time made a conſiderable ſettlement in Newfoundland, by means of Sebaſtian Cabot. This ſettlement raiſed the mercantile power much higher than it had ever been known before: an univerſal ſpirit of trade, commerce, induſtry, and manufactures poſſeſſed the people. They were daily gaining ground in property againſt the nobility. The vaſt increaſe of the cuſtoms, had there been no other reaſons of ſtate, made it the intereſt of the government to encourage and protect this ſpirit; and which Wolſey did to his immortal honour.

But this was not the whole merit of cardinal Wolſey. He may with juſtice be ſtiled the father of revived learning in England. He ſaw the fame which Leo the tenth had acquired by reſtoring the Auguſtan age in Italy. Wolſey had a ſoul ſuſceptible of the glory ariſing from a patronage that gives a ſurer title to immortality than all the acquiſitions of power. The learning of the Engliſh at this time was uſeleſs, and their taſte vitiated to the higeſt degree. Wolſey was no ſtranger to this, and had the virtue to attempt the improvement of the one, and the correction of the other. He had himſelf as much learning as was ſufficient for a gentleman and a ſtateſman. He employed no miniſters but ſuch as were ſcholars; and under his adminiſtration the dignities of the law, of the church, and of the ſtate, were filled with perſons, who had only merit to recommend them. His houſe, like Cicero's Tuſaulanum, was a retreat to all men of letters without diſtinction. They were welcome to his purſe, his library and his table. The ſtudy of the liberal arts when decayed and degenerated, was by him retrieved and renewed. Learning, while ſtruggling with the patrons of ignorance, was encouraged by his countenance, protected by his authority, embelliſhed

beliſhed by his ſplendor, and cheriſhed by his munificence. Whenever he heard of a learned foreigner, he ſettled on him a handſome ſalary ſuitable to his merit, and invited him to England. He employed agents in all countires, for collecting a library, which might equal even that of Ptolomy Philadelphus: he recalled the learned languages, the Hebrew and the Greek, and the Latin, without which, as he himſelf obſerved, learning itſelf was but lame.

No mechanic ever laboured more aſſiduouſly at his profeſſion, than the cardinal did to furniſh England with the luminaries of learning.

A. D. 1518. Pope Leo X. had acquired the eſteem and friendſhip of all the princes of Europe, and was deſirous of improving this favourable circumſtance to the advantage of the holy ſee. The progreſs of the Turks afforded a plauſible pretence for laying all Chriſtendom under contribution. Accordingly all Europe was filled with bulls and indulgences. The dominicans, as being moſt in favour with the common people, were made the brokers of this ſcandalous commerce. Each friar was intruſted with a ſet of indulgences of all prices, of all denominations, in all caſes and for all ſins. There was no ſtain ſo deep which thoſe indulgences could not waſh away; no crime ſo foul which they could not pardon: they could releaſe ſouls out of purgatory, and all perſons were at liberty to purchaſe from heaven a leaſe of ſinning. But Leo, had, in ſome meaſure already defeated his own intentions. The great encouragement he had given to learning, had awakened curioſity in thoſe whoſe profeſſion required them to be acquainted with letters, and the flagrant practices of his agents had exaſperated many of the common people. But the high reputation of the court of Rome with the chief princes of Europe, muſt have rendered it very difficult, if not impracticable to have ſtopped the evil, which ſpread like a conflagration, had it not been oppoſed by a ſpirit as reſolute as its own.

Martin Luther, who, was a perſon of this kind, was an Auguſtine-friar and a profeſſor in the univerſity of Wertemburg, began to preach againſt theſe abuſes in the ſale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery diſpoſition, and provoked by oppoſition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themſelves. Nor did he ſtop there; he was carried by the heat of diſpute to queſtion the authority of the pope, from which his adverſaries derived their chief arguments againſt him. As he enlarged his reading, in order to ſupport theſe tenets, he daily diſcovered ſome new abuſe or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions received with applauſe, he promulgated them by writing, diſcourſes, ſermons, conferences; and daily encreaſed the number of his followers. All Saxony, Germany, and Europe, were ſoon filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, rouzed from that lethargy in which they had ſo long ſlept, began to call in queſtion the moſt ancient, and moſt received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal juriſdiction. The republic of Zurich, even reformed their church according to this new model. Many ſovereigns of the empire, and even the imperial diet itſelf, entertained very favourable diſpoſitions for the reformation. While Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promiſes of advancement, or terrors of ſeverity, to relinquiſh a ſect of which he was himſelf the founder, and which brought him a glory ſuperior to all others the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

The Engliſh was ſoon acquainted with theſe religious innovations, and the ſeeds of the reformation which had been ſown by Wickliff ſtill vegitated in the minds of many of the people, though almoſt choaked by the weeds of ceremony, ſuperſtition, and a blind devotion to the authority of the papal chair. The people had confuſed notions of what was right, and were diſpoſed to embrace it; but were deſtitute of the neceſſary aſſiſtance, till the art of printing, by diſſeminating the principles of knowledge, almoſt at the ſame time with the attempts to reform the errors of the Roman church, began to diſpel the weight of ignorance and error.

Alarmed at the effects which this controverſy might produce in foreign countries, eſpecially in England, Leo reſolved to ſend immediately, Campeius as his legate to Henry, in order to keep that court ſteady to his intereſt, and facilitate the collection of the vaſt ſums he expected from the publication of his indulgences. In the mean time Wolſey himſelf had greatly contributed to ſpread the doctrines of the reformation in England, by the great encouragement he had given to learning. He had lately made a viſit to Oxford, and founded the profeſſorſhips of theology, civil law, phyſic, philoſophy, mathematics, the Greek language, rhetoric and humanity. This munificence drew very high encomiums upon Henry and his government, from the beſt writers in Europe; and had that prince followed to the end of his reign thoſe maxims which were laid down by the cardinal, he had eſcaped both the guilt and ignominy, into which he afterwards fell.

The cardinal received Campeius with great politeneſs, and treated him in the moſt generous manner. He furniſhed him with equipages, preſented him with money, introduced him to the king, and promiſed him his intereſt for the ſee of Saliſbury, as ſoon as it ſhould become vacant. But, at the ſame time he took care that the legate ſhould not exerciſe his authority in England; and Leo, knowing the great power and influence of Wolſey, thought it prudent to recal Campeius to Rome.

A. D. 1519. While the oppoſition of Luther filled Germany with diſputes and diſſenſions, Maximilian paid the debt of nature. This event, by leaving vacant the firſt ſtation among the Chriſtian princes, ſet the ſpirits of all men into agitation, and proved a kind æra in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The kings of France, Spain, and England, immediately declared themſelves competitors for this exalted ſtation; but Henry's ambaſſador found on his arrival, that he came too late, the votes of all the electors being already pre-engaged. And after a ſhort conteſt Charles was elected emperor, to the great diſappointment of the French monarch, who continued to the laſt to believe that the majority in the electoral college were engaged in his favour. He could not therefore ſuppreſs his indignation, at being thus, in the face of the whole world, ſtripped of ſo important a pretenſion; and from this competition, as much as from an oppoſition of intereſt, aroſe that emulation between thoſe two great monarchs, which, while it

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kept the whole age in agitation ſets them in ſo remarkable a contraſt to each other. They were both endowed with great talents and abilities; brave, aſpiring, active, induſtrious; beloved by their ſervants and ſubjects, dreaded by their enemies, and reſpected by all the world. Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carried thoſe virtues to an exceſs which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, cloſe, artful, frugal; better calculated to obtain ſucceſs either in war or negotiation. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch. Nor did this counterpoiſe ſubſiſt only between the perſonal qualities of theſe princes, it extended alſo to the advantages and diſadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up on a ſudden ſo great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the ſucceſſion of Caſtile, of Arragon, of Auſtria, and of Burgundy: he inherited the conqueſts of Naples and of Granada: election entitled him to the empire: even the bounds of the globe ſeemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might poſſeſs the whole treaſure of the new world. But though all theſe advantages concurred to form an empire greater and more extenſive than any known in Europe ſince that of the Romans, yet the kingdom of France alone, being cloſe, compact, united, rich and populous, interpoſed between all the provinces of Charles's dominions, was able to make a vigorous oppoſition againſt all the efforts of Charles, and prevent him from enlarging his dominions.

A. D. 1520. Francis now perceived that the friendſhip of Henry would be of more advantage to him than ever, and perſuaded that he could, by familiar converſation gain the confidence of that monarch, he ſolicited an interview near Calais. This interview was ſtrongly oppoſed in the Engliſh council; but the cardinal, who was deſirous that this ceremony ſhould take place, carried his point, and undertook to adjuſt all the preliminaries of this important interview. Henry himſelf loved pomp and magnificence, and had long entertained a curioſity of being perſonally acquainted with the monarch of France. Wolſey was deſirous of gratifying his maſter in both particulars, eſpecially as it would give him an opportunity of diſplaying his riches, his ſplendor, and munificence before both princes and their courts. The nobility of both nations ſtrove to excel each other in pomp and expence, and many of them carried this ridiculous notion to ſuch a height, that they ruined their fortunes, and found by dear bought experience, that a life of penury, was hardly ſufficient to repair the expences ſquandered on the vain ſplendor of a few days.

But while preparations were making for this pompous ceremony, the Engliſh monarch received advice, that the emperor was landed at Dover. Aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected a viſit, he haſtened immediately thither with his queen, in order to give his royal gueſt a ſuitable reception. That politic prince hearing of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehenſive of the conſequences, and reſolved to make the Engliſh monarch a ſtill higher compliment, by paying him a viſit in his own dominions.

Charles well knew, that it would be imprudent to attempt to gain the friendſhip of Henry, without previouſly gaining over the cardinal to his intereſt. Accordingly he ſtrove by every teſtimony of friendſhip, by flatteries, proteſtations, promiſes and preſents, to render himſelf agreeable to the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of Wolſey. He inſtilled into this aſpiring prelate, the hopes of obtaining the papal chair; and as that was the ſole point of elevation beyond his preſent greatneſs, it was ſure to attract his wiſhes with the ſame ardor, as if fortune had as yet, never favoured him with any of her preſents. Stimulated by the hopes of reaching this dignity by the emperor's aſſiſtance, he ſecretly devoted himſelf to the intereſt of that monarch. By this artful contrivance he gained the friendſhip of Henry, and left England with the pleaſing hopes of having acquired a powerful friend and ally.

Immediately after the emperor's departure, Henry embarked for Calais, where he landed on the thirty-firſt of May. It is hardly poſſible to form an idea of a more magnificent ceremony than this interview between the two kings. The place appointed for this pompous meeting, was in the valley of Ardan, between the two towns of Guiſnes and Ardres. The cardinal had brought over the ribs of a houſe ready framed from England; the outſide was covered with painted cloth, repreſenting a ſtructure of hewn ſtone, and its inſide richly hung with tapeſtry, and another apartment of the ſame kind was erected by the king of France.

The firſt interview was held on the ſeventh of June, when on a field piece being fired as a ſignal, Henry left Guiſnes, and Francis advanced from Ardres in order to meet in the intermediate valley, which lay within Henry's territories. But as the Engliſh were marching to the place appointed for the ceremony, the lord Abergavenny ſuddenly ſtopped the cavalcade, having learned that the number of the French exceeded the regulation, and were double to that of the Engliſh. This creating ſome confuſion, the earl of Shrewſbury requeſted that the company might continue their march; "for, ſaid he, it is a ſign that the French "are afraid of us, and not we of them." The march was accordingly continued, and the two kings, when they came into the plain, advanced a ſmall diſtance before their retinues, Henry being attended by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and cardinal Wolſey; and Francis by three of his chief officers of ſtate. Their firſt meeting paſſed only in compliments. The two monarchs alighted from their horſes, and converſed together for ſome time under a magnificent tent covered with cloth of gold, pitched for that purpoſe.

The cardinal, who regulated all the interviews between the two kings, had been extremely punctual in the number of guards each prince was to be attended with; he had even preſcribed their manner of walking, and the number of ſteps each was to advance. This was doubtleſs intended to prevent any private converſation between the two monarchs. Francis conſidered it in that light, and determined, if poſſible, to gain the confidence of Henry by a very dangerous experiment. He had obſerved in the Engliſh monarch a certain frankneſs of diſpoſition, blended with a kind of deſire to ſhake off the tedious forms of formality. He determined to improve this diſcovery; accordingly he took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly to Guiſnes, where he found the commanding

manding officer, with two hundred archers, placed upon the bridge. The Engliſh were ſurprized at ſeeing the French monarch, who called out to them, "You are all my priſoners, carry me immediately to your maſter?" Henry was equally aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis, and taking him in his arms, "My brother, ſaid he, you have played me the moſt agreeable trick in the world, and ſhewed me the entire confidence I may place in you; I ſurrender myſelf your priſoner from this moment." Then taking from his neck a collar of pearls of great value, put them about Francis's neck, and begged him to wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis very readily agreed, on condition that Henry ſhould wear a bracelet, of which he made him a preſent, and which was double the value of the collar. Henry went the next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants, and a proper confidence being thus eſtabliſhed between the two monarchs, the reſt of the time was ſpent in feſtivals and tournaments.

When Henry returned to Calais he paid a viſit to the emperor at Gravelines, and engaged both that prince, and Margaret of Savoy to accompany him to Calais, and ſpend a few days in that fortreſs. This interview gave Francis great uneaſineſs; but he ſtill hoped his affairs were in a very proſperous condition. He was, however, ignorant of the art his rival had uſed to fix Henry in his intereſt. He had renewed his promiſe to the cardinal of aſſiſting him in obtaining the papacy, and put him in poſſeſſion of the revenues belonging to the ſees of Badajox and Palencia, in Caſtile.

By theſe and other acquiſitions of Wolſey, his revenues were nearly equal to thoſe belonging to the crown itſelf; and he ſpent them with a magnificence, or rather an oſtentation, which gave offence to the people, and greatly leſſened the intereſt of his maſter, among foreign princes.

A. D. 1521. It was unnatural to expect that the emperor and king of France could long continue in friendſhip with each other. Inflamed by perſonal emulation, and political jealouſy, Francis ſent an army into Navarre, under the command of de Foix, in order to replace the family of d'Albert in poſſeſſion of that kingdom. Had de Foix confined himſelf to this equitable deſign, the enterprize could not have been complained of as a breach of the treaty of Nyon; but after ſubduing Navarre, he ventured, with the approbation of Francis, to lay ſiege to Logrogno, in Caſtile, in order to favour an inſurrection of the Spaniards, who had united themſelves againſt the government. He was, however, miſtaken, inſtead of being joined, as he expected, by the malecontents, they united againſt the invaders of their country, obliged the French to raiſe the ſiege, purſued the advantage, and entirely expelled him out of Navarre, which has ever ſince continued united to the crown of Spain.

But beſides this attempt to recover Navarre, there were three other capital points diſputed between theſe two rival powers. Charles accuſed Francis of holding the Milaneſe without receiving the inveſtiture from the emperor, it being an imperial fief: he alſo accuſed him of holding the dutchy of Burgundy, though it belonged to Charles's family. He added, that the treaty of Nyon was not binding upon him, becauſe it was the effect of compulſion.

Such a complication of intereſts, demanded all the attention of Henry and his miniſters. All the neutral ſtates in Europe, as well as the two rival princes, courted the friendſhip of Henry. Wolſey, who was conſidered as the ſpring that gave motion to all the meaſures of the Engliſh court, was complimented from every quarter. In this critical ſituation of affairs, it required all Wolſey's abilities to preſerve his own influence, and direct the affairs on the continent in ſuch a manner, that England might ſtill hold the balance of power.

But this could not be effected without eſtabliſhing his power at home on ſo permanent a baſis, and to render all the attempts of his enemies to ſhake it, abortive. His chief opponent was Stafford duke of Buckingham, conſtable of England, one of the greateſt ſubjects, both with regard to birth and poſſeſſions, of any in the kingdom. This nobleman had long beheld the cardinal's power with indignation, and was even imprudent enough to declare it publickly. For ſome time they had lived in open animoſity with each other; but no plauſible opportunity offered for attacking him. At laſt his own imprudence furniſhed the cardinal with a better pretence for terminating their animoſities than he ever hoped for. Buckingham was infatuated with judicial aſtrology, and carried on a correſpondence with one Hopkins, a Carthuſian monk in the priory of Henton, who encouraged him in the ſtrong notion he had imbibed, of one day mounting the throne of England. He was deſcended from one of the daughters of the duke of Glouceſter, youngeſt ſon to Edward the third; and though his claim to the crown was ſo very remote, he had imprudently declared, that he thought himſelf beſt entitled to the crown, in caſe the king ſhould die without iſſue. Nor had he even abſtained from threats againſt the king's life. He had even provided himſelf with arms, which he intended to employ whenever a favourable opportunity offered.

The cardinal had no ſooner procured ſufficient evidence to prove the above facts againſt the duke of Buckingham, than he determined to arreſt him, well knowing that the king's own jealouſy againſt all pretenders to the crown, notwithſtanding his own undoubted title, was very remarkable. Accordingly the duke was ſeized and committed to the tower. A bill of indictment for high treaſon being found againſt him, he was tried at Weſtminſter-hall before the duke of Norfolk, created high ſteward for that purpoſe. The facts were fully proved againſt him, he was found guilty by his peers, and remanded back to the tower, where he behaved with great reſignation. But as his crimes ſeemed to proceed more from indiſcretion than deliberate malice, the people expected the king would grant him a pardon. But they were miſtaken: he was beheaded on tower-hill, and the cardinal was conſidered as the ſole obſtacle to the royal mercy.

In the mean time a diſpute aroſe between Francis and Charles. Robert de la Mark, duke of Bouillon, having been diſguſted with the government of the Low Countries, ſecretly applied to Francis, who engaged to protect and ſupport him. Elated

by this assurance he raised an army and invaded those provinces. The emperor finding his estates in the Low Countries attacked, demanded from Henry the succours stipulated by treaty. This demand was expected by the cardinal, and Henry immediately dispatched a message to Francis, requiring him to withdraw all assistance from la Mark. Accordingly orders were sent to the duke of Bouillon, ordering him to desist from hostilities in the Low Countries: at the same time he offered to submit all his differences to Henry's arbitration. This mediation was accepted, and it was agreed that he should, in the autumn, pass over to Calais, where he was to act as Henry's minister plenipotentiary.

But this was far from restoring tranquillity to Europe. For Charles, under pretence of punishing the insolence of la Mark, sent the count of Nassau, at the head of a powerful army to drive him out of the Low Countries. While Charles appealed to the king of England and the pope against the infidelity and ambition of Francis. In the mean time the Pontiff, fearing he might be abandoned by all parties, resolved to make sure of the emperor. Accordingly he immediately granted him the investiture of the kingdoms of Naples, and a refuge in the ecclesiastical dominions to certain Milanese noblemen who had never submitted to France. A treaty was also concluded between them, by which it was agreed, that they should unite their forces in order to drive the French out of the Milanese, and to restore the Sforza family to that dutchy: and that Parma and Placentia, then in possession of France, should be reunited to the ecclesiastical state. This reconciliation with the pope strengthened the hands of the emperor, who therefore treated with contempt all the advances made by Francis for a suspension of arms; and the war in the Low Countries continued with more fury than ever, but the advantage generally fell to the share of France.

During these civil transactions the religious disputes were carried on in Germany, with an acrimony unknown before. Henry, who had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, was particularly prejudiced against Luther for his having treated Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author, with great contempt. Nor did he think it sufficient to express his abhorence of Luther's tenets in private, and employing his extensive influence to silence that bold reformer; he even undertook to confute him by reason and argument, weapons rarely used by princes in the flower of their age, when the passions are strong and not easily controuled. He wrote a book in latin against the principles and tenets; a performance, which, considering the ignorance of the times in which it was wrote, and the superstitious reverence paid to the papal chair, does no discredit to his genius or capacity. The king immediately transmitted a copy of his performance to pope Leo, who received so magnificent a present with the highest testimonies of regard, and conferred upon him the title of "Defender of the faith;" an appellation still retained by the kings of England. But the splendor of majesty had no effect on Luther: he soon wrote an answer to Henry, and treated him with all the acrimony of style he had so long been accustomed to in his polimical writings. This uncourtly usage, prejudiced the king still more against the new doctrines. But the people, who always judge for themselves in affairs relative to religion, adjudged the victory to Luther, whose tenets were every day embraced by new converts.

Elated with this success on one hand, and by persecution on the other, many of Luther's followers carried to the utmost extremity, their opposition to the Romish church; and in contradistinction to the multiplied superstitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward visions, rapture, and extacy. Seized with this spirit the new sectaries were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas, thundered out against them by the Roman pontiff. Nor did they regard the punishments and tortures which were often inflicted upon them. They triumphed in their sufferings, and by their constancy in supporting whatever the rage and malice of their enemies could invent, increased the number of their followers.

In the midst of these disputes, and soon after he received Henry's book against Luther, Leo the tenth, paid the debt of nature, on the first of December, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the ninth of his pontificate. The memory of his great abilities in government, and his vast encouragement of learning, claims from the historian a tribute, not perhaps due to his other virtues as a man, or to his piety as a prelate. He was created a cardinal when only twelve years of age, and at that very time began to form the plan which he afterwards so artfully, and at last so successfully pursued. When but a youth, he raised, protected, and established his family; he balanced the different parties, and placed the interests of the greatest princes of that time so artfully against each other, that he was sure of gaining, whoever lost the victory. He might be justly styled the father of revived and restored learning. Even his failings were productive of public benefits; for he seems to have entertained a contempt for the understanding of other nations, and this contempt induced him to extend the doctrine, and other ecclesiastical impositions to so great a length, that it produced the reformation.

Leo was succeeded in the papal chair by cardinal Adrian, bishop of Tortosa, a Fleming, who had been the emperor's tutor. He was remarkable for integrity, candour, and simplicity of manners; but by his imprudent exercise of these virtues, he injured the cause of the church. He frankly confessed, that many abominable and detestible practices prevailed in the court of Rome, and by this sincere avowal he greatly increased the triumph of the Lutherians. Soon after his election he joined in the league formed against France, by Charles and Henry.

A. D. 1522. This election was extremely disagreeable to Francis, and induced him to hasten the approaching rupture between him and the confederates. His first act of hostility was the seizing all the English ships in the ports of France. This action produced reprisals on the part of Henry; and soon after a declaration of war was published in form. Henry's first care was to secure the domini-

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on of the ſea. The earl of Surry was made high admiral of England, and a ſtrong fleet ordered to be fitted out againſt the enemy.

But Charles, who was conſcious that Wolſey was greatly diſappointed in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and dreading the reſentment of that haughty miniſter, was very ſollicitous to repair the breach, which this incident had made in their friendſhip. He therefore determined to pay a new viſit to England. As ſoon as the intention of the emperor was known, Wolſey ſet out to meet him at Dover with a very ſplendid retinue. He was attended by three earls, five biſhops, ſeven abbots, three lords, fifteen knights, and all the gentlemen of the counties of Surry, Suſſex, and Kent, beſides a prodigious number of yeomen. Two days after Henry himſelf ſet out at the head of another magnificent retinue, and on the twenty-ſixth of May the emperor landed at Dover, whence he was conducted to the Engliſh court at Greenwich. Beſides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he repeated to Wolſey all the promiſes he had made him of ſeconding his pretenſions to the papal chair. Senſible that Adrian's great age and infirmities, promiſed a ſudden vacancy, Wolſey diſſembled his reſentment, and was willing to hope for a more proſperous event at the next election. The emperor renewed his treaty lately made with Henry, to which ſome articles were added, and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolſey for the revenues they might loſe by a breach with France. And the more to ingratiate himſelf with Henry and the Engliſh nation, he gave to Surry, admiral of England, a commiſſion for being admiral of his dominions, and he himſelf was inſtalled knight of the garter at Windſor. After a ſtay of ſix weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he ſoon pacified the tumults that had, during his abſence, been raiſed in his dominions.

Soon after the emperor's departure the earl of Surry ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron, having on board a body of marines. With theſe he alarmed the coaſt of Normandy; he burnt and plundered Morlaix, and deſtroyed about ſeventeen ſhips. At his return he left the command of the fleet to the vice-admiral, and ſailed to Calais, where he took the command of the army deſtined for the invaſion of France, and joining the imperial army under the command of de Beure, they took the towns of Heſtlin and Durlans. They afterwards plundered the open country, but their men proving ſickly, as the ſeaſon of the year advanced, the two armies ſeparated, and went into winter quarters.

But the allies were more ſucceſsful in Italy, where the new pope was entirely in the intereſt of Spain. Francis had ſent ſupplies to the Milaneſe, and the dukes of Urbino had, during the late vacancy in the papal chair, retaken ſeveral places from the holy ſee. Lautrec, who commanded the French in Italy, found himſelf greatly embarraſſed by the ſtubborn, or rather whimſical diſpoſition of the Swiſs mercenaries, who could never be brought to fight but upon their own terms. He had indeed forced Navarre, but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Pavia. Soon after the Swiſs mutinied for want of pay, which obliged Lautrec to attack the Imperialiſts at Bicoque, where he was repulſed with great loſs. In two or three days the Swiſs actually left the French, and Lautrec was obliged to retire into the territories of Venice. But the Venetians, who had hitherto been the friends and confederates of France, afraid of the reſentment of the allies, began to treat with the emperor, and requeſted Lautrec to withdraw his troops from their territories. The French general, finding it impoſſible to defend the few places he poſſeſſed in Italy, repaired in perſon to the court of France, where it was diſcovered, to the aſtoniſhment of Francis and himſelf, that the money deſtined for the payment of the Swiſs in Italy, had, by the avarice of the king's mother, been applied to the private uſes of that princeſs.

After this Cremona fell into the hands of the Imperialiſts, and Genoa was taken by ſurprize; but the emperor was not able to relieve Fontarabia, though the French troops were defeated with loſs.

In the mean time meaſures were taken by the duke of Albany, Scottiſh regent, for making war againſt England. He ſummoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Roſline, whence, after reviewing his troops, he led them to Annandale, intending to paſs the borders at Solway Frith. But he ſoon found that it would be no eaſy taſk to prevail on his forces to enter the Engliſh territories. The moſt powerful among the nobility were diſguſted with the regent's adminiſtration, and loudly complained that his intention was to ſacrifice them to ſupport the intereſt of a foreign power. They obſerved that the whole power of the northern parts of England was collected to oppoſe them under lord Dacres, warden of the weſt marches. Albany, fearing a general refuſal of marching any farther, concluded a truce with Dacres, and retired to France, leaving the earl of Angus, huſband of the queen, regent during his abſence.

A. D. 1523. Henry, unwilling to loſe the advantage of Albany's abſence, determined to attack the Scots early in the ſpring, before they could receive the ſupplies from France. The earl of Surry one of the moſt ſucceſsful officers in England was appointed general of the army deſtined for this expedition; and Sir William Fitz Williams had orders to block up, in the harbour of Finhead, the ſquadron fitted out for carrying the duke of Albany to Scotland. The fleet of Fitz Williams conſiſted of thirty-ſix large ſhips with which he continually alarmed that coaſt. Sir Andrew Poyntz was cruizing with another ſquadron in the weſtern ſeas, while thoſe of the north were guarded by ſmaller ſquadrons under Sir Chriſtopher Dow and Sir Henry Shireburn. Theſe wiſe precautions in guarding the ſeas rendered abortive the deſigns of the French, who intended to have furniſhed Albany with a fleet and an army for invading England, in order to prevent Henry from joining the allies on the continent. The French had for ſome time been employed in ſending tranſports with ſloops to Scotland; one of theſe veſſels carrying three hundred land forces, was taken by Sir Henry Shireburn after a ſmart engagement; but the admiral loſt his life in the conteſt.

In the mean time the principal ſquadron under Sir William Fitz-Williams was very ſucceſsful in cruizing againſt the enemy. For the duke of Albany not chuſing to venture his whole force at one time, had diſpatched twelve ſhips, having on board the archbiſhop of Glaſgow and ſeveral of his principal

cipal officers; when Sir William falling in with the ſquadron, drove them into Dieppe and Bulloigne, after taking two of their capital ſhips. This ſucceſs induced the admiral to make a deſcent at Treport, where he burnt twelve ſhips of war, and laid the ſuburbs in aſhes; but not being ſtrong enough to take the town, he re-embarked his men, after killing ſix hundred of the enemy, with the loſs of only twelve Engliſhmen. After this exploit he returns to his ſtation off Finhead, where he found the duke of Albany ready to ſail with a fleet equal to that of the Engliſh. But that cautious prince could not be provoked to venture an engagement; and the Engliſh admiral was ſoon obliged by the badneſs of the weather, to return to the Downs. Albany took advantage of his abſence, and ſailing along the weſtern coaſt of England, landed in Scotland with a conſiderable body of troops.

In the mean time the earl of Surry ravaged the Merſe and Tiviotdale with unexampled fury, and burned the town of Jedburgh. Soon after the deſtruction of Jedburgh the duke of Albany ſummoned a parliament at Edinburgh, and laviſhing the greateſt encomiums on the French king, and his friendſhip for Scotland, he propoſed that an army ſufficient to drive the Engliſh into their own country, ſhould be raiſed, and led immediately againſt the enemy. But this was ſtrongly oppoſed by the queen mother and her party; who ſaid, that the intereſts of Scotland had too long been ſacrificed to thoſe of the French nation, who, whenever they found themſelves reduced to difficulties, called for the aſſiſtance of their allies, though they made no ſcruple of abandoning them to the reſentment of the enemy, the firſt opportunity that offered for making an advantageous peace with England; that, whenever a ſmall ſtate entered into a cloſe confederacy with a greater, the former muſt expect ſuch treatment, as a conſequence of the unequal alliance; but the peculiar circumſtances in the ſituation of the two kingdoms, rendered this inevitable: that France was ſo diſtant and ſo divided from them by ſeas, that he could very ſeldom, and never in time ſend the Scots ſuccours ſufficient to protect them againſt the ravages of the neighbouring kingdom: that nature had in a manner, framed an alliance between the two Britiſh nations; having encloſed them in the ſame iſland; given them the ſame manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing neceſſary for an intimate union between them: and that, if national antipathies were aboliſhed, which would ſoon be effected by a peace, theſe two kingdoms, ſecured at once by the ocean and their own domeſtic force, might bid defiance to all the nations of the continent, nor fear any moleſtation from their united force.

But notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the preſence of the regent, and the natural diſpoſition of the Scots, the motion for an accommodation with England was laid aſide, and it was reſolved that the duke of Albany ſhould take the field immediately againſt the enemy at the head of a powerful army. Albany accordingly advanced as far as Mulroſs, on the northern bank of the Tweed; but ſuch oppoſition to the paſſing that river made in the Scots army, that Albany thought proper to retreat. He accordingly marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and encamped oppoſite to Werk-caſtle, which the earl of Surry had lately repaired. He ſent over ſome troops to beſiege that fortreſs, who made a breach in it, and ſtormed one of the outworks: but, the regent, hearing of the approach of the Engliſh army, and diſcouraged by the advanced ſeaſon of the year, thought proper to diſband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh, and ſoon after to France.

But though the attempt of the duke of Albany proved abortive, it anſwered the views of Francis; for it was the twenty fourth of Auguſt before the Engliſh army landed at Calais. It was commanded by the duke of Suffolk. Lord Sands led the vanguard; Sir William Hempton the right wing; Sir Edward Digby the left; and Sir Richard Winfield the rear. The army, when muſtered at Calais, amounted to no more than thirteen thouſand two hundred effective men. About the twentieth of December the duke of Suffolk was joined by the count de Beure the imperial general, when the whole army amounted to twenty-five thouſand infantry, and ſix thouſand horſe; and the league began to appear very formidable to France. The Venetians had been induced to deſert the French alliance, and to form engagements for ſecuring Sforza, in the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, together with all the powers of Italy, combined in the ſame meaſure. The emperor in perſon menaced France with a powerful invaſion on the ſide of Guienne: the forces of England and the Netherlands were on the point of breaking into Picardy; and a numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy But what alarmed the French monarch more than all, was a domeſtic conſpiracy which had for ſome time been formed againſt him.

The dutcheſs of Savoy, mother to Francis, had, without any regard to the difference of years, made propoſals of marriage to Charles duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France. He was a prince of the moſt conſpicuous merit: had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many military enterprizes, and was adorned with every accompliſhment becoming a perſon in his exalted ſtation. It is therefore no wonder that her offers were refuſed: which ſo exaſperated the dutcheſs, blinded by her paſſion, that ſhe formed the moſt inhuman ſchemes for his deſtruction. She had acquired an abſolute aſcendant of her ſon: her capacity was very conſiderable; but at the ſame time ſhe was falſe, deceitful, vindictive, and malicious. Francis, by the inſtigation of his mother, put many affronts upon the conſtable, which was very difficult for a gallant ſpirit to endure; and at laſt permitted the revengeful princeſs to proſecute a law ſuit againſt him, by which, on the moſt frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample poſſeſſions. Provoked at theſe indignities, and perſuaded, that, if injuries could juſtify any perſon for rebelling againſt his prince, he muſt ſtand acquitted. Bourbon had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor and the king of England. Francis got intimation of this connection, but before he could ſecure ſo dangerous an enemy, Bourbon made his eſcape; and entering himſelf in the emperor's ſervice, did all the injuries to his native country which his enterprizing ſpirit, and his great talents for war, enabled him to perform.

Every thing being now ready for beginning the operation, the combined army marched from the neighbourhood of Calais. The cardinal had laid it down as a maxim, that, to do any thing effectually againſt France, it was abſolutely neceſſary for the

the Engliſh army not to amuſe itſelf with ſieges, but to penetrate directly into the heart of France. With this view Sir John Ruſſel, had orders to advance an hundred thouſand crowns to the conſtable of Bourbon, for hiring ten thouſand Auſtrians from Don Ferdinand; and a train of artillery was provided at Henry's expence in the low countries, for the Engliſh army. The Engliſh court, had, at firſt ſome thoughts of beginning the campaign with the ſiege of Bulloigne; but afterwards agreed with the cardinal that it was better to penetrate into France. All that La Trimouille the French governor of Picardy could do, upon the allies taking the field, was to put the frontiers of his government in as good a condition as poſſible: but the confederates without ſtopping to beſiege any place, paſſed by Terrouenne and Montreuille, without attacking either. They then preſented themſelves before Dourlans, and continued their march to Corbie, which they would have taken, had not La Trimouille thrown himſelf into it, with a body of troops drawn from the places they had left behind them. They then turned aſide below Corbie, in order to ſeize a bridge over the Somme at Bray; but Pontdormi, one of the beſt officers in the French ſervice, had entered Bray with about ſixteen hundred men, intending to fall upon the rear of the allies, if they marched forward, or give them ſome diverſion to ſtop their progreſs, if they beſieged the place, and then, after breaking down the bridge, to retire to Corbie. But the allies, ſenſible of his deſign, attacked him with ſo much vigour, that he was driven out of the town, which at the ſame time was ſet on fire. This was executed with ſuch rapidity, that he had no time to break down the bridge ſo effectually as to prevent the Engliſh from following, and cutting in pieces that part of his detachment. Being thus maſters of the Somme, paſſed that river, to the amazement of La Trimouille, and the terror of the whole French monarchy. Francis was then at Lyons, and had detached a large body of troops under the command of the duke of Vendoſme, but not ſufficient to meet the allies in the field, though enough to garriſon Montdedier, and to have ſtopped their progreſs, had the Engliſh attacked it. But Suffolk was now between Montdedier and Corbie; the duke of Vendoſme, therefore thought it prudent to direct his march to Paris in order to prevent the capital from being inſulted. Pontdormi immediately threw a garriſon into Montdedier, by marching through byepaths, and thereby deceiving the vigilance of the allied army. In his return from Montdedier, he fell in with a body of Engliſh horſe, and though his whole corps amounted to no more than one hundred and ſixty men, he put them at firſt into ſome diſorder. But being rallied, the French general's horſe was killed under him, and he was obliged, with about twenty of his followers, to retreat to Amiens, leaving his brother Barnieules, and his nephew Conaelples, priſoners in the hands of the Engliſh. After this Roye ſurrendered, and received a garriſon of four hundred Engliſh, under the command of Sir Richard Cromwell. The allies then brought up their artillery againſt Montdedier, which ſoon capitulated, though defended by a garriſon of twelve hundred men. After taking this place, the allies continued their march till they arrived within eleven leagues of Paris; but the rigour of the ſeaſon, and their want of proviſions, increaſing with their want of pay, and being apprehenſive that their retreat might be ſoon cut off, a council of war was held to deliberate on their further proceedings; where it was judged impracticable to proceed, and diſpoſitions were made for making as honourable a retreat as poſſible. This was accordingly done with great regularity. The garriſons were drawn out of Montdedier and Roye. Bouchain was taken in their retreat, and the whole army marched in good order towards Valenciennes, whence the Engliſh retired to Calais, and the Imperialiſts to Flanders.

The ſame good fortune attended France, with regard to the other invaſions. Ten thouſand Lanſquenets broke into Burgandy under the command of the count of Fuſtenberg, while the count of Guiſe, who defended that frontier, had only a few militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry, to oppoſe them. But he took ſuch prudent precautions, that their attempt was rendered abortive. He threw the militia into the fortified towns, keeping the field with his cavalry, and ſo harraſſed the Germans that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guiſe attacked them as they paſſed the Meuſe, put them into diſorder, and cut off the greateſt part of their rear, ſo that after ſtaying a few months in the country, without taking a ſingle place of note, they retired ingloriouſly, after loſing near one fourth of their army.

During theſe tranſactions the emperor made great preparations on the ſide of Navarre, and though the frontier was well guarded by nature, it ſeemed expoſed to the greateſt danger from this powerful invaſion. Charles began his operations with the ſiege of Fontarabia, which had, a few years before, fallen into the hands of Francis: but he had no ſooner drawn thither, Lautrec the French general, than he ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege, and ſat down before Bayonne. Aware of the ſtratagem, and deſirous of preventing its effects, Lautrec made a ſudden march and threw himſelf into Bayonne, which he defended with ſuch vigour and courage, that the emperor was convinced that the attempt could not be executed; he therefore raiſed the ſiege, returned to Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of his moſt experienced generals, ſat down before that city, which was well fortified, and ſtrongly garriſoned, in the winter ſeaſon. But the place was ſurrendered in a few days through the cowardice of the governor, and the emperor relieved from the fear of a freſh diſappointment, which muſt have tarniſhed the glory of his arms.

Francis was very deſirous of recovering Milan, and for that purpoſe had advanced at the head of a conſiderable army, when the conſtable of Bourbon made his eſcape; but fearing the deſertion of ſo powerful and beloved a perſon might occaſion a rebellion in France, he intruſted the care of the Italian war to admiral Bonnivet, a great favourite with his mother, but very little merit either as a ſoldier or a ſtateſman. He took, however, Novara, and ſome other places of leſs conſequence in Italy, and had he marched directly to Milan, he might, perhaps have recovered it for his maſter; but he trifled ſo long in treating with the inhabitants, that the Imperialiſts had ſufficient time to fortify the place ſo ſtrongly as to put it out of all danger of being taken. The reſt of the campaign was ſpent in ſeveral fruitleſs attempts upon Cre-

mona and Milan, till his army being reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions he was obliged to retire; but the Imperialiſts attacked his rear. The French, however, after a very ſharp action, made good their retreat, though not without conſiderable loſs both in officers and private men. Among the former was the brave chevalier Boyard, eſteemed in that age the model of ſoldiers and men of honour. When this gallant gentleman felt his wounds to be mortal, and could no longer ſupport himſelf, he ordered his attendants to ſet him down under a tree, and turn his face towards the enemy, that he might die in that poſture. His ſervants obeyed, and the brave Boyard there paid the debt of nature in the manner he had requeſted.

During theſe tranſactions in the field, Wolſey received a ſecond diſappointment. Adrian the ſixth died, and Clement the ſeventh, of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolſey was now ſufficiently convinced that the emperor was not ſincere, and concluded that Charles would never ſecond his pretenſions to the papal chair. The cardinal, however, diſſembled his reſentment, and after congratulating the new pope upon his promotion, applied for a continuance of the legantine powers, which had been conferred upon him by the two. Clement, convinced of the importance of gaining his friendſhip, granted him a commiſſion for life, and by this unuſual conceſſion, he in a manner transferred to the cardinal, the whole papal authority in England.

A. D. 1524. Though the French were thus driven out of Italy, neither the pope nor Henry were ſatisfied with the emperor's conduct. His holineſs, like his predeceſſors, ſoon forgot all the private obligations he had to Charles, and entertained a violent jealouſy with regard to the ambition of the emperor. And this jealouſy was greatly augmented, when he refuſed the inveſtiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whoſe title he had acknowledged, and whoſe defence he had undertaken. Indeed all the allies concluded from this incident, that the emperor intended to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that important dutchy, and reduce Italy to ſubjection. Clement in particular proceeded ſo far in oppoſition to Charles, that he ſent orders to his nuncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But Wolſey, who was deſirous of having the ſole honour of bringing about ſo deſirable event, prevailed upon the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Charles and Henry for a freſh invaſion of France.

By this treaty Charles agreed to ſupply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army in order to conquer Province and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thouſand crowns for the firſt month, after which he was at liberty either to continue the ſame monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to poſſeſs theſe provinces with the title of king, but to hold them in fief of Henry as king of France. The dutchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles, and the reſt of the kingdom to Henry.

But Bourbon refuſing to acknowledge Henry as king of France, this chimerical partition was rendered abortive in the moſt eſſential article, though it could have been ſo eaſily performed. His enterprize, however, againſt Provence ſtill took place. A numerous army under his command, and that of the marquis of Piſcara, entered Provence; while the emperor's fleet, commanded by Don Hugh de Moncado, were to ſupply the land army intended to form the ſiege of Marſeilles, with proviſions. The conſtable ſoon made himſelf maſter of Antibes, Frejus, Graſſe, Brignoles, and Aix, while Moncado took Toulon; and on the nineteenth of Auguſt the ſiege of Toulon was formed. A ſtrong reinforcement of troops had been thrown into Marſeilles under Chabot; and the whole adjacent country having been laid waſte, the Imperialiſts, who were but poorly ſupplied with proviſions from their fleet, found the utmoſt difficulty to procure ſubſiſtence. The batteries were, however, opened; but the fire of the beſieged was ſo ſuperior, that they were ſoon ſilenced; and the conſtable obliged to abandon the undertaking, and retire into Italy.

This diſappointment proved fatal to Francis: had he contented himſelf with the glory of repulſing his enemies in every attempt they had hitherto made of breaking into his kingdom, all had been well: but receiving intelligence that the king of England, diſcouraged by his former fruitleſs attempts, and diſguſted with the emperor, had laid aſide his preparations for invading Picardy, his former ardour ſeized him, and he determined to undertake the conqueſt of Milan; and notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon of the year, he was reſolved, contrary to the advice of his wiſeſt conſellors, to lead his army immediately into Italy.

He croſſed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no ſooner appeared in Piedmont, than he threw the whole Milaneſe into conſternation. Francis and the Imperialiſts were now lying at almoſt an equal diſtance from Milan, and nothing but the greateſt infatuation could have diſappointed Francis in the ends he propoſed. The viceroy of Naples was aſtoniſhed at the progreſs of the French; and Milan having been deſolated by the plague, he was obliged to abandon the defence of it, after leaving in the city a ſtrong garriſon under Anthony de Leyva. But Francis here committed an irreparable fault; for thinking to avoid the error committed by admiral Bonnivet the year before in not taking poſſeſſion of Milan, he ſpent his time in marching towards the capital, inſtead of purſuing the Imperialiſts in their retreat, and totally deſtroying their army. By this conduct the viceroy had leiſure to fortify himſelf in Lodi, and other places upon the Adda, and to wait for the reinforcements daily expected from Spain and Germany.

Francis, when too late, ſaw his miſtake, and leaving a detachment to block up the caſtle of Milan, he formed the ſiege of Pavia. The place was very ſtrong, and garriſoned with three hundred men at arms, and five thouſand German foot, under the command of Leyva a very able and experienced officer. Pavia was capable of making an obſtinate defence; the German generals flattered themſelves with being able to attack the French with advantage.

A. D. 1525. Soon after the ſiege of Pavia was formed, the duke of Bourbon joined the viceroy of Naples with ſix thouſand German ſoldiers. But notwithſtanding this great increaſe of the imperial army, Francis madly continued the ſiege till he was attacked in his camp. The Germans began with cannonading

cannonading the French camp, and continued their fire for three days; when they gave a general aſſault, and broke into the entrenchment. Leyva ſallied from the town, and threw the beſiegers into ſtill greater confuſion. The Swiſs infantry, contrary to their uſual practice, behaved in a very daſtardly manner, and deſerted their poſt. The whole French army was put to the rout; and he himſelf ſurrounded by his enemies; where, after fighting with the moſt heroic valour, and killing ſeven men with his own hand, was at laſt obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner. Almoſt the whole army, full of nobility, and brave officers, either periſhed by the ſword, or were drowned in the river. The few that eſcaped with their lives, fell into the hands of the enemy. But the imperial generals had ſo little authority over their own troops, even after this ſignal victory, that the viceroy of Naples, fearful leſt the Lanſquenets ſhould ſeize the perſon of Francis, as ſecurity for the pay due to them, immediately removed him from the camp, and ſent him to Pizzighitone; and taking advantage of the terrors which had ſeized the pope, the Florentines, the duke of Ferrara, and other Italian ſtates, he obliged them, tho' ſecretly his enemies, to advance money for the ſubſiſtence of his army.

Peneloſa carried the news of this important event to the emperor. He paſſed through France by means of a ſafe conduct which he received from the captive king. The moderation which he diſplayed on this occaſion would have done him honour, had it been ſincere. He would not ſuffer any rejoicings to be made at Madrid, but on the contrary expreſſed his ſorrow at the ill fortune of Francis. At the ſame time orders were diſpatched to the frontier garriſons not to commit any acts of hoſtility upon France, and pretended he was ready to make a peace immediately upon reaſonable terms. But theſe expreſſions of generoſity had no foundation; they were dictated by hypocriſy: and his ſole occupation was forming ſchemes, how he might be able, from this remarkable incident, to draw the utmoſt advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition which governed the whole conduct of his life.

The ſame meſſenger who carried this advice to the emperor, was charged with a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent of his kingdom, and who then reſided at Lyons. This letter was written in a very laconic ſtile, it only contained theſe words, "Madam, all is loſt except our ho-"nour." The greatneſs of this calamity ſtruck the princeſs: ſhe ſaw at once the kingdom deſtitute of a ſovereign, deſtitute of an army, generals, and money. And to add to the calamity, ſurrounded by implacable and victorious enemies; nor had ſhe any other reſource in her preſent diſtreſs, than the hopes ſhe entertained of peace, and even of aſſiſtance from the king of England.

Henry himſelf was ſtartled at this calamity, and became immediately ſenſible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the want of a proper counterpoiſe to the great power of Charles. Inſtead therefore of taking advantage of the diſtreſſed condition of France, he was determined to lend that dejected kingdom aſſiſtance in her preſent calamities. At the ſame time the emperor ſupported ſo ill the appearance of moderation he at firſt aſſumed, that he had already changed his uſual ſtile to Henry; and inſtead of writing to him with his own hand, and ſubſcribing himſelf your affectionate ſon and couſin, he dictated his letters to his ſecretary, and ſimply ſubſcribed himſelf Charles. Wolſey alſo perceived a diminution in the careſſes and profeſſions of regard, with which the emperor's letters to him were uſually loaded. Perhaps this laſt imprudence, which proceeded wholly from an intoxication of ſucceſs, was more dangerous to Charles's intereſt than the other.

But though Henry was determined to embrace new meaſures, he was careful to ſave appearances in the change, and accordingly cauſed rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publickly diſmiſſed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithſtanding the war, to reſide at London. Theſe proceedings, however, were of no long continuance; for upon the regent of France making ſubmiſſive applications to him, he opened a correſpondence with her, and beſides aſſuring her of his friendſhip and protection, he exacted a promiſe, that ſhe never would conſent to the diſmembering any province from the monarchy for her ſon's ranſom.

At the ſame time he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprize to the emperor, and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he diſpatched Tonſtal, biſhop of London, to Madrid, with propoſals for a powerful invaſion of France. He required that Charles ſhould immediately enter Guienne at the head of a powerful army, in order to put him in poſſeſſion of that province, demanding, at the ſame time, the payment of large ſums of money, which Charles had borrowed during his laſt viſit at London. Henry well knew that the emperor was in no ſituation of executing either of theſe conditions, and that he had as little inclination to make him maſter of ſuch conſiderable territories on the Spaniſh frontiers.

Nor did Charles want complaints againſt the king of England. He informed Tonſtal, that the conduct of Henry with regard to Bourbon could not be juſtified, for he had neither continued his monthly payments, nor invaded Picardy. The biſhop, at the ſame time informed his maſter, that Charles, inſtead of expreſſing his intention of eſpouſing the princeſs Mary, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be marriageable, he had entered into an agreement for marrying his neice Iſabella, princeſs of Portugal, and had engaged in a ſeparate treaty with Francis, in order to reap alone all the advantages of the victory of Pavia.

Influenced by theſe motives, Henry concluded an alliance with the regent, and undertook to procure the liberty of Francis upon other terms. Another treaty was alſo concluded, whereby the regent acknowledged the kingdom to be indebted to Henry in the ſum of one million eight hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſcharged by half yearly payments, after which Henry was to receive, during his own life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns. Nor was Wolſey forgotten: he received for his good offices, a preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns. This was not, however, declared in the treaty as a gift; it was covered under the pretence of arrears on the penſion granted him for relinquiſhing the biſhopric of Tournay.

Henry well knew that his treaty with the regent of France, would greatly tend to involve him in a war with the emperor, and was therefore determined to keep his coffers full. The parliament had

had ſome time before great reluctance in agreeing to his demands; they therefore liſtened to the advice of Wolſey, and reſolved to have recourſe to his prerogatives for that purpoſe. Accordingly commiſſions were iſſued of the moſt arbitrary nature, and which have left an indelible ſtain upon the cardinal's memory. They contained orders for levying the ſixth part upon every layman's goods, and the fourth of what belonged to the clergy. This rigorous proceeding, after the enormous ſums the people had lately advanced, and the payment of which had been anticipated by the cardinal, had almoſt thrown the nation into the flames of civil contention. The miniſter, not the king, was blamed; and the obſtinacy of the people was ſuch, that Henry was obliged to diſavow the proceedings of the cardinal, and to declare by writs through all the counties of England, that he would receive nothing but by way of benevolence. This was, however, far from ſatisfying the people; ſome murmured againſt it becauſe of their own inability, and others becauſe of its illegality. The cardinal himſelf dreaded the conſequence; he even condeſcended to requeſt the attendance of the lord-mayor of London, in order to prevail upon him and his bretheren to ſet a good example to the reſt of the nation; but receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, he went ſo far as to offer to receive whatever they ſhould think proper to advance, and to take their ſubſcriptions privately.

But though theſe ſubmiſſions of the cardinal, prevented any inſurrections in the city of London, it was otherwiſe in the country. In Eſſex and Huntingdonſhire, the commiſſioners were in danger of their lives; and in Suffolk, about three thouſand men took up arms. The duke of Suffolk, who was commiſſioned for that county, ſending for the richeſt manufacturers and clothiers, he prevailed with them to advance their quotas. But on their return, they immediately diſcharged their ſervants, on pretence they were no longer able to maintain them, and the poor people, thus driven to deſpair, took arms, pouring forth the bittereſt execrations againſt the cardinal. Alarmed at this incident, the duke of Suffolk raiſed all the friends poſſible, and ordered ſeveral bridges to be broken down, in order to prevent the body of the rebels from becoming formidable. But knowing that ſeverity would not be agreeable to the government, deſired the rebels to declare their demands, which they very readily did, with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of their being ready to die in the king's ſervice. The duke now ventured his perſon among the inſurgents, and demanded who was their captain: upon which one Green, a man about fifty years of age, ſtept forward, and boldly anſwered, that they had two captains, poverty and neceſſity. The duke rather commiſerating the ſufferings, than blaming the proceedings of this multitude, had recourſe to lenient methods; and upon his promiſing to intercede for their pardon, they were prevailed upon to return to their reſpective habitations in peace. But as the inſurrection had been very general, the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, were obliged to repair to Bury, where numbers of the inſurgents came and ſurrendered themſelves with halters about their necks. They were all of them, however, diſmiſſed, except a few of the ring-leaders, who were ſent up to London; and orders were iſſued throughout the whole kingdom, not to preſs the benevolence any farther. But the matter did not reſt here; for the very attempt ſunk ſo deeply in the minds of the people, that it was publickly ſaid, they were ſcourged by a miniſter, who intended to deſtroy their liberty, and change them from a free people, into the loweſt condition of ſlaves.

Wolſey found he had carried his civil authority too far, and was determined to be more cautious for the future; but being ſupported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded without ſcruple to violate all eccleſiaſtical privileges, which, during that age of bigotry and ignorance, were much more ſacred than the civil; and having once prevailed in that unuſual attempt of ſuppreſſing ſome monaſteries, he kept all the reſt in awe, and exerciſed over them the moſt arbitrary juriſdiction. By his commiſſion as legate, he was empowered to viſit and reform them, and chaſtiſe their irregularities; and he exerciſed this authority in the fulleſt manner. The religious houſes were obliged to atone for their guilt, real or pretended, by giving large ſums to the cardinal or his deputy. He even carried this oppoſition ſo far, that it, at laſt, reached the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints againſt his favourite. He reproved Wolſey in very ſevere terms, which rendered him, if not more innocent, at leaſt more cautious. That haughty miniſter had built a very ſplendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York place in Weſtminſter, for his own uſe; but fearing the encreaſe of envy on account of this magnificence, and, at the ſame time, deſirous of appeaſing the king, he made him a preſent of that building, and told him that he intended it from the firſt for his ſervice.

A. D. 1526. All the powers of Europe now intereſted themſelves in procuring the liberty of Francis. Cardinal Salviati was at Madrid, as nuncio from the pope, while his holineſs had another agent at Venice, with contradictory commiſſions: the former to make a treaty with the emperor, and the latter to conclude an alliance between his holineſs, the kingdom of France, and the republic of Venice. Charles was no ſtranger to the pope's infidelity, but endeavoured to make it worth his while to be his friend, and induce him to drop his other project of alliance. He therefore ſigned a treaty, by which he conſented to the reſtitution of Reggio, and Rubiera to the holy ſee; and it was agreed that in caſe of Sforza's death, the conſtable of Bourbon ſhould ſucceed to the dutchy of Milan. But Charles never intended to fulfil this treaty. His true deſign was to prevent the pope's engagement with the other powers, and to give the duke of Bourbon the immediate inveſtiture of the dutchy of Milan; upon that duke's giving the emperor a diſcharge from the promiſe he had made him of giving him his ſiſter the queen dowager of Portugal in marriage. This proviſion, however, for the duke of Bourbon, facilitated the negotiations for Francis's liberty. For Francis, to give the ſtrongeſt demonſtration he could, that he was reſolved to ſuffer all extremities, rather than agree to diſmember his kingdom, ſent into France by the dutcheſs of Alençon, a public act, ſigned with his own hand, conſenting that his ſon the dauphin ſhould be crowned king of France, while he himſelf was contented to paſs the remainder of his days in captivity. This appearance of reſolution in Francis had prodigious effects, when joined with the meaſures, which the regent was every

every day taking with Henry for his deliverance, and for bringing about a freſh revolution in Italy. Soon after Francis ratified and confirmed all the treaties between Henry and the regent of France. This induced the emperor to think it high time to treat about ſetting Francis at liberty; but his council were greatly divided; ſome were for detaining the French monarch a perpetual priſoner in Spain, others for ſetting him at liberty, after making all the acquiſitions poſſible; while Guatinara, the emperor's chancellor, generouſly and wiſely adviſed, that as Francis, if at liberty, would think himſelf bound to fulfil no terms that had been impoſed upon him while a captive, the ſtrongeſt obligation his imperial majeſty could lay him under, was to let him depart freely; but if this advice was not complied with, they ought to detain him in his preſent ſituation.

This counſel, however, was not agreeable to Charles, who determined to purſue a milder, and as he thought as effectual a method, to bind Francis to the performance of the treaty, in virtue of which he was to be ſet at liberty. This was to accept of Francis's two ſons as hoſtages, to be delivered at the very inſtant that Francis ſet his foot upon his own territories.

This grand preliminary being ſettled, a treaty was drawn up and laid before Francis, containing the loweſt terms on which he would ſet him at liberty. Francis, by the advice of the preſident de Selva, and his other miniſters, who were ſuffered to attend, pretended to agree to every thing, in order to free himſelf from his tedious confinement, but to perform only what he thought proper.

Accordingly the famous treaty of Madrid was ſigned, by which Francis was to reſtore the dutchy of Burgundy to the emperor, and deliver his two ſons as hoſtages for the performance. But notwithſtanding Francis had ſigned this treaty, many of Charles's miniſters foreſaw that it would never be executed. By putting Burgundy into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of his kingdom: by ſacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himſelf of all aſſiſtance, armed his oppreſſor with the whole force and wealth of that oppulent country, and rendered him abſolutely irreſiſtable. To theſe great views of intereſt, were added the motives no leſs cogent of paſſion and reſentment; while Francis, who piqued himſelf on generoſity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the cruel terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his freedom. It was alſo foreſeen, that the emulation and rivalſhip, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between theſe two monarchs, would make him feel the ſtrongeſt reluctance on yeilding the ſuperiority to an antagoniſt, who, by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think had ſhewn himſelf ſo little worthy of that advantage, which fortune alone had put into his hands. His miniſters, his friends, his ſubjects, his allies, would be ſure to ſuggeſt to him with one voice, that the firſt object of a prince was the preſervation of his people, and that the laws of honour, which, with a private man ought to be abſolutely ſupreme and ſuperior to all intereſt, were, in a ſovereign, ſubordinate to the great duty of inſuring the ſafety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be ſo romantic in his principles, as not to liſten to a caſuiſtry, ſo plauſible in itſelf, and which ſo highly flattered all the paſſions by which both as a prince, and a man, he was ſtrongly actuated.

Such were the opinions of moſt perſons of ſenſe and reflection; but the avidity of the emperor prevented him from treating his priſoner with more generoſity, and on the above conditions, Francis was ſet at liberty. On entering his own dominions, he delivered his two ſons as hoſtages, into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and immediately putting him into a gallop, waving his hand over his head, and crying out ſeveral times, I am yet a king. He ſoon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging, that to his good offices alone, he owed his liberty, and proteſting that he ſhould, for the future, be entirely guided by his counſels in all tranſactions with the emperor.

Not long after the Spaniſh envoy demanded the ratification of the treaty of Madrid, as the king had now fully recovered his liberty; but Francis waved the propoſal, pretending that it was previouſly neceſſary to aſſemble the ſtates both of France and Burgundy in order to obtain their conſent. The latter ſoon met, and declaring againſt the clauſe which contained an engagement of alienating their province, they expreſſed their reſolution of oppoſing, even by force of arms, the execution of ſo unjuſt and deſtructive an article. The imperial miniſter then required that Francis ſhould return to Madrid, in order to releaſe the hoſtages: but the French monarch, inſtead of complying, publiſhed the treaty, which a little before he had concluded at Cognac, againſt the ambitious ſchemes and uſurpations of the emperor.

Moſt of the princes, eſpecially thoſe of Europe, had been held in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with regard to the meaſures Francis would purſue, after the recovery of his liberty. Clement, perſuaded that the king of France would never execute a treaty ſo deſtructive to his independency, offered him a diſpenſation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis not only accepted of the diſpenſation, but readily entered into a confederacy formed by the pope, the king of England, the Venetians, the Swiſs, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan. By this confederacy, which was ſtiled the holy league, they agreed to oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France upon receiving a reaſonable ſum of money, and to reſtore Milan to Sforza, without any further conditions or incumbrances.

Francis ſecretly flattered himſelf that the open declaration of the court of England to aſſiſt him with all its forces, would give weight to Henry's inſtances at the imperial court, for mitigating the rigour of the treaty of Madrid, and therefore was not very forward to join the confederates, as that ſtep muſt cut off all hopes of an accommodation. Filled with this idea, he found means to amuſe the envoys from the pope and Venetians, and prevent the publication of the league from being publiſhed for near a month after it was ſigned. But this dilatory method of proceeding had almoſt occaſioned the deſtruction of the Italian ſtates. Sforza ſtill remained ſhut up in the caſtle of Milan, and while the concluſion of the holy league was

ſuſpended, he daily ſollicited both the pope and Venetians for relief. At length the duke of Arbino, the Venetian general, and Rangani, who commanded the pope's troops, reinforced by a conſiderable body of Swiſs, marched from different quarters: but both the Swiſs, who were paid by Francis, and the French under the marquis of Salucces, were ſo very ſlow in their motions, that the Sforza was obliged to ſurrender the caſtle of Milan to the duke of Bourbon, and to retire to Lodi, which had been ſeized by the pope's troops.

The loſs of this important caſtle aſtoniſhed the confederates, and the ſlowneſs of the French motions gave the emperor time ſufficient to ſend freſh troops into Italy, and to practiſe with the family of Colonna, to make a powerful diverſion before the gates of Rome. In the mean time Francis, whoſe intereſt would not ſuffer him to ſee the allies ruined, ordered the Swiſs to quicken their march; and ſoon after joining the forces of the duke of Urbino, they took the city of Cremona, the caſtle of which ſtill held out for the duke of Milan. In the mean time the emperor not remitting the neceſſary payments to his army, the duke of Bourbon found it difficult either to keep his army together, or make new levies. But Moncada, the emperor's ambaſſador at Rome, found means to gain over the Colonnas to his maſter's intereſt, by ſuch ſecret and artful meaſures, that the pope, with all his penetration and jealouſy of that family, never ſuſpected any treaty was negotiating between them, till the city of Rome itſelf was ſeized by a party amounting to no more than four thouſand ſeven hundred men. The pope ſaved himſelf in the caſtle of St. Angelo, where, in a few hours, Moncada forced him to ſign a truce for four months with the emperor. During the continuance of this truce, all hoſtilities were to ceaſe in the kingdom of Naples, the dutchy of Milan, Genoa, Florence, Sienna, and Ferrara, and the pontiff was obliged to order his troops in the Milaneſe, to repaſs the Po.

This truce gave a mortal blow to the affairs of the confederates, who were on the point of recovering Milan. Lanoy, the vice-roy of Naples, threw himſelf into that kingdom at the head of ſix thouſand men, and Frandſperg, an imperial commander, raiſing fourteen thouſand ſoldiers at his own expence, marched into the Trentin, where he was joined by another body, having a good train of artillery and other neceſſaries furniſhed by archduke Ferdinand.

A. D. 1526. By this truce the ſecret views both of Wolſey and the court of France, were ſufficiently known; but the emperor was determined to puſh the war in Italy, which was now in the utmoſt confuſion. Accordingly the armies, both of the allies, and the emperor, under the duke of Bourbon and his other generals, kept the field moſt part of the winter; but Francis ſtill continued ſcandalouſly inactive with regard to his aſſiſting the allies in Italy.

A. D. 1527. Bourbon was at the head of an army, but without pay or without diſcipline: he had exhauſted the Milaneſe, and practiſed ſeverities repugnant to his nature, in order to ſupport his forces. By the vigilance of the duke of Urbino, and the marquis de Selucces, he had been diſappointed in all the projects he had formed, for ſeizing ſome places and poſts where he could maintain his troops. At laſt he took the deſperate reſolution of marching to Rome itſelf, and taking up his quarters in the capital of Italy. His own genius favoured him in this attempt. He plainly told his ſoldiers he had no money to pay them; but would lead them where they ſhould find plenty; and that in the mean time he would ſhare the hardſhips with the meaneſt ſoldier in the army. After this preface he informed them of his ſcheme, which was received with ſhouts of applauſe. But the march was long, fatiguing, and dangerous; he had a vaſt tract of country to paſs; he was ſurrounded by the enemy's army, which ſtill kept the field; his army was harraſſed by their late marches, and he was at once deſtitute of money, proviſions and magazines. But his genius and aſſiduity ſurmounted all theſe difficulties. He had ſo greatly endeared himſelf to his ſoldiers by his open and generous behaviour, that his troops offered to follow him wherever he thought proper.

Secure of the affection of his ſoldiers he began his march, and notwithſtanding the moſt dreadful rains and ſwellings of the rivers, he reached Arezzo on the twenty-ſixth of April, and on the ſixth of May encamped in the meadows of Rome. The pope, who little expected a viſit of this kind, was but ill provided to reſiſt ſo formidable an enemy. Bourbon, however, uſed the ceremony of ſummoning his holineſs to grant his troops a free paſſage through the city in their pretended march to Naples; but this being either refuſed or delayed, the conſtable gave orders for immediately attempting to take the city by aſſault. He ſet the example himſelf, and was the firſt that placed a ſcaling ladder againſt the walls; but he paid for the raſhneſs of the attempt, for he was killed by a ſhot from the baſtion, as he was mounting the ladder. His ſoldiers, rather animated than diſcouraged by the death of their leader, flew to the aſſault with the utmoſt intrepidity; entered the city ſword in hand, and exerciſed all thoſe brutalities which may be expected from ferocity, excited by reſiſtance, and from victorious inſolence when reſiſtance is no more. Rome ſo long renowned for arts and religion, experienced from thoſe who called themſelves chriſtians, ſuch cruelties which her pagan enemies were too humane to commit. The unreſtrained maſſacre and pillage, which continued for ſeveral days, were the leaſt misfortunes to which this unhappy city was now obliged to ſuffer. Whatever was reſpectable in modeſty, or ſacred in religion, ſeemed only as objects exhibited to provoke the inſults and brutality of the ſoldiers. Virgins were violated in the arms of their parents, and upon thoſe very altars to which they had fled for protection. Prelates, venerable at once for their years and their virtues, after enduring every indignity, and every torture, were thrown into noiſome dungeons and threatened with the moſt cruel death, in order to induce them to reveal their ſecret treaſures, or purchaſe life by exhorbitant ranſoms. Even Clement himſelf, who, truſting to the ſacredneſs of his character, had neglected to make his eſcape, found, when too late, that his dignity procured him no reſpect even from the Spaniſh ſoldiers, while it only expoſed him to the inſolent mockery of the German forces, the greater part of whom had embraced the tenets of the reformation.

This cataſtrophe of the famous city of Rome, filled Europe with aſtoniſhment. Charles, nurſed in

in the lap of hypocriſy, pretended to expreſs the deepeſt ſorrow for the ſucceſs of his arms: he iſſued orders for a general mourning; and ordered public prayers to be put up in all the churches of his dominions, for the pope's liberty; though at the ſame time he was ſending the ſtricteſt orders to his generals, to keep his holineſs in confinement till he conſented to the ſevereſt conditions. He was indeed a little more decent towards Henry: he wrote him a long letter from Valladolid, excuſing his own conduct, and imputing all the misfortunes of Clement to the unreſtrained impetuoſity of his ſoldiers on their entering the eccleſiaſtical dominions. He even wrote a letter of condolence to the pope, pretending to ſympathize with him in all his afflictions; while his generals were ſuffered to treat him with an indignity, which common decency would not ſuffer to be uſed towards a private curate.

But ſuch diſſimulations were too groſs to impoſe upon Henry: he treated Charles with a becoming contempt: while the kings of England and France entered into a cloſe connection for carrying on a vigorous war in Italy, in order to chaſtiſe the Imperialiſts for the horrid exceſſes they had committed at Rome, and ſet the ſovereign pontiff at liberty. Wolſey himſelf croſſed the ſeas in order to have an interview with Francis, that the moſt proper meaſures might be taken for bringing about the deſired event. On this occaſion, the cardinal diſplayed all that grandeur and magnificence, with which he was ſo much intoxicated. He was attended with a train of a thouſand horſe: was met at Bulloigne by the cardinal of Lorraine and the chancellor Alençon: and Francis himſelf, beſides granting to that haughty prelate the power of ſetting all the priſoners at liberty in every place through which he paſſed, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him; he even advanced ſome miles from the town in order to render his reception more honourable.

A treaty was ſoon concluded between the two monarchs of France and England, by which it was ſtipulated that Francis's ſon, the duke of Orleans, ſhould marry the princeſs Mary: and as the emperor ſeemed to be taking ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a general council, the two ſovereigns agreed not to acknowledge its authority, but to govern the churches in the reſpective dominions by their own authority, during the pope's captivity. Nor did Wolſey forget his own intereſt: he made ſeveral attempts to have his legantine power extended into France, and even Germany: but ſoon dropped this ambitious enterprize, as he found it could not ſucceed.

Wolſey, however, was intruſted with a more delicate ſubject, and which required all his art to propoſe in a manner that might give no alarm to the contracting parties: this was to procure a divorce for his maſter from his queen, Catharine of Arragon. Henry had, for ſome years entertained thoughts of divorcing himſelf from his queen tho' he had never openly avowed them. But the queſtion with regard to the legality of the marriage was openly debated: and even the emperor himſelf had ſtarted objections from the illegality of it to excuſe the conſummating his engagement with the princeſs Mary. Thus the ſtrongeſt foreign political reaſon againſt the divorce was, in ſome meaſure, removed; and all religious conſiderations concurred in invalidating the marriage with the wife of a brother. Even the greateſt caſuiſts and ſome of the greateſt favourers of the pope's authority, were of opinion that no diſpenſation from the ſee of Rome could, in this caſe, change the nature of a moral precept, or prohibition, eſpecially, if there was reaſon for believing that the firſt marriage was actually conſummated. Henry had made himſelf entirely maſter of the ſubject, and was actually perſuaded, that he could no longer reſort, with a ſafe conſcience, to his queen's bed.

Wolſey, affected to believe that Henry's ſcruples were merely conſcientious, and immediately ſaw that he muſt direct the preſent negotiaton. Thus in effect, the reduction of the houſe of Auſtria, the preſervation of the balance of power, and the deliverance of the pope, were only ſecondary and ſubſervient conſiderations. But the great addreſs of the cardinal lay in conducting the negotiation in ſuch a manner, that the public intereſt of Europe and the private inclination of Henry might be reconciled. Wolſey formed this plan with admirable foreſight, which conſiſted of the two following points. Either to effect the delivery of the pope; or to procure an aſſembly of cardinals veſted with papal authority, at Avignon; and in either caſe Wolſey did not doubt but his addreſs, by his power, the force of his money, to procure ſufficient aſſiſtance to determine the queſtion relating to the divorce in Henry's favour.

Theſe negotiations carrying on in France, extremely perplexed Charles, who therefore ſought to break their force, by a ſeeming agreement with the propoſitions ſometime ſince made by France to the viceroy of Naples, when the latter required him to ratify the treaty of Madrid. But he paid the compliment of this compliance to Henry, whoſe ambaſſadors at his court were daily preſſing for the deliverance of the pope: for he publiſhed a kind of manifeſto, as from himſelf, addreſſed to the Engliſh ambaſſadors, in which he declared both his own conceſſions, and alſo the officers of Francis.

The French monarch had offered to fulfil the treaty at Madrid, provided Sforza was reſtored to his dutchy. Charles replied, that Sforza ſhould be left to an impartial trial: if found innocent he ſhould be reſtored; if guilty, it was reaſonable that the emperor ſhould remain maſter of the Milaneſe; and act as he ſhould think proper, with regard to Sforza's reſtoration. Francis had offered two millions of crowns for the releaſe of his ſons, and as a compenſation for the emperor's claim upon Burgundy. Charles declared he was willing to accept the above ſum, provided it was paid excluſively of the other ſums he owed Henry, and which Francis, by the treaty of Madrid had taken upon himſelf; and that all the other articles of the treaty of Madrid, not expreſſed in that convention, ſhould continue in their full force; and provided the emperor was not obliged to make any ſpecific renunciation of his claim upon that dutchy, but his pretenſions to continue the ſame as before the treaty of Madrid.

Had affairs ſtood upon the ſame baſis as before the renewal of the good correſpondence between the courts of France and England, theſe propoſals would, doubtleſs, have been very readily embraced by Francis; but this was by no means the caſe: the face of things was changed; and the cardinal, who received a copy of theſe offers while he continued in France, determined to open his ſecret and more delicate negotiation. There was no mention of the delivery of the pope; who, it was hoped would, when

when at liberty, favour Henry's great view of diſſolving his marriage. Charles had artfully avoided even mentioning the pope, and made the offers of Francis to the viceroy of Naples, the baſis of all his declarations. Wolſey, perſuaded that Charles was not ignorant of the principal intention of Henry, paid very little attention to Charles's declaration.

The emperor, aſtoniſhed at the ſmall regard paid to his propoſals, had recourſe both to intrigues and preſents, to gain the cardinal over to his intereſt; but all his attempts were fruitleſs. True to his favourite principle, that of ſetting the pope at liberty, or acquiring himſelf a pontifical power for diſſolving his maſters marriage: Wolſey determined to obtain his purpoſe either by negotiation or arms. And accordingly the cardinal had prevailed upon Francis to ſend Lautrec into Italy, at the head of a French army, in order to join the Italian princes, and ſupport the holy league. When this junction was formed, the confederate army amounted to about thirty-eight thouſand men, many of them veteran ſoldiers, and all well appointed. At the ſame time Doria commanded for the king of France, a ſquadron of fourteen gallies, and acted with ſo much ſucceſs againſt Genoa, that, in conjunction with Lautrec, who commanded on the land ſide, the French recovered Genoa, and the mareſchal de Trivulee, was appointed to command the garriſon. This, with ſeveral other advantages gained over the emperor, again inſpired the allies with courage: they hoped once more to free Italy from her oppreſſor, and retaliate upon the head of the emperor, the injuries he had inflicted on that unhappy country. Lautrec took Alexandria, which was put in the hands of the duke of Milan; and after reducing all the Omeline, Vigevano, and Biagraſſa, he made preparations for leading the confederate army to Milan, which was then commanded by Anthony de Leyva; but inſtead of marching againſt that city, he wheeled about and inveſted Pavia. He took that place in four days by aſſault, and gave it up to be plundered by the French ſoldiers, who were highly exaſperated by the memory of their defeat, and the captivity of their king before this city.

Wolſey had given the pope, who depended entirely on the friendſhip of the Engliſh court, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he ſhould be ſet at liberty; and his holineſs accordingly ſent cardinal Cibo to requeſt Lautrec to march directly to Rome, in conſequence of the agreements and treaties lately concluded between the courts of England and France. At the ſame time Sforza and the Venetians were very urgent with the general to reduce Milan. Lautrec took a middle way. He left the conqueſt of the Milaneſe to be completed by the armies of the Venetians and Sforza, and began his march towards the eccleſiaſtical ſtate with great ſlowneſs, hoping that the plague, which then raged in that country, and the terror of his approach would prevail with the Imperialiſts to ſet the pope at liberty; and by that means reſerve the whole of his army for the conqueſt of Naples, the favourite project of his own court. In the mean time he retook Biagraſſa, which had been ſurprized by the Imperialiſts: Parma and Placentia, opened their gates at his approach, and he detached from the party of the emperor, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua.

Finding the ſtorm gathering thick around him, Charles came to a reſolution of ſetting the pope at liberty; but he was firſt willing to know the ſentiments of the Engliſh court, by which all his motions were regulated. Wolſey had been treated with all the honours the court of France could pour upon him. The cardinal informed Henry from time to time of the ſtate of his negotiation, and of the great progreſs he had made with regard to the divorce; and Henry was ſo well pleaſed with his conduct, that he wrote him a letter of revocation with his own hand.

The cardinal on his return was received by Henry and his whole court, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and ſoon after Knight, ſecretary of ſtate, was ſent over to Rome, in order to make applications for a divorce to Clement. But that he might not ſhock the claims of the ſovereign pontiff, it was reſolved not to found the application on any general doubts of the papal power, to permit marriages between the nearer degrees of conſanguinity. Knight was therefore directed to inſiſt only on the particular grounds of validity in the bull, which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine.

It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that if the pope be ſurprized into any conceſſions, or grant any indulgence upon falſe ſuggeſtions, the bull may lawfully be annulled; and this pretence had uſually been employed wherever one pope had recalled any deed executed by ſome of his predeceſſors. But the bull of Julius, when examined, afforded ſufficient matter of this kind, and any tribunal favourable to Henry, could not want a ſpecious pretence for gratifying him in his application for a divorce. It was ſaid in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his ſollicitations, though it was known that he was not then twelve years of age. It was alſo affirmed as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requiſite, in order to preſerve peace between the two crowns; though it was very certain that there was no appearance of any quarrel between them. Theſe falſe premiſes in Julius's bull, afforded Clement ſufficient reaſon for annulling it, and granting Henry a diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage. But had the pretence for this indulgence been leſs plauſible, the pope was in ſo deplorable a ſituation, that he had the ſtrongeſt motive to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the Engliſh monarch. He was then a priſoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reaſonable terms, unleſs by the efforts of the league, which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian princes, in order to oppoſe the exorbitant ambition of the emperor. When the Engliſh ambaſſador therefore made application to him, he received a very favourable anſwer, and a diſpenſation was readily promiſed to be expedited to his maſter. But notwithſtanding theſe promiſes, excuſes were formed for delaying the execution ſo long that Henry began to ſuſpect the ſincerity of the holy father, and that a private treaty was negotiating between him and Charles. It is no wonder that theſe delays greatly exaſperated Henry, eſpecially as another object had taken poſſeſſion of his heart.

This object was Anne Boleyn, one of the maids of honour to the queen. She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in ſeveral ambaſſies, and was allied to all the

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the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was a daughter of the duke of Norfolk, and his own mother, daughter of the earl of Ormond. Anne herſelf had been carried, when very young, to France, by Henry's ſiſter, when ſhe married Lewis XII. and upon the deceaſe of that monarch and the retreat of the queen dowager into England, Anne, whoſe accompliſhments, even in the moſt early youth, was greatly admired, was retained in the ſervice of Claude, queen of France, conſort to Francis; and, after her death, ſhe paſſed into the family of the dutcheſs of Alençon, a princeſs of ſingular merit. Some time after the king had entertained ſcruples with regard to the validity of his marriage with his queen, Anne returned to England, and being taken into Catherine's ſervice, Henry had frequent opportunities of ſeeing and converſing with her; by which means ſhe gained an entire aſcendant over his affections.

A. D. 1528. In the mean time Charles finding it would be impoſſible for him to defend the capital of Italy againſt the forces of the allies under Lautrec, ſent orders for ſetting the pope at liberty. This great point being gained, the ambaſſadors of the allies who attended the emperor at Burges, roſe in their demands, which not being complied with left the court, leaving two heralds, Guienne and Clarencieux to finiſh the negotiations.

Accordingly both heralds came unexpectedly to court, in the robes and enſigns of their orders, and demanded audience of the emperor, who was too punctual an obſerver of forms, to refuſe it them in a very auguſt manner. Every thing being properly diſpoſed, Clarencieux demanded leave, in the name of his own maſter and that of Francis, to open the commiſſions with which himſelf and Guienne were intruſted. This being granted, the French herald defied Charles for not agreeing to a juſt and honourable peace; for detaining the royal hoſtages; for not paying Henry the ſums that were owing to him; for not ſetting the pope at liberty; and for kindling a war in Italy. All theſe allegations were treated by Charles with ſome degree of contempt; but declared openly, that he had the day before received advice, that the pope had been ſet at liberty, and demanded from Guienne a copy of his cartel.

Charencieux then advanced, and behaved like the herald of him who was arbitor of the Chriſtian world. He ſpoke in a ſtile as if the nod of his maſter was to enjoin peace or perpetuate war; and after mentioning the many calamities brought upon Europe by the diſſenſions between the two powers of France and Germany, and enumerating the ſeveral reaſons of complaint which Henry had againſt Charles, he required the latter inſtantly to accept of the terms of peace that had been offered, or receive his declaration of war, which he there pronounced. But both heralds, before they finiſhed their ſpeeches, declared, they had orders to give forty days notice to the ſubjects of Charles, for withdrawing their perſons and effects out of the dominions of their maſters.

Charles anſwered the Engliſh herald with great moderation; but reproached Guienne with his maſter's breach of faith; reminded him of the private converſation that had paſſed between himſelf and Francis before their ſeparation at Madrid, and offered to prove, by ſingle combat, that the French monarch had acted diſhonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and, after demanding ſecurity of the field, offered to maintain his cauſe by ſingle combat. Many meſſengers paſſed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place.

The pope on his regaining his liberty retired to Orvietto, whither Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's ſecretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were diſpatched, with orders to ſollicit a commiſſion in the form of a bull decretal from the pope, impowering the commiſſioners, Wolſey and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to try the matter of the divorce in England. Clement conſented to grant a new commiſſion, in which cardinal Campegio was joined with Wolſey; but refuſed to inſert the clauſes which rendered it a decretal bull, and gave the judges of the divorce a power to determine upon the merits of the cauſe, in the ſame manner, and pronounce ſentence in the ſame manner, and with the ſame power as the pope himſelf could do, if perſonally preſent. He, however, put into Gardiner's hands a letter, promiſing not to recall the preſent commiſſion; but this promiſe was found on examination, to be couched in ſuch ambiguous terms, that he might act directly contrary, whenever he pleaſed.

Gardiner, while he continued at Rome, ſaw plainly that the pope's real ſentiments with regard to the divorce roſe and fell, appeared and vaniſhed, with the ſucceſs of the contending parties in Italy. He was not deceived: for while the French troops carried every thing before them in Italy, the pope was very deſirous of keeping Henry firm to his intereſt: but his conduct was ſoon altered. A peſtilential diſtemper broke out among the French forces, by which ſuch numbers of them were ſwept away, together with Lautrec himſelf, that they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Naples, which that general had inveſted, and leave Italy with diſgrace. About the ſame time Andrew Doria, the brave admiral of the Genoeſe fleet in the French ſervice, declared for his country againſt France, and eſtabliſhed in Genoa that independency of government which has juſtly conferred upon him the title of father of his country.

Campegio, who was joined with Wolſey in the commiſſion for trying the validity of the king's marriage, lay under great obligations to Henry; but filled with the flattering ideas of poſſeſſing the high powers of the papacy, he was unwilling to diſoblige any of the European powers, and therefore formed excuſes for putting off his departure from day to day, hoping that ſome fortunate incident would prevent the execution of Henry's deſigns. In this manner he protracted his departure from the middle of April till the middle of September.

On his arrival in England he exerted all his talents in exhorting Henry to deſiſt from his intention of proſecuting his divorce; but finding this counſel gave offence, he ſaid, that his intention was alſo to exhort the queen to enter into a convent, and that he thought it his duty, previouſly to attempt an amicable termination of all differences. At the ſame time he ſhewed the king and Wolſey the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no intreaties could prevail with him to make any other of the king's council privy to the ſecret. He, however, in-

formed the king, that the court of Rome had conſented to his requeſt for ſuppreſſing more monaſteries, and converting them into cathedrals and biſhops ſees.

But this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the cardinal; he inſtilled into the mind of his maſter the inutility of all monaſteries; adding, that monks were no better than the drones of inſipid devotion; that the money expended for their ſupport would produce much greater advantages to the kingdom, if laid out in founding more ſeminaries of learning, and erecting more cathedral churches. Henry liſtened with pleaſure to the cardinal, and was very deſirous of ſequeſtering into his own hands more of the eſtates belonging to the monaſteries.

A. D. 1529. During theſe tranſactions in England, fortune ſeemed to promiſe Henry a more ſure and expeditious method of extricating himſelf from his preſent difficulties. Clement was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, and the intrigues for electing his ſucceſſor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolſey, in particular, ſupported by the intereſt of France and England, entertained hopes of filling St. Peter's chair, and had a vacancy then happened, there is the higheſt probability that he would have ſucceeded; for of the cardinals that formed the conclave, fifteen were conſidered as Imperialiſts, eighteen were conſidered as in the intereſt of France and England, three were neutral, and ſix were abſent. But the pope, after ſeveral relapſes, recovered his health, and returned to the ſame train of falſe politics, by which he had hitherto amuſed the court of England.

The two legates now opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before them. They both obeyed the ſummons, preſented themſelves before the court, and the king, when called, anſwered to his name; but the queen, inſtead of anſwering to hers, roſe from her ſeat, and throwing herſelf at the king's feet, made a very pathetic ſpeech, which her virtue, her dignity, and her ſufferings rendered the more affecting. She told him ſhe was a ſtranger in his dominions, deſtitute of protection, of council, of aſſiſtance: expoſed to all the injuſtice of her enemies: that all her connections were with him and his family, and therefore it was natural for her to expect that in them ſhe ſhould find a ſure protection from every misfortune: that ſhe was ſummoned to anſwer for every thing that can be dear to a woman, a wife, and a mother, before a court, where he, though ſovereign, was a party, and the judges his ſubjects: that ſhe had been his wife during twenty years, and dared appeal to himſelf whether her affectionate ſubmiſſion to his will had not merited other treatment, than to be thus, after ſo long a time, thrown from him with ſo much indignity: that he muſt be himſelf aſſured that, notwithſtanding her former marriage, ſhe came a virgin to his bed: that their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were eſteemed the wiſeſt princes of their age, and had doubtleſs acted by the beſt advice, when they formed the agreement for their marriage, which was now repreſented as ſo criminal and unnatural: and that ſhe acquieſced in their judgment, and would not ſubmit her cauſe to be tried by a court whoſe dependence upon her enemies was too viſible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable and impartial deciſion. Having concluded her ſpeech ſhe made the king a low reverence, and departed: nor could any arguments prevail upon her to appear again before the legantine court.

Henry, upon the queen's departure, did her the juſtice to acknowledge that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of probity and honour; adding, that nothing but the diſquietude of his own conſcience could have driven him to the diſagreeable neceſſity of ſeeking a divorce. Wolſey then deſired Henry to clear him from an imputation that had been given out againſt him by his enemies, as if he had firſt inſpired the king with the deſire of procuring a diſſolution of the marriage. Henry very readily conſented, and in very ſtrong terms declared, that the objections were firſt ſtarted againſt the legitimacy of the princeſs Mary, by the biſhop of Turbe. He likewiſe declared that he had mentioned theſe objections in confeſſion to Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, which doubtleſs gave riſe to his having firſt ſuggeſted the divorce as a matter of conſcience.

The queen having been without effect cited again to appear before the court, the legates declared her contumacious, and proceeded to examine witneſſes, notwithſtanding her appeal to Rome. The king's council laboured to prove that the marriage of prince Arthur with the princeſs Catherine, was actually conſummated; and it muſt be confeſſed that no ſtronger arguments than they brought to prove the fact could reaſonably be expected after ſo long an interval. They advanced many arguments to prove that the pope could not grant a diſpenſation to marry within the degrees prohibited by the church. On the twenty-third of July the king's council cloſed their evidence, and the whole nation expected every day to hear the deciſive ſentence was pronounced. Henry came to a private box adjoining to the legantine court in order to hear the final determination of this weighty affair. But he was greatly diſappointed; for cardinal Campegio prorogued the court to the twenty-third of October, under pretence that it was reaſonable to hear any objections that might be made by the queen before ſentence was pronounced. A few days after an evocation came from Rome, that put a period to all the hopes which the king had ſo long, and ſo ardently cheriſhed.

The true reaſon for the pope's evoking the cauſe to Rome, was owing to the intrigues of the emperor. His miniſters had employed every topic of hope and terror that could operate either on the paſſions or timidity of the pontiff. He promiſed to defend him againſt the reſentment of the Engliſh monarch, and to reſtore the houſe of Medicis to their dominion in Florence: and threatened in caſe of refuſal, to ſummon a general council, in order to correct the enormous abuſes which the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of eccleſiaſtical government. On the other hand the Engliſh and French ambaſſadors had recourſe to menaces and threats. But the dread of loſing England, and fortifying the followers of Luther with ſo conſiderable an acceſſion, made leſs impreſſion on Clement, than the threats of the emperor. He had therefore no ſooner adjuſted all the terms of a treaty with the emperor, than he pretended that juſtice required him to regard the queen's appeal, and evoke the cauſe to Rome.

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Cardinal Wolsey Resigning the Great Seal to the
DUKES *of* **NORFOLK** *and* **SUFFOLK**

But before this was known in England, Campegio had received private orders to burn the decretal bull, with which he was intruſted.

This evocation threw Henry into the utmoſt perplexity; but though exceſſively provoked with the pope, he was ſtill in hopes of ſucceeding in his divorce. Campegio had addreſs ſufficient to make him believe this would actually be the caſe, and thereby prevented the effects of Henry's uncontroulable paſſions, after experiencing ſo great a diſappointment. But though Henry could pardon Campegio, he could not extend the ſame favour to Wolſey; for Anne Boleyn, who was always prepoſſeſſed againſt the cardinal, now became his irreconcilable enemy, imputed to him the failure of all her hopes. He gave Campegio his audience of leave, and a handſome preſent for his trouble. But one difficult taſk ſtill remained to be performed, the delivering to the king and queen letters of citation for their appearance at Rome. Henry was apprized of the cardinal's orders, and ordered Gardiner to ſignify to the legate, that he would not ſubmit to the indignity of being ſummoned to appear before a foreign tribunal; and that he ſhould neither ſerve the citation, nor by virtue of thoſe letters diſſolve the commiſſion, but by the brief he had before received from Rome.

The caſe of Wolſey was now truly deplorable. The great nobility had been provoked by his inſolence; the clergy had been reduced to depend upon him, inſtead of the pope; and he had given many mortal blows to their right of poſſeſſion, which they dreaded the king would one day improve to the deſtruction of their power. Thoſe who oppoſed the divorce were exaſperated at his former, and thoſe who favoured it were offended at his latter behaviour. A few indeed were friends to his perſon, but none to his power. The king's private affection therefore was all he could hope for, and flattered himſelf that Henry would never give up a miniſter, who was grown grey in his ſervice. In this manner he ſtood like a mighty tower tottering on its baſis, none daring to approach it for fear of being cruſhed by its fall.

But a miniſter who had enjoyed ſuch exorbitant power, could not long ſubſiſt when his power is no more, without feeling the effects of his maſter's diſpleaſure. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were ſent to require the great ſeal from him; and on his ſcrupling to deliver it without a more expreſs warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which the cardinal very readily ſurrendered it, and the king gave it immediately to Sir Thomas Moore, a perſon remarkable for his virtue, integrity, capacity, and learning.

The cardinal was immediately ordered to retire to Aſhur, a country ſeat belonging to him, ſituated near Hampton-court. Wolſey readily obeyed; and Henry, who did not think he deſerved ſuch ſevere treatment, ſent him a gracious meſſage, accompanied with a ring, as a teſtimony of his affection. Wolſey was on horſeback when the meſſenger arrived, but immediately alighted; and throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received in that humble poſture, theſe pleaſing marks of his majeſty's gracious diſpoſition.

But notwithſtanding the regard which Henry ſtill had for Wolſey, the enemies of the cardinal, and particularly Anne Boleyn, were ſo aſſiduous in plying the king with accounts of his offences, that he ſuffered him to continue ſome time at Aſhur, though he knew the houſe was almoſt deſtitute of accommodations. The ſeat belonged to the biſhopric of Wincheſter, and as Wolſey had been lately inſtalled in that ſee, he had not had time to fit up or furniſh the houſe; ſo that the cardinal himſelf, as well as his whole family, were obliged to continue with the common conveniencies of life, till the biſhop of Carliſle ventured to lend him a few beds, and other domeſtic utenſils. Reduced to this ſituation, he diſmiſſed his numerous retinue.

The parliament being now met after a long prorogation, a ſet of articles were drawn up againſt Wolſey by his enemies, conſiſting of forty-two articles; but all of them weak and frivolous. The firſt was a charge againſt him for procuring the legantine power, which, as it was obtained with the king's approbation and conſent, could not be criminal. Many of the other articles regarded the mere exerciſe of that power. Some articles imputed to him as crimes, particular actions which were either natural or unavoidable, who was prime miniſter with ſo unlimited an authority; ſuch are receiving firſt all letters from the king's miniſters abroad, receiving firſt all viſits from foreign miniſters, and deſiring that all applications ſhould be made through him. Many other charges equally frivolous were exhibited againſt him, all of them general and incapable of proof. Little oppoſition was, however, made to the charge in the upper houſe: the articles were agreed to and ſent down to the commons.

But they met with a different fate in the lower houſe. Thomas Cromwell, the ſon of a blackſmith at Putney, had been for ſome time in Wolſey's ſervice. He had quick natural parts, and had formed the plan of his conduct upon that of his maſter; but was deſtitute both of his virtues and vices. What Wolſey had from nature, Cromwell ſupplied by induſtry. In him good ſenſe ſupplied the place of learning, and prudence concealed ambition. His behaviour in Wolſey's ſervice recommended him to Sir Thomas Ruſſel, who brought him into parliament, as the ſureſt method of obtaining preferment. Cromwell, undaunted by the enemies of his old maſter, defended him with ſuch ſpirit, generoſity, and ſtrength of argument, that the articles were rejected by a conſiderable majority. This event amounted almoſt to a demonſtration that Wolſey was innocent; for otherwiſe the articles would not, in ſo arbitrary a reign, have been thrown out in the houſe of commons. Upon the whole, therefore, we may conſider theſe articles as the moſt glorious vindication any miniſter ever received, after filling, for upwards of twenty years, the moſt envied ſeat of a ſubject's greatneſs; after drawing upon himſelf the reſentment of the greateſt powers abroad, the hatred of the chief nobility at home, the hatred of an incenſed clergy, and the blaſt of popular detraction.

Wolſey in all this ſtorm of perſecution ſtood alone, but not erect. He bowed his head to the tempeſt; he ſought ſhelter under the ſhrubs that had grown up beneath his own greatneſs. His vanity, like that of Tully, had undone him, and, with greater innocence of conduct, expreſſed equal dejection of mind. Unacquainted with adverſity, inſtead of correcting, it extinguiſhed his ſpirit. When fallen from his ſeat of power, he found himſelf

ſelf a ſtranger to thoſe reflections which whiſper joy in diſtreſs; while the remembrance of his former greatneſs, like a reſtleſs phantom, deſtroyed the comfort of his ſoul. As opulence had been his delight, ſo poverty became his torment. His happineſs was loſt in confuſion, and the fever of ambition continued to rage in his blood, while the accents of humiliation were dropping from his lips.

The miſcarriage of the articles exhibited againſt Wolſey, irritated his enemies to the higheſt degree, who perceiving they had no juſt grounds for accuſing him, had recourſe to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was lodged againſt him for having, contrary to a ſtatute of Richard the ſecond, commonly called the ſtatute of proviſors, procured bulls from Rome, particularly that inveſting him with the legantine power, which he had exerciſed with very extenſive authority. Wolſey confeſſed the charge, pleaded ignorance of the ſtatute, and threw himſelf on the king's mercy. The cardinal was perhaps within the reach of the law; but this ſtatute had been long in diſuſe: nor could any thing be more rigorous and ſevere, than to impute to him as a crime, what he had openly, during a courſe of ſo many years, practiſed with the conſent and approbation of the king, and the acquieſcence of the parliament and kingdom. He was, however, found guilty of the indictment, and ſentence was pronounced againſt him. "That "he was out of the king's protection; his lands "and goods forfeited, and that his perſon might "be committed to cuſtody."

In conſequence of this ſentence, Shelly, one of the judges, was ordered by Henry, to demand from the cardinal, the ſurrender of York houſe. Wolſey had repaired and furniſhed that palace with a magificence that few royal buildings in England could equal; and as it belonged to the archbiſhop of York, it could not be forfeited in the ſame manner with the reſt of his eſtates. The cardinal complied with the demand, and the king took immediate poſſeſſion of this magnificent ſtructure, which afterwards became the reſidence of the kings of England, under the title of White-hall. All the furniture and plate were converted to the king's uſe; and perhaps the opulence of the cardinal was no ſmall inducement to this violent proſecution againſt him. The walls of this palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of ſilver: he had a cupboard of plate of maſſy gold; and there were found a thouſand pieces of fine holland belonging to the cardinal.

But Henry, notwithſtanding the great riches he found in York palace, and the continual inſtigations of the cardinal's enemies, could not conſider the ſentence as juſt; he therefore carried the proſecution no farther. He even granted him a pardon for all offences; reſtored him part of his plate and furniture, and ſtill continued from time to time, to drop expreſſions of favour and compaſſion towards him.

Wolſey had left none about Henry with a genius comparable to his own. Gardiner indeed had been made a privy counſellor, and was a man of great parts, but he was not truſted. His abilities therefore ſerved only to raiſe the indignation of the king, and the new miniſtry, as they ſaw him ſo ready to betray and abandon the generous patron who had raiſed him from obſcurity. The duke of Norfolk was a man well adapted to buſineſs, but he was too complete a courtier to make a great miniſter. He knew no will but that of Henry, and though a man of merit, he made compliance with his prince's pleaſure his principal virtue. The duke of Suffolk had no turn for intrigues of ſtate; he was paſſive in all revolutions of government, and while Wolſey was countenanced by Henry, he was his friend. Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, affected to confine himſelf entirely to the adminiſtration of equity, and declined meddling with all matters regarding either religion or politics. The public, however, had conceived ſo high an opinion of his virtue, that Henry conſidered his approbation as of the utmoſt conſequence to unite the minds of his ſubjects with regard to the divorce.

In this diſtracted ſtate of the miniſtry, it was generally believed, that Henry would be obliged to recall Wolſey, and place him once more at the head of affairs. His enemies trembled at the proſpect; and had he returned, exaſperated and provoked as he was, not even the miſtreſs herſelf would have been ſafe. His misfortunes and ſufferings had changed the opinions of the people; from being hated, he was pitied, and they now regreted the loſs of a miniſter, who would have prevented the anarchy and confuſion which now reigned in the cabinet. It was therefore neceſſary for his enemies to collect all their power in order to remove him to a greater diſtance from court. He had for ſome months reſided at Richmond, but an order was now procured for removing him to York, under pretence, that as his chief eccleſiaſtical preferment lay there, his preſence might be of great ſervice in compoſing many differences in the country, which threatened to diſturb the public tranquillity. The cardinal, who knew it would be madneſs to reſiſt, obeyed the order, and took up his reſidence at Cawood in Yorkſhire, where he rendered himſelf extremely popular to the neighbourhood by his affability and hoſpitality.

Nothing gave Wolſey at this time, more concern, as Henry's reſuming into his own hands all the noble proviſions he had made for the ſupport of learning. Let it be remembered to his eternal honour, that though he had an excellent ſenſibility of misfortune, yet he ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to forget his own calamities, to bewail thoſe of literature and religion. He omitted nothing in his power to recover the revenues he had, with ſo much difficulty, collected; but Henry was inexorable, and the cardinal was at laſt obliged to deſiſt from his purpoſe.

During theſe tranſactions in England, a general peace was eſtabliſhed in Europe. Margaret of Auſtria, and Louiſe of Savoy met at Cambray, and ſettled the terms of the pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hoſtages. Henry was ſo generous to Francis, his friend and ally, that he ſent him an acquital of near ſix hundred thouſand crowns, which that prince owed him. The Italian confederates of Francis were not ſo well ſatisfied as the king of England, with the peace of Cambray. They were almoſt wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor, and ſeemed to have no other means of ſecurity left, but his equity and moderation.

Florence,

Florence, after a brave reſiſtance, was ſubdued by the imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the family of Medici. The Venetians were better treated: they were only obliged to relinquiſh ſome acquiſitions, they had made on the coaſt of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the inveſtiture of Milan, and was pardoned all his paſt offences. The emperor in perſon paſſed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna.

The proceedings of the parliament againſt Wolſey, was ſoon extended to the clergy in general, whoſe uſurpations had been long conſidered as an unſufferable burden upon the whole kingdom. Nor did the parties run any danger in curtailing the eccleſiaſtical power: the writings of the Lutherans had opened the eyes of the people, and, in ſome meaſure, reconciled them to the frightful ideas of hereſy and innovation. Accordingly the commons paſſed ſeveral bills, for reſtraining the impoſitions of the clergy; for regulating mortuaries; another againſt the exactions for the probates of wills; a third againſt non-reſidence and pluralities, and againſt any eccleſiaſtic farming of lands. Theſe bills did not, however, paſs without oppoſition eſpecially in the houſe of lords, where Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter imputed theſe meaſures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed deſign, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and of overturning the national religion. Exaſperated at theſe reflections, the commons ſent their ſpeaker to make complaints to the king; and the biſhop was obliged to give his words a ſofter and more favourable conſtruction.

A. D. 1530. Theſe proceedings of the parliament convinced Henry that his royal prerogative was fully eſtabliſhed in his own kingdom; which afforded him a fair opportunity for breaking off all connection with the court of Rome. He obſerved that his people in general were greatly diſguſted with eccleſiaſtical uſurpations, and well diſpoſed to reduce the powers and privileges of the clergy: He knew they had cordially taken part with him in his proſecution of the divorce, and highly reſented that unworthy treatment, which after ſo many ſervices and ſuch devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. But though he was greatly exaſperated at the duplicity and politics of Clement, yet he dreaded the reproach of hereſy, and apprehended the danger that might reſult from ſuch alarming innovations. In the mean time an accident happened which promiſed a ſolution of all his doubts, and a removal of all his anxieties.

Gardiner, ſecretary of ſtate, and Fox, the king's almoner, being at Cambridge, fell accidentally into the company of doctor Cranmer, a fellow of Jeſus college. He was remarkable in that univerſity for his extenſive learning, and ſtill more for his candour and diſintereſted temper. The common topic of that time being the king's divorce; and Gardiner, deſirous of obtaining the opinion of ſo great a man, ſtarted the ſubject. Cranmer obſerved, that, in his opinion, the readieſt way either to quit Henry's conſcience or extort the pope's conſent, would be to conſult all the univerſities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve the king's marriage with Catherine, his ſcruples would doubtleſs be removed; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to reſiſt the ſollicitations of ſo great a monarch, ſeconded by the opinion of all the learned in Chriſtendom. When Henry was informed of this propoſal, he was highly delighted with it; and ſwore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right ſow by the ear.

Accordingly, ambaſſadors were ſent to all the courts and univerſities of Europe, in order to obtain a deciſion of this important cauſe. The firſt learned body that gave their opinion on this queſtion was the univerſity of Angiers. This was followed by that of Paris, Bourges, Bologna, Thouloufe, Venice, and Ferrara; who all decided in Henry's favour, and were ſtrongly of opinion, that no power on earth could diſpenſe with Henry's marrying the wife of his brother. Some difficulty, however, aroſe with regard to procuring the opinions of the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge on this important queſtion. Not indeed from the nature of the thing itſelf, but from their apprehenſion that their giving ſanction to the meaſures Henry propoſed to purſue, might tend to ſpread the doctrines of the reformation, and overthrow the national religion. The deciſions of both univerſities were, however, at laſt obtained; and were, in every reſpect, conformable to thoſe ſent from the other ſeats of learning abroad. About the ſame time the convocations of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God; and conſequently incapable of being rendered valid by any human power.

Seconded by all theſe deciſions, Henry laid the whole before his parliament; and a letter was written to the pope by a committee from both houſes, recommending the cauſe of their king to the holy father, and threatening him with a defection of England from the ſee of Rome, in caſe he refuſed juſtice any longer. This letter was ſigned by two archbiſhops, two dukes, two marquiſſes, thirteen earls, four biſhops, twenty-eight barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners, who called themſelves knights and doctors in parliament.

His holineſs returned an anſwer to this letter; but it was ſo far from being ſatisfactory to Henry, that he clearly perceived he had nothing to expect but from his own power, and the affections of his people. The pope ſays, in his anſwer, that the cauſe of the divorce had been laid before him three years ago, and that the reaſon for the queen's appeal, was the hardſhips impoſed upon her by the legates; that no proctor from Henry having regularly appeared at Rome, it was impoſſible for him to put an end to the affair. He adds that their complaints of delays were deſtitute of foundation; and that very little regard ought to be paid to the determinations of the learned bodies, becauſe they were nothing more than their own opinions, unſupported by any evidences or proofs, either from the ſcriptures, the fathers, or the canon law; that the threatenings of the parliament gave him little concern, but his great eſteem for Henry, pleaded ſo ſtrongly for him, that he would willingly terminate the affair in his favour, if it could be done conſiſtently either with juſtice or a ſafe conſcience. This letter was accompanied by another citation to the king, ſummoning him to appear, either by himſelf or his proxy, before his bunal at Rome.

Exaſperated at this behaviour, Henry, who knew he could expect no fair trial there, refuſed even to admit any citation, which he conſidered as the

higheſt inſult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. He, however, condeſcended to diſpatch the father of Anne Boleyn, lately created earl of Wiltſhire, to the court of Rome, with his reaſons for refuſing to appear by proxy; and this nobleman gave his holineſs the firſt inſtance of diſreſpect from England, by refuſing to kiſs the pope's foot, which that prelate graciouſly held out to him.

During theſe tranſactions, Wolſey reſided at Cawood, and employed himſelf in performing all the offices belonging to his function. Henry knew that his ſhaking off the power of the biſhop of Rome, would be very diſagreeable to the cardinal, who would certainly exert all his talents to oppoſe ſuch an alarming innovation. A reſolution was therefore taken in the privy-council to arreſt him for high treaſon, and conduct him to London, in order to receive his trial. Accordingly the earl of Northumberland received orders to execute the writ without paying any regard to his eccleſiaſtical character. The nobleman obeyed; but the cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, and partly from the agitation of his mind, was ſeized with a diſorder which turned to a dyſentery, and it was not without great difficulty that he reached the abbey of Leiceſter. He was received with great reſpect by the abbot and monks; but Wolſey told them they might ſpare every act of formality and ceremony, for he was come to lay his bones among them. Finding his laſt hour approaching, he ſent for Sir William Kingſton, conſtable of the tower, who had him in cuſtody, into his chamber, and ſpoke to him in the following words.

"I watch, Sir, only for God's pleaſure to "render into his hands my poor ſoul. I pray "you have me heartily commended to his royal "majeſty, and beſeech him, on my behalf, to call "to his princely remembrance, all matters that "have been between us from the beginning, eſpe-"cially with regard to the buſineſs between him "and queen Catherine; and then let his own con-"ſcience decide whether I have or have not offend-"ed him.

"He is a prince of a moſt royal carriage, and "hath a princely heart; but rather than he will "miſs any part of his will, he will endanger the "one half of his kingdom.

"I have, I do aſſure you, often kneeled before "him, ſometimes three hours together, to perſuade "him from his will and appetite, but could not "prevail: had I ſerved my God as diligently as "I ſerved my king, he would not have forſaken "me in my grey hairs. But this is the juſt re-"ward I muſt receive for all my diligent pains and "ſtudy, not regarding my duty to God, but only "to my prince. Let me therefore adviſe you, if "you be one of the privy council, as by your "wiſdom you are fit, that heed what you put "into the king's head, for you can never put it "out again."

Thus died Wolſey, the moſt able miniſter England ever had ſeen, the victim of his maſter's reſentment, not of his juſtice. While he had the ſole direction of foreign affairs, his adminiſtration was great and ſucceſsful. With regard to domeſtic, his conduct was firm but unpopular; and when he fell a victim to the uncontroulable paſſions of Henry, he became to the people the ſcape-goat for all his maſter's offences. All ranks and degrees of Henry's ſubjects, had motives either of intereſt or conſcience for condemning Wolſey. The papiſts hated him for ſhaking the very foundation of that policy, by which their church had ſo long become a mart of iniquity. The proteſtants deteſted him, becauſe he was an enthuſiaſt, for the abſurdities of the papal religion; while Henry practiſed no more of the great ſcheme of reformation, propoſed by Wolſey, than was ſufficient for him to commit ſacrilege without neceſſity, and cruelty without provocation.

But it is not our intention to defend the goodneſs of Wolſey's heart. We have endeavoured to lay all his actions before the reader, in order to enable him to judge for himſelf, and ſhall conclude with obſerving, that few miniſters ever had their characters ſo differently repreſented as this famous cardinal.

A. D. 1531. The king now gave ſtrong proofs of his determination to ſuppreſs the clergy, and oblige them to acknowledge him as head of the church. Accordingly an indictment was brought againſt them in the court of king's bench, for ſubmitting to the legantine power of Wolſey, contrary to the ancient ſtatute of proviſoes. Perhaps there never was a more unjuſt and infamous proſecution than this againſt the clergy. Wolſey, who executed the legantine authority by the king's permiſſion, was then inveſted with ſuch a plenitude of power, that it would have been imprudent, or rather madneſs, to have diſputed the legality of his commiſſion. But the letter of the law was ſtrongly againſt them, and they prudently choſe to throw themſelves upon their ſovereign's mercy. Upon this ſubmiſſion it was agreed in parliament, that the province of Canterbury ſhould pay one hundred thouſand pounds, and the province of York, nineteen thouſand, for their pardon. But theſe ſums were but ſmall advantages, when compared with thoſe he received with regard to his prerogative; for a confeſſion was extorted from them, that "The king was the protector and "ſupreme head of the church and clergy of Eng-"land, ſo far as was agreeable to the law of "Chriſt."

But when this act of grace came to be read in the lower houſe, the commons were greatly alarmed at their not being included in it, as they were ſubject to the ſame cenſure as the clergy, both as individuals, and as repreſentatives of the people of England. It was therefore reſolved, that a committee of the houſe, with the ſpeaker at their head, ſhould attend the king, and deſire to be included in the pardon.

Henry, who neither expected, nor approved of this application, told the committee, that the manner in which they applied for his pardon, carried an air of compulſion, and that he was reſolved his favours ſhould be free, ſince he might grant even the clergy their pardon under the great ſeal, without the conſent of the commons. With this anſwer the committee returned to their houſe, without any hopes of obtaining their requeſt. But ſome time after Henry, who never intended to do any thing that might ruffle his parliament, iſſued a general pardon to the laity. This had ſo good an effect, that ſoon after, when the parliament was diſſolved, the members filled the minds of the people in their reſpective counties, with reſentment againſt

againſt the inſolence of the pope, and with a high opinion of the king's ſufferings and clemency.

Soon after the ſeſſion of parliament was over, Henry, who had hitherto lived decently with the queen, and paid her all the reſpect due to her birth and quality, loſt all patience from her ſtill obſtinately perſiſting in her appeal. The king ordered a committee of the council to lay before her the conſequences, both to the pope, to the kingdom, to herſelf, and to her poſterity, by thus adhering ſteadfaſtly to her appeal; offering, at the ſame time, to refer the whole affair to the deciſion of four ſpiritual and four temporal lords. But no offers, no propoſals, were capable of ſhaking the determination of Catherine; ſhe obſtinately adhered to her appeal, and declined all perdiction but that of the pope. Another meſſage was ſent to the queen, informing her, that her majeſty had highly exaſperated the king, by rejecting every method offered for an accommodation, diſregarding the opinions of all the learned in Europe, and prevailing on the pope to cite the king to Rome: his majeſty therefore was determined to have no farther intercourſe with her, and deſired ſhe would immediately remove from his court. This meſſage did not at all intimidate Catherine: ſhe nobly anſwered, "That to what place ſoever ſhe was re-"moved, nothing could remove her from being "the king's wife." This happened about the middle of July, and it does not appear that Henry ever ſaw her after.

A. D. 1532. Henry was now very ſollicitous to cultivate a good underſtanding with the proteſtant princes in Germany, and ſucceeded to the utmoſt of his wiſhes. By this means he became once more the arbiter of Europe; his territories were in peace, his ſubjects rich, and, except in matters of religion, firmly united: all of them, however, readily concurred in all the meaſures calculated to reduce the exorbitant power of the pope; while few or none were diſſatisfied with the points already gained by Henry, except thoſe who immediately depended on the papal ſee.

Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, it is no wonder that the members of parliament brought back with them all their former ſpirit againſt the clergy; they even compiled a whole volume of the grievances they ſuffered under the bigotted tyranny of eccleſiaſtical power, and preſented it by their ſpeaker to the king, under the title of a ſupplication. An act was paſſed againſt levying the annates, or firſt fruits, being a year's rent of all the biſhoprics which fell vacant: a tax which was impoſed by the pope of Rome, for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to very conſiderable ſums. Since the ſecond year of Henry the ſeventh, no leſs than one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been tranſmitted to Rome, on account of that claim, which the parliament therefore reduced to five per cent. on all the eccleſiaſtical benefices. At the ſame time the king was intruſted with a power of regulating theſe payments, or of confirming or infringing this act at his pleaſure: and it was voted that any cenſures that might be paſſed by the court of Rome, on account of that law, ſhould be entirely diſregarded, and that maſs ſhould be ſaid, and the ſacraments adminiſtered, as if no ſuch cenſures had been iſſued.

But though Henry and his parliament agreed in every thing that tended to humble the power of the Roman pontiff, yet there was not the ſame harmony between them when buſineſs that tended to enlarge the prerogative came before them. It was cuſtomary for men to make ſuch ſettlements, or truſt deeds of their land by will, that they defrauded not only the king, but other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the ſame artifice the king was deprived of his premier ſeiſin, and the profits of the livery, which formed no inconſiderable branches of the revenue. A bill was therefore brought into the upper houſe, and paſſed without oppoſition; but it was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by the commons that it was thrown out, and all expedients of the ſame nature were rejected. This ſo highly provoked Henry, that the commons applied by petition to have the parliament diſſolved, on account of the tedious and expenſive attendance. But they were anſwered, that his majeſty expected they would prove the reality of the grievances alledged in their ſupplication, in order to obtain redreſs. The king added, that he himſelf, as well as they, was to attend during their ſitting. But the plague breaking out ſoon after, occaſioned a ſhort prorogation.

As ſoon as the parliament met, Henry ſent for the commons, and informed them, that he perceived that the Engliſh clergy were but half ſubjects to the crown; and to prove this, recommended to their peruſal, the copies of the two oaths which the biſhops took upon their admiſſion to their ſees; one to the king, the other to the pope. Convinced of the truth of this obſervation, the parliament ſhewed their intention of aboliſhing the oath taken to the pope, when their proceedings were again ſtopped by the ſudden breaking out of the plague at Weſtminſter, which occaſioned a ſecond prorogation.

Theſe proceedings of the Engliſh parliament, which were intimated to the pope and cardinals by Henry's ambaſſadors, alarmed the papal court. The ambaſſadors had, however, orders to acquaint the pontiff, that Henry had it ſtill in his power to ſuſpend the execution of any of thoſe ſevere acts, and that his holineſs might yet make Henry his friend. The conclave were much divided in their ſentiments. The cardinals of the imperial party repreſented the proceedings of Henry and his parliament, as ſo many deep wounds to Chriſtianity itſelf, and which his holineſs, as the common father of that religion, was bound to retaliate. They repreſented that even Henry's manner of proceeding ſufficiently ſhewed the difficulties under which he laboured; and that a little firmneſs on his part, would reduce both Henry and his parliament to ſubmiſſion. But the cardinal of Ravenna, and ſeveral others were of different ſentiments, and aſſerted that the pope ought ſtill to temporize, or at leaſt to delay giving any definitive ſentence. A few days convinced his holineſs that the Imperialiſts were totally miſtaken. Advice arrived at Rome, that a prieſt had been impriſoned for preaching up the pope's authority in England, and that another prieſt, who had been impriſoned on ſuſpicion of hereſy by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, had, on his appeal to the king as ſupreme lord, been taken out of the prelate's hands, and after examination in the king's courts, ſet at liberty.

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These advices, together with the representations of the English ambassadors made such an impression on his holiness, that the pope once more wrote to the king to send a proxy to Rome, where every thing would be done to give him satisfaction.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, the chancellor, Sir Thomas More, plainly perceiving that all the measures of the king and parliament tended to a breach with the church of Rome, and to alter the established religion, which his principles would not suffer him to comply with, desired leave to resign the seals. Henry, who had a high opinion of More's virtue, and therefore thought it of service to continue him in the ministry, did not accept of his resignation without great reluctance. The seals were immediately bestowed upon Sir Thomas Audeley; and More descended from the high station of chancellor, with more joy and alacrity, than he had mounted up to it.

Soon after this resignation Warham, archbishop of Canterbury paid the debt of nature. He was a prelate of great learning, candour and virtue. He had also vast experience, a sincere regard for the king's person, and consented to most of the steps that had been taken with regard to the reduction of the papal power. On the death of this prelate, doctor Cranmer was nominated to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

Henry, exasperated against the pope for his continually sending him summonses to Rome, determined to shake off the authority of his holiness; and in order to support himself in a measure of so much importance, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne, where they renewed their personal friendship, and concerted every measure necessary for their mutual defence. Francis even went so far as to promise Henry, that he would stop the payment of the annates in France; that he would join in summoning the pope before a general council; and that he would assist Henry, in doing himself justice, to the utmost of his power. By this means Francis gained entirely the confidence of Henry, who was persuaded that Francis would imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience to the see of Rome, and doing himself justice by taking the direction of ecclesiastical affairs into his own hands.

Having thus taken the necessary measures for securing himself and his kingdom, from the resentment of any foreign power, he privately married Anne Boleyn, who had been created marchioness of Pembroke. The ceremony was performed by Rouland Lee, who was soon after raised to the see of Coventry. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with doctor Cranmer, were present at the ceremony. The queen became pregnant soon after the marriage, which the people considered as a strong proof of her former modesty and virtue, and induced Henry to acknowledge her openly as queen of England.

A. D. 1533. The parliament being met, they proceeded steadily in their measures for shaking off the authority of the pope; and passed an act against appeals to Rome, in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable by the ecclesiastical courts in England; because, as the preamble to the act expresses it, the crown of England was imperial, and the nation a complete body within itself, enjoying full power to award justice in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal.

In the mean time the pope had granted the necessary bulls for Cranmer's being advanced to the see of Canterbury, notwithstanding that prelate's declared attachment to the reformers. Upon his taking his seat in the upper house of convocation, two questions were proposed relative to Catherine's marriage. The first was, whether it was lawful to marry the wife of a brother dying without issue, but having consummated the marriage; and whether the prohibition of such a marriage was founded in a divine law, with which the pope could not dispense? the other was, whether the consummation of prince Arthur's marriage was sufficiently proved? both these questions were resolved in Henry's favour by a great majority; the convocation agreeing in substance with the universities

These questions being resolved, it was determined in the privy council that Cranmer should pronounce the sentence of divorce. Accordingly the ecclesiastical court met at Dunstable, Catherine, having some time before fixed her residence at Ampthill, a place in the neighbourhood of that town. This place was chosen for opening the ecclesiastical court assembled for examining the validity of the marriage, in order to deprive the queen of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared contumacious; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences to prove the consummation of Arthur's marriage were produced; the opinions of the university were read; together with the judgment pronounced two years ago by the convocations of Canterbury and York. These preparatory steps being taken, Cranmer proceeded to pronounce the sentence annulling the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence, he ratified Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was soon after crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suitable to that ceremony. Soon after she was delivered of the princess Elizabeth, who afterwards swayed the sceptre of England.

Soon after the sentence of divorce was pronounced by the ecclesiastical court, lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate Catherine to inform her that she was henceforth to be treated only as princess dowager of Wales; and every method employed to make her acquiese in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; nor could all Henry's art or threatenings prevail with her to relinquish the title of queen of England, or suffer any person to approach her without the accustomed ceremonial.

As soon as the accounts of these proceedings in England reached Rome, the whole court was inflamed with resentment against Henry, and all the cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pontiff to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to emit his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement, willing, if possible, to preserve the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown, proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if he did not before the first of November ensuing, replace every thing on the same foundation they formerly stood.

Francis, who was anxiously desirous of preventing a total breach between Henry and the holy father, laboured assiduously to prevent affairs from being

being carried to extremities. He obſerved, that though Henry was fond of his newly acquired eccleſiaſtical authority, he ſtill entertained ſome remains of prejudice in favour of the apoſtolic ſee, and was apprehenſive of the conſequences that might reſult from too violent innovations. He therefore hoped, that, as each party was ſtill deſirous of an accommodation, it was not yet too late to bring about ſo deſirable an event.

A. D. 1534. In order to this he prevailed upon Clement to promiſe, that if Henry would ſend a proxy to Rome, and thereby ſubmit his cauſe to the holy ſee, he would appoint commiſſioners to meet at Cambray, and immediately afterwards pronounce the ſentence of divorce. This being agreed to by Henry, a day was fixed for the return of a meſſenger diſpatched to the Engliſh court for full powers to bring this long conteſted affair to an amicable concluſion. But for ſome unforſeen accident, the courtier was detained beyond the day appointed, and which was conſidered as an high affront to the Roman pontiff. Accordingly the pope and cardinals entered the conſiſtory inflamed with anger; and by a precipitate ſentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine, was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refuſed ſubmiſſion. Two days after the courier arrived; but it was now too late. Clement indeed, who had, on this occaſion, been hurried from his uſual prudence, repented heartily of his precipitate conduct; but well knew that it was now impoſſible to replace things on the footing they were before the definitive ſentence.

Henry had hitherto given great liberties with regard to every man's ſpeaking and writing his own ſentiments with regard to his marriage with Catherine. This naturally produced vaſt torrents of abuſe from thoſe who were zealous defenders of the pope's power, againſt all the favourers of Henry's divorce. The regular clergy, who were the great ſupporters of Catherine's cauſe, had tutored a fanatical woman, called Elizabeth Barton, who went by the name of the holy maid of Kent, into a very ſingular impoſture. This enthuſiaſt pretended to be divinely commiſſioned, and was ſo thoroughly a miſtreſs of her face, voice, features, and all the diſtortions that accompany pretended inſpirations, that ſhe was conſidered by many, and even by Sir Thomas More, and biſhop Fiſher, as ſomething more than mortal. Her artful inſtructors, Riſby and Rich, both of them friars, finding that ſhe gained credit every day among the people, put her upon ſpeaking and propheſying with great warmth againſt the king's divorce, and his ſecond marriage. Her example had ſuch influence with the common people, that there was a neceſſity for putting a ſtop to all practices of this kind. Cromwell was accordingly intruſted with the execution; and by his unwearied diligence, the maid of Kent was diſcovered to be an infamous impoſtor; and there were the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe, that the whole was calculated to raiſe a rebellion. The maid's enthuſiaſtic ſpeeches and bold declarations, were retailed in the ſermons of the friars all over the kingdom. At laſt ſhe became ſo bold as to pretend ſhe had received a revelation from God, importing, that if the king perſiſted in his divorce, and took another wife, he ſhould not reign a month longer, but die the death of a villain. Henry at firſt diverted himſelf with the ſtories of her inſpiration; but finding ſhe was made the inſtrument of a dangerous conſpiracy, and that not only the regular clergy, but alſo the pope's agents in England, had given her inſtructions, he reſolved to proceed againſt her with the utmoſt ſeverity; and there being ſufficient proofs, both of her impoſtor and treaſon, ſhe and all her accomplices were thrown into priſon.

But as their puniſhment could be no ſecurity againſt ſimilar practices for the future, a bill was brought into parliament for regulating the ſucceſſion to the crown. By this act, the marriage of the king with Catherine, was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: the primate's ſentence, annulling it, was ratified: and the marriage of queen Anne was eſtabliſhed and confirmed. The crown was appointed to deſcend to the iſſue of that marriage, and on their failing, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath was alſo ordered to be taken in favour of this ſucceſſion, under penalty of impriſonment during the king's pleaſure, and forfeiture of their goods and chattels. And all ſlander againſt the king, queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the penalty of miſpriſion of treaſon.

Beſides this act, ſeveral others were paſſed, all tending to deſtroy the pope's authority. All payments made to the apoſtolic chamber; all proviſions, bulls, and diſpenſations were aboliſhed: monaſteries were ſubjected to the viſitation and government of the king alone: the law for puniſhing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited to impriſon or try any perſon upon ſuſpicion alone, without preſentment by two lawful witneſſes; and it was declared that to ſpeak againſt the pope's authority was no hereſy: biſhops were to be appointed by a conge d'elire from the crown, or, in caſe of the dean and chapter's refuſal, by letters patent; and no recourſe was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or proviſions: Campegio and Guinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Worceſter, which they had hitherto enjoyed: the law formerly made againſt the payment of annates or firſt fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to ſuſpend or enforce, was finally eſtabliſhed; and a ſubmiſſion which had, two years before been exacted from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, now received the ſanction of parliament. In this ſubmiſſion the clergy acknowledge, that convocations ought only to be aſſembled by the king's authority; they promiſe to enact no new canons without his conſent, and agree that he ſhould appoint thirty-two commiſſioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate ſuch as ſhould be found prejudicial to his royal authority.

Nor were the two houſes of convocation leſs compliable than the parliament. They ordered that the act againſt appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, ſhould be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: and they voted that the biſhop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more juriſdiction in England, than any other foreign biſhop, and that the authority exerciſed there, was only an uſurpation and the ſufferance of Engliſh princes. Four perſons only oppoſed this vote in the lower houſe. In the upper it paſſed nnanimouſly.

Upon the receſs of parliament, commiſſioners

were ſent into all parts of England for adminiſtering the oaths relative to the ſucceſſion. None oppoſed either of the oaths except Sir Thomas More, and Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter; and they were both ſent to the tower. Cranmer and Cromwell, who had vaſt intereſt at the council-board, pleaded ſtrongly againſt ſeverity to perſons of ſo much, and ſuch univerſal, reputation, both for learning and virtue; but the earl of Wiltſhire and his party were of different ſentiments; and being more numerous than the others, carried the queſtion. Fiſher, who was almoſt fourſcore years of age, was confined ſo rigorouſly in the depth of winter, that he was ready to periſh with cold and hunger, nor was More's treatment leſs rigorous.

The parliament being again aſſembled, conferred on the king the title of "The only ſupreme head "on earth, of the church of England," as they had already inveſted him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act, the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, to viſit and repreſs, redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain or amend, all errors, hereſies, abuſes, offences, contempts and enormities, which fell under any ſpiritual authority or juriſdiction. They alſo declared it treaſon to attempt, imagine, or ſpeak evil againſt the king, queen, or his heirs; or to endeavour to deprive them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of all benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a ſubſidy and a fifteenth; they attainted More and Fiſher, for miſpriſion of treaſon, and they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the Engliſh laws.

Henry having thus acquired the ſupreme directions of eccleſiaſtical as well as civil affairs, iſſued orders for all the clergy of England to expatiate in their ſermons on the juſtice of his divorce, the uſurpations of the church of Rome, and the antiquity, as well as juſtice of the royal ſupremacy. Sampſon, dean of the royal chapel, was one of the firſt among the Engliſh clergy, who appeared in print againſt the pope's power; and his work was followed by an inundation of writings on the ſame ſubject. Numbers of Lutherans, ſeeing the abſurdity of the Romiſh church expoſed in one particular, inadvertently attempted farther reformation. They tranſlated a great number of books from other languages, and publiſhed them in England. But they were greatly miſtaken in Henry's views, for he proceeded with unrelenting ſeverity againſt all innovators, which did not tend to advance or maintain his ſupremacy, prerogative, and ſucceſſion. Even the New Teſtament, when it made its firſt appearance in Engliſh, could not eſcape the flames. To the eternal reproach of Henry and his reforming government, they condemned to the ſame flames, all who were incautious enough to declare their ſentiments in other religious points, to be different from thoſe of the church of Rome, though even in her groſſeſt abſurdities.

In ſhort, the religion of England was wholly directed by Henry; his breath lighted up the flames of Smithfield; his will made the paſtors of the church adminiſter balm or poiſon to their flock. He affected to be inſcrutable in all his deſigns, and was inacceſſible on every ſide, except that which flattered his vanity, and extended his power. His new queen ſecretly loved the reformation, but was not ſo much miſtreſs of Henry's affections, as to openly eſpouſe its tenets. She herſelf was obliged to adopt his infallibility as the firſt article both of her political and religious creed.

Cromwell was now the firſt miniſter of ſtate, or rather the firſt ſlave of Henry's paſſions. He ſufficiently comprehended the deſires of Henry, and was therefore indefatigable in advancing the prerogatives of the crown, and defending the abſurdities of the king's religion. If he had any ſentiments of his own in religious matters, it was in favour of the reformation; but he carefully concealed them from Henry.

Cranmer was a perſon of ſenſe and learning, but thought it prudent not to oppoſe the king, who, he well knew, would ſuffer no contradiction. Henry knew the value of Cranmer's character, and therefore ſuffered him to take liberties, which he denied to all others. While the prelate, knowing the dangerous ſituation of thoſe who deſire to direct the affairs of adminiſtration, ſought no other importance than what his own ſtation gave him. His life was irreproachable, and there was an openneſs in his manner which gained the love and eſteem of all who knew him. In matters of religion, he was an enemy to the ſuperſtition of the Romiſh court, and it ought to be remembered to his honour, that he was the father of the Engliſh reformation; and notwithſtanding the intractable diſpoſition of his maſter, he laid the foundation of that work which was afterwards ſo nobly completed.

The duke of Norfolk, and the biſhop of Wincheſter were, in their private ſentiments, conformable to thoſe of Henry, with regard to religion; but they differed with reſpect to the power of the pope; they, however, diſſembled their opinions, and ſeemed zealous at once to defend the king's ſupremacy, and ſupport the validity of the divorce. At the ſame time they were deſirous of preſerving all the abſurdities of the Romiſh religion, and keeping a ſtrict eye over every pretender to reformation.

A. D. 1535. The greateſt enemies Henry experienced, were the monks and friars, and he therefore reſolved to take ample vengeance on them. He ſuppreſſed three monaſteries of the obſervantine friars, and finding that this act of power excited very little clamour, he was encouraged to lay his rapacious hands upon the reſt. In the mean time he exerciſed puniſhments on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treaſon to endeavour to deprive the king either of his dignity or titles, and had lately added to his other titles, that of ſupreme head of the church. It was inferred, that to deny his ſupremacy was treaſon, and many friars and other eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives for this new ſpecies of crime. It was doubtleſs a high inſtance of tyranny to make the mere delivery of a political opinion, eſpecially one that no ways affected the king's temporal right to be a capital offence; though attended with no overt act; and the parliament, in paſſing this law, had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, ſhould be governed. But the violence of changing ſo ſuddenly the whole ſyſtem of government, and the making it treaſon to deny what, during many ages, it had been hereſy to aſſert, is an event which may appear

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ſomewhat extraordinary. Even the ſtern and unrelenting mind of Henry was at firſt ſhocked with ſanguinary meaſures, and he went ſo far as to change his garb and dreſs, pretending ſorrow for the neceſſity which puſhed him to ſuch extremities. But impelled by his violent temper, and deſirous of ſtriking the whole nation with terror, he determined to conſummate to lawleſs tyranny, by pouring vengeance on the heads of Fiſher and More.

Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, was a prelate eminent for his learning and morals, and alſo for the high favour he had long experienced from the king. When he was thrown into priſon, on account of refuſing the oath of ſucceſſion, and his concealment of the treaſonable ſpeeches made by the maid of Kent, he was not only deprived of his revenues, but even ſtripped of his cowl, notwithſtanding his great age. In this condition he languiſhed in priſon for more than a twelvemonth; when the pope, deſirous of rewarding the ſufferings of ſo faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal. Fiſher, however, was ſo careleſs of that dignity, that he declared he would not ſtoop to take the purple from the ground. Filled with indignation againſt Fiſher for the reward he had received, Henry determined to make the innocent prelate feel the weight of his reſentment: he was accordingly indicted for denying the king's ſupremacy, tried, condemned, and beheaded, without giving him a proper time for making his defence.

Henry hoped this rigorous proceeding would have ſome effect upon More, whoſe compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiouſly deſired by the king. Henry alſo bore as much perſonal affection with regard to More, as his imperious mind, the ſport of jarring paſſions, was ſuſceptible of towards a man, who, in any particular, oppoſed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed upon to acknowledge any opinion ſo contrary to his principles as that of the king's ſupremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath for that purpoſe. Rich, the ſollicitor general, was ſent to confer with More, then a priſoner, who kept a cautious ſilence with regard to the ſupremacy; he was only inveigled to ſay, that any queſtion, with regard to the law which eſtabliſhed that prerogative, was like a two edged ſword; if a perſon anſwers one way it will confound his ſoul; if the other it will deſtroy his body. This was ſufficient to found an indictment againſt the priſoner. His ſilence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; while theſe words, which had caſually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the ſupremacy. Trials indeed were nothing more than formalities during this reign; and accordingly the jury found the priſoner guilty. More had long expected this fate, and therefore needed no preparation to fortify him againſt the terrors of death. Not only his conſtancy, but even his chearfulneſs, nay even his facetiouſneſs, never forſook him; and he very willingly ſacrificed his life to his integrity, with the ſame indifference, as he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one, "Friend, help me "up, and when I go down again let me ſhift for "myſelf." The executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he granted the requeſt, but told him, "His "neck was too ſhort for him ever to get any credit "by his dexterity." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner ſtay till he put aſide his beard, "For, ſaid he, it never committed trea-"ſon." He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age, and had he been free from the weakneſs of ſuperſtition, would have left a character equal to any of his predeceſſors. But, however miſtaken he might be in his principles, his conſtancy and integrity are equally objects of our admiration.

About the ſame time that Fiſher and More were executed, Henry gave ſeveral bloody proofs that he was determined all his ſubjects ſhould be of his own religion, as well as under his own allegiance: nineteen Dutchmen, and ſix women were examined upon ſome fanatical points, and fourteen of them were burnt. Three monks of the Chartreux at London were hanged, drawn and quartered, for denying Henry's ſupremacy; and a thouſand victims fell in different parts of the kingdom; nor was there any diſtinction made between thoſe that favoured the reformation, and thoſe that defended the papacy. Theſe two parties in the king's council, however they concealed their ſentiments, did not a little contribute to thoſe deteſtible perſecutions. Gardiner, the moſt furious oppoſer of the proteſtants, puſhed the affair of the king's ſupremacy with a kind of enthuſiaſm, but artfully made it operate to cruſh the reformation. He laid it down as a maxim, that if Henry was ſupreme in eccleſiaſtical matters, he had a right to direct and controul the conſciences of all who ſubmitted to his government; and that all the reformers, whoſe conſciences were different from his, ought to be puniſhed with death. On the other hand, Cranmer and Cromwell, though they were very free of their zeal againſt the pope, were afraid of touching Henry in ſo tender a point as that of the ſupremacy; and all the diſpatches, both from the council and government at this time, demonſtrate that Henry was reſolved to exerciſe it in ſuch a manner, as to take from his ſubjects, not only the liberty of acting, but, if poſſible, even that of thinking contrary to his direction. It is no wonder if the flames of perſecution, thus blown by different breaths, and from oppoſite quarters, terrified the clergy and people of England into compliance; and it is to be lamented that, however our religious parties in thoſe days differed in points either of ſpeculation or practice, yet they all united in the deteſtible doctrine of perſecution. Freſh injunctions were iſſued by Henry in the month of June, to all archbiſhops and biſhops, for enforcing the doctrine of the king's ſupremacy, and they were accompanied by a declaration from Cromwell to the ſame effect, which they were ordered to read from the pulpit. It does not appear that one prelate refuſed to comply with theſe injunctions. Some of them indeed, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhops of Chicheſter, Saliſbury, Lincoln, and Ely, were more forward and zealous in this particular than others. Lee, archbiſhop of York, and Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, were ſuſpected by Henry not to be hearty in the cauſe, and were accordingly reprimanded by him: but all complied, and Lee was at great pains to remove a ſuſpicion which might otherwiſe have coſt him his head.

It

It is no wonder that theſe violent proceedings, ſo very oppoſite to Henry's profeſſions and writing in the former part of his reign, aſtoniſhed all Europe; and had not the enmity between the emperor and the king of France ſtill continued, would doubtleſs have produced a general cruſade againſt him.

One Marveille, a Milaneſe gentleman had reſided ſome days with the character of ambaſſador from Francis, with the duke of Milan, who had received his credentials, but for fear of giving jealouſy to the emperor, he deſired Marveille not to act in a public character, but to continue near his court as a private gentleman employed about his own affairs. At the ſame time the duke intimated to the court of France, that he had received Marveille's letters, and acknowledged him as a miniſter from that crown. The emperor, either through Marveille's vanity, or by his ſpies, diſcovered the whole ſecret, and inſiſted ſo ſtrenuouſly on his being forbid that court, that a reſolution was taken to diſpatch Marveille. Accordingly a quarrel began between Marveille's ſervants and one of the emperor's agents, who was killed in the fray. Upon this Marveille himſelf was ſeized, conducted to priſon, and, two days after put to death by the duke's orders.

This tranſaction exaſperated Francis, who ordered his ambaſſadors at every court in Europe to declare againſt this violence offered to the law of nations. But the emperor treated theſe complaints with contempt: he aſſerted that Marveille was one of the duke of Milan's ſubjects: that he deſerved the fate he had met with; and, in ſhort, ſufficiently intimated that he thought he ſhould gain his point, if he could make ſo wide a breach between Francis and Sforza, that the latter ſhould have no refuge but the houſe of Auſtria. On the other hand, Francis was not diſpleaſed that this incident gave him a plauſible pretence of proſecuting his favourite deſign on the Milaneſe, and, on being refuſed juſtice, he prepared to do himſelf juſtice by arms. Accordingly he ordered his troops to rendezvous at Lyons, and after renewing his correſpondence with the Porte, and forming a ſtrong party among the proteſtants of Germany, he prepared to penetrate into the Milaneſe; but being refuſed a paſſage through the territories of Savoy, he declared war againſt that duke, which gave ſuch encouragement to the inhabitants of Geneva, that they took up arms, declared for the reformed religion, and expelled their biſhop. Francis took Chambery and Montmilian. The duke of Savoy applied to the emperor for relief, but obtained none. His ſubjects, however, made ſo powerful a reſiſtance, that Francis could proceed no farther that campaign, and in the October following, he received the news of the duke of Milan's death.

Henry, though he was not diſpleaſed with ſeeing the higheſt probability of a new breach between Charles and Francis, yet he was far from being pleaſed with the cloſe correſpondence between the latter and the pope, and he well knew the latter was his inveterate enemy. For when the news of the execution of Fiſher and More was reported at Rome, eſpecially that of the former, who was inveſted with the dignity of cardinal, every one diſcovered the moſt violent rage againſt the king; and numerous libels were publiſhed by the wits and orators of Italy. He was compared to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the cruel and unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement died about ſix months after he pronounced ſentence againſt Henry, and Paul the third, of the name of Farneſe, had aſcended the papal throne. This pontiff, who had always favoured Henry's cauſe while a cardinal, and hoped that perſonal animoſities being buried with his predeceſſor, it might not be impoſſible to form an agreement with England: and even Henry himſelf was ſo deſirous of accommodating matters, that in a negotiation he entered into with France, a little before this time, he required that Francis ſhould conciliate a friendſhip between him and the court of Rome. But Henry had always been accuſtomed to preſcribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating peace, the violence of his temper often carried him to ſuch exceſs, as rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fiſher was regarded by Paul, as ſo capital an injury, that he immediately paſſed cenſures againſt the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days in order to anſwer for their crimes. If they failed he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his realm; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his iſſue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; diſſolved all leagues which any catholic prince had made with him; gave his kingdom to an invader; commanded the nobility to take arms againſt him; freed his ſubjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign ſtates; and declared it lawful for any one to ſeize them, make ſlaves of their perſons, and convert their effects to his own uſe.

Such were the cenſures paſſed againſt Henry and his ſubjects in the Roman conſiſtory. The pope, however, thought it moſt prudent not to denounce them openly: he hoped there might ſtill be meaſures found for making up the breach with Henry. Beſides the emperor was in no condition to execute the ſentence denounced by the holy father againſt England, unleſs a thorough reconciliation could be effected between him and Francis, which now ſeemed almoſt impoſſible.

It is therefore no wonder that Henry was alarmed by the cloſe correſpondence between the pope and the king of France, well knowing that there was no injury in Charles's power to inflict, that he might not expect. His deſign was, if poſſible, to get into his hands the princeſs Mary, aſſert her legitimacy, and marry her to ſome prince who was able to aſſiſt him in executing the pope's ſentence againſt England. But ſeveral incidents happened which oppoſed theſe great deſigns. Francis had found means to engage the Turks in his quarrel with the emperor; and the famous Haradin Barbaroſſa, king of Tunis, was at ſea with a powerful fleet, laying waſte the coaſts of Spain, Naples, and Sicily. At the ſame time he was greatly embarraſſed by the progreſs of the reformers in Germany, where Francis had, by his good offices, made the landgrave of Heſſe and the duke of Wirtemberg his friends. Both theſe princes had been ſtripped of their dominions by the houſe of Auſtria; but having defeated the army of the king of the Romans, they recovered their territories, and the landgrave promiſed to aſſiſt Francis.

Senſible that Francis hated the reformation in his heart, Charles did every thing in his power to break

break his connections with the proteſtants; and even offered to grant the inveſtiture of the dutchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans. The count of Naſſau was charged with this negotiation by the emperor, and was ordered to propoſe a marriage between the dauphin of France, and the princeſs Mary of England, and another between the emperor's ſon and a princeſs of France. Though Francis was no ſtranger to the inſincerity of Charles, yet he determined, if poſſible, to avail himſelf of the emperor's offers, eſpecially as the Engliſh ambaſſadors had been, for ſome time, very preſſing for the arrears of the penſion he had engaged by treaty to pay to Henry. In order to this he diſpatched Chabot, admiral of France, at the head of a ſolemn embaſſy to the court of England, in order to lay before Henry the advantageous offers made by the emperor.

Henry received the embaſſy with ſome kind of contempt. He ſaid that the emperor's offer of the princeſs Mary was, of itſelf, ridiculous, ſince ſhe was not at his diſpoſal, and that he knew how to prevent her from ever being ſo: that the propoſal with regard to the dutchy of Milan, was intended for nothing more than to procure a breach between France and England, that he might the better diſtreſs both. He added, that if Francis was diſpoſed to cultivate the good correſpondence between them, he expected he would employ his good offices in procuring a revocation of thoſe ſentences, which had been fulminated againſt him in the conſiſtory at Rome. This being complied with, he would order commiſſioners to open a negotiation for the marriage of his infant daughter Elizabeth with the duke of Angouleſme, third ſon to Francis, which muſt be more advantageous to France than any alliance Charles could offer. Francis embraced the propoſal, and the duke of Norfolk, the biſhop of Ely, Sir William Fitz-Williams, and Dr. Fox, were ordered to treat with the French commiſſioners concerning the marriage.

The French and Engliſh commiſſioners purſued their inſtructions with ſo much ſucceſs, that the heads of a treaty for the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth with the duke of Angouleſme were ſoon drawn up, though the treaty was never ſigned. The former friendſhip between Henry and Francis was, however, renewed; and theſe two princes joined in making advances to the proteſtant league in Germany; and accordingly Fox, biſhop of Hereford, and Francis de Bettay, lord of Longey, were ſent to treat with thoſe princes. But a diſagreement in religious tenets, which, during the firſt fervours of the reformation, was conſidered as ſufficient to deſtroy any negotiation, rendered the whole abortive.

A. D. 1536. While Henry was engaged in theſe negotiations, queen Catherine paid the debt of nature at Kimbolton in Huntingdonſhire, on the twenty-ninth of January, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before ſhe expired, ſhe wrote a very tender letter to the king, in which ſhe gave him the appellation of "Her moſt dear lord, king "and huſband." She told him, that as the hour of death was now approaching, ſhe laid hold of this laſt opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptineſs of all human grandeur and enjoyment: that though his fondneſs for theſe periſhing advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created much trouble to himſelf, ſhe yet forgave him all paſt injuries, and hoped this pardon would be ratified in heaven. She added, that the only requeſt ſhe had now to make, was to recommend to him his daughter, the ſole pledge of their loves, and to crave her protection for her maids and ſervants; concluding the whole with theſe words, "I make this vow, that mine eyes deſire you above all things."

It was no wonder if Henry was touched at reading ſo pathetic a letter. He is even ſaid to have dropped ſome tears at the remembrance of a woman whoſe virtues deſerved a better fate. The ſimplicity of her life, the piety of her conduct, and the frugality of her œconomy, gave her all the perſonal endearments ſuitable to a private fortune; but ſhe never departed one tittle from that dignity of ſentiment and behaviour which became her high quality. If ſhe was ſometimes uneaſy with Henry, it was probably occaſioned by his infidelity or humours, which ſought an excuſe by rendering her peeviſh. It appears from the patience and chearfulneſs with which ſhe bore all her misfortunes, that ſhe was far from being naturally of a froward temper; and her prudence is conſpicuous from the even tenour of her conduct, which gave her enemies, the chief of whom was her own huſband, no advantage over her. The firmneſs with which ſhe rejected all offers for an accommodation with Henry, was the reſult of her good ſenſe, ſince the leaſt compliance would have reduced her to a ſtate below that of a wife and a queen, would have diſgraced her family, diſobliged her friends, and reduced her even below contempt.

Henry ſtill continued to carry on the reformation in England, though he could not be brought to join with the German reformers in the Augſburg confeſſion. He created Cromwell lord vice-gerent in eccleſiaſtical affairs; and he accordingly laboured aſſiduouſly to engage the regular clergy to acknowledge the king's ſupremacy. But though he had ſome ſucceſs in this undertaking, he ſoon found that the conſent he gained was not real but pretended; and a reſolution was therefore taken to ſuppreſs them totally. This exertion of power was to be preceeded by a general viſitation of the monaſteries, where all diſcipline was neglected, and the lives of the religious ſcandalouſly irregular. The poſſeſſors having deviated from all the pious ends of their inſtitution there was the more reaſon for their ſuppreſſion. Cromwell employed four agents, who drew up the form of a rigorous viſitation, which was accordingly performed, and ſuch abominable actions diſcovered, that ſeveral made a voluntary ſurrender of their charters into the king's hands. But the greater part refuſing this ſubmiſſion, and being ſupported by the obſtinacy of their clergy, it was found neceſſary to procure an act of parliament, in order to promote the work of a total ſuppreſſion of the ſmaller monaſteries, or thoſe whoſe revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds a year.

An act was accordingly paſſed, by which all thoſe houſes, churches, lands, and eſtates were given to the king, together with thoſe of all the houſes already diſſolved, by which means no leſs than ſeventy-ſix abbeys fell to the crown. By another act it was declared, that no tenths ſhould be exacted that year; and by another a court of augmentation was erected for increaſing his majeſty's

revenues by thoſe of the religious houſes either ſurrendered or ſuppreſſed. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the vaſt acceſſions of revenues to the crown, would render it the moſt powerful of any in Europe, without having recourſe to any oppreſſive demands upon the people. Henry had indeed for ſome time been very tender of demanding ſubſidies, that his favourite ſcheme of enriching himſelf, with the lands enjoyed by the church, might meet with leſs oppoſition in the houſe of commons.

But, however reaſonable this ſuppoſition may be, the nation was greatly diſappointed in the application of the money ariſing from the diſſolved houſes: it was ſhamefully given away to cringing courtiers, rapacious ſtateſmen, and worthleſs favourites. Some ſmall part was indeed reſerved for the maintenance of thoſe monks and nuns who had been moſt ſubmiſſive in their reſignations; but nothing great, nothing advantageous to the nation, aroſe from this immenſe acceſſion of property.

Nor were theſe the only ſteps taken towards a general reformation of religion: the two houſes of convocation were engaged in deliberating on a ſcheme laid before them for a new tranſlation of the ſcriptures. Tindal had formerly given the world a tranſlation; but as the clergy had complained of it, as very incorrect and unfaithful, it was now propoſed that they ſhould themſelves publiſh a tranſlation, free from thoſe objections. The friends of the reformation aſſerted, that nothing could be more abſurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the revelations of God himſelf, and thus counteract the intentions of heaven, which, for the purpoſe of univerſal ſalvation, had publiſhed that ſalutary doctrine to all nations: that if this was not very abſurd it at leaſt proved a conſciouſneſs, that the gloſſes and traditions of the clergy, ſtood in direct oppoſition to the original text, dictated by ſupreme intelligence: that it was now neceſſary for the people, ſo long abuſed by intereſted pretenſions, to ſee with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the eccleſiaſtics, were founded on that charter, which was by all acknowledged to be derived from heaven, and that as a ſpirit of curioſity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the pretenſions of different ſects, the proper materials for making ſuch a deciſion, eſpecially the holy ſcriptures, ſhould be laid before them, in a language they perfectly underſtood.

But theſe arguments, however forcible in themſelves, were ſtrongly oppoſed in both houſes of convocation: it was ſaid, that the pretence of making the people ſee with their own eyes, was a mere illuſion, and itſelf a vulgar artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the direction of the multitude and ſeduce them from thoſe paſtors, whom the laws, whom ancient eſtabliſhments, whom heaven itſelf had appointed for their ſpiritual direction. That the bulk of the people were, by their ignorance, their ſtupidity, and their neceſſary avocations, totally unqualified to chuſe their own principles, and therefore it was nothing more than a mockery to ſet before them proper materials of which it was impoſſible for them to make any proper uſe: that even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the reach of human reaſon, the laws had, in a great meaſure, deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public intereſt, regulated their conduct and behaviour: that theological queſtions were placed ſo far beyond the ſphere of vulgar comprehenſion, that even divines themſelves, though aſſiſted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an aſſiduous ſtudy of ſcience, could not be fully aſſured of making a juſt deciſion, had not the Almighty himſelf promiſed to his church, that the gates of hell could not prevail againſt it: that the groſs errors adopted by the wiſeſt heathens, ſufficiently proved, how incapable men are to grope their way through the profoundeſt darkneſs, nor would the light of the ſcriptures, if truſted to every man's judgment, be ſufficient to diſpel the fatal illuſions: that ſacred writ itſelf was involved in ſo much obſcurity, expoſed to ſo many difficulties and contained ſo many apparent contradictions, that it was the moſt dangerous weapon that could be truſted to the hands of a giddy multitude: that the practical ſpirit in which a great part of it was compoſed, occaſioned uncertainty in the ſenſe, by its multiplied tropes and figures; and, at the ſame time, was ſufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticiſm, and throw civil ſociety into the moſt furious combuſtion: that a thouſand ſect would certainly ariſe, each of which would pretend to found its tenets on ſcripture; and be able by ſpecious arguments, or even without any arguments at all, to ſeduce ignorant, though well meaning women and mechanics, into a belief of the moſt abſurd and dangerous principles: and that if ever this diſorder, dangerous to magiſtracy itſelf, received a remedy, it muſt be by the tacit ſubmiſſion of the people to ſome new authority.

The arguments of the former, however, prevailed, and a vote was paſſed for publiſhing a new tranſlation of the ſcriptures. This was conſidered as a great point gained by the reformers, and a conſiderable advancement of their cauſe; as it would remove the greateſt impediment to their progreſs, by enabling the people to judge for themſelves.

Theſe proceedings regained Henry, in ſome meaſure, the confidence of the German princes, who had embraced the reformation. Melaneton, one of their moſt celebrated divines wrote in very complaiſant terms to Henry, which was followed by ſeveral letters of the ſame kind from the princes now aſſembled in order to ſettle the famous Smalcaldic leagues. At the ſame time they promiſed to ſend ſome of their moſt learned men into England, in order to aſſiſt Henry in the pious work he had undertaken. But all thoſe pleaſing expectations were rendered abortive, by a dreadful cataſtrophe which ſoon after happened in England.

Fatal proſperity threw queen Anne from that guard, which a humble and grateful dependence upon providence ought to have preſerved. The death of queen Catharine had, as ſhe thought, removed the only rival that could give any allay to her happineſs. Not all her experience had taught her the true character of her ſovereign. Henry was a huſband without fidelity, and a lover without delicacy. His inclination was directed by caprice rather than love. The ſlighteſt circumſtance fixed his affection, his averſion or his jealouſy, too firmly for the ſtrongeſt evidences to remove. Like architects, he often raiſed his favourites from the duſt, and then demoliſhed them that he might enjoy the proſpect of their ruins. Inchanting muſic preceded, and feſtal garlands crowned the unhappy victim, who was, perhaps, the next hour to be offered to his diſpleaſure. In his attachments, either of love or friendſhip, he was faſtidious but not diſcerning:

and

and Anne did not remember that the ſame arts which had made her own, might make another's fortune. She truſted too much to her own charms which had now loſt their power over Henry, without obſerving that his love and eſteem had dwindled into complaiſance and regard. She was, however, ſoon convinced that his love was entirely transferred to another object. Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of ſingular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire aſcendant over Henry's heart, and he was determined to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite.

The queen had many enemies at court, who aſſiduouſly watched the tide of Henry's affections. Gardiner and the duke of Norfolk were both perſuaded that ſhe was the principal, perhaps the only obſtacle that prevented the king's returning to the ſee of Rome, and his reconciliation with the emperor. They had for ſome time obſerved a coldneſs in Henry's behaviour, and took care to improve it into hatred. Their chief agent was the counteſs of Rochford, who was married to the queen's brother. He was a generous undeſigning nobleman, ſhe abandoned to every vice. By this party the queen was ſurrounded with ſpies; her moſt innocent words were wreſted into infamous meanings; her moſt innocent actions conſtrued to a lewd tendency. Educated in the court of France, ſhe had attained all the gaiety and levity of character peculiar to that airy people, and her carriage and deportment, though ſhe appears to have been entirely innocent, gave her enemies too many advantages over her. The counteſs of Rochford ſuggeſted to Henry that her own huſband was engaged in a criminal correſpondence with his ſiſter; and not contented with this infamous imputation, ſhe poiſoned every action of the queen, and repreſented every inſtance of favour ſhe conferred on any one, as a token of friendſhip. Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber, were obſerved to poſſeſs a great ſhare of the queen's friendſhip; and they ſerved her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be ſeaſoned with ſome degree of tenderneſs for ſo amiable a princeſs. Henry liſtened to every circumſtance with remarkable pleaſure, but ſmothered his reſentment that his judgment might appear the more ſpecious.

The king's jealouſy firſt appeared openly during a tilting at Greenwich, at which the queen happened to drop her handkerchief. This trivial incident, probably caſual, ſet Henry's jealouſy in a flame: he conſidered it as an inſtance of gallantry to ſome of her lovers. He immediately retired from the place, ſent orders for confining her to her chamber, arreſted Norris, Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton, together with her brother the earl of Rochford, and ſent them to the tower.

Aſtoniſhed at theſe inſtances of his fury, the queen, at firſt, thought he only endeavoured to try her conſtancy; but finding him really in earneſt, ſhe reflected on his obſtinate unrelenting ſpirit, and prepared herſelf for that melancholy cataſtrophe which ſhe perceived was awaiting her. The next day ſhe was ſent to the tower, and in her way thither ſhe was informed of her ſuppoſed offences, of which ſhe had hitherto been ignorant. She made the moſt earneſt proteſtations of her innocence; and on entering the priſon ſhe fell on her knees, praying the Almighty to aſſiſt her, as ſhe was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. Her ſurprize and confuſion threw her into hyſterical diſorders, and in that ſituation, ſhe thought that the beſt proof of innocence was to make an entire confeſſion, and ſhe accordingly diſcovered ſome indiſcretions and levities, which her ſimplicity had at once betrayed her to commit and avow. But even the whole of her confeſſion, and all the evidence Henry could procure by every artifice, ſcarcely amounted to a preſumption of guilt. Not one of the many friends, whom her beneficence had raiſed durſt interpoſe between her and the king: Cranmer alone, of all her adherents, ſtill retained his regard for her, and endeavoured to moderate the tyrannical paſſions of the headſtrong monarch. The queen herſelf wrote Henry the following letter from the tower, full of the moſt tender expoſtulations, and the warmeſt proteſtations of innocence.

" Sir,

" Your grace's diſpleaſure and my impriſon-
" ment are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to
" write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether igno-
" rant. Whereas you ſend unto me (willing me
" to confeſs a truth, and ſo obtain your favour)
" by ſuch an one, whom you know to be my
" antient profeſſed enemy. I no ſooner received
" this meſſage by him than I rightly conceived
" your meaning, and if, as you ſay, confeſſing a
" truth may ſecure my ſafety, I ſhall with all
" willingneſs and duty perform your command.

" But let not your grace ever imagine, that your
" poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge
" a fault, where not ſo much as a thought thereof
" preceded. And to ſpeak a truth, never prince
" had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true
" affection, than you have ever found in Anne
" Boleyn; with which name and place I could
" willingly have contented myſelf, if God and
" your grace's pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed. Nei-
" ther did I at any time ſo far forget myſelf in my
" axaltation or received queenſhip, but that I al-
" ways looked for ſuch an alteration as I now find;
" for the ground of my preferment being on no
" ſurer foundation than your grace's fancy, the
" leaſt alteration I knew was fit and ſufficient to
" draw that fancy to ſome other object. You have
" choſen me from a low eſtate to be your queen
" and companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire.
" If then you found me worthy of ſuch honour,
" good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad
" counſel of mine enemies, withdraw your prince-
" ly favour from me, neither let that ſtain, that
" unworthy ſtain, of a diſloyal heart towards your
" grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt
" dutiful wife, and the infant princeſs your daugh-
" ter. Try me, good king, but let me have a
" lawful trial, and let not my ſworn enemies ſit as
" my accuſers and my judges; yea let me receive
" an open trial, for my truth ſhall fear no open
" ſhame, and then ſhall you ſee either mine inno-
" cence cleared, your ſuſpicion and conſcience
" ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the world
" ſtopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that
" whatſoever God or you may determine of me,
" your grace may be freed from an open cenſure,

and

" and mine offence being ſo lawfully proved, your " grace is at liberty, both before God and man, " not only to execute worthy puniſhment on me " as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection " already ſettled on that party, for whoſe ſake I " am now as I am, whoſe name I could ſome good " while ſince have pointed unto, your grace not " being ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein.

" But if you have already determined of me, " and that not only my death, but an infamous " ſlander muſt bring you the enjoyment of your " deſired happineſs, then I deſire of God, that he " will pardon your great ſin therein, and likewiſe " mine enemies, the inſtruments thereof, and that " he will not call you to a ſtrict account for your " unprincely and cruel uſage to me, at his general " judgment ſeat, where both you and myſelf muſt " ſhortly appear, and in whoſe judgment I doubt " not (whatſoever the world may think of me) " mine innocence ſhall be openly known, and " ſufficiently cleared.

" My laſt, and only requeſt ſhall be, that my- " ſelf may only bear the burden of your grace's " diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the inno- " cent ſouls of thoſe poor gentlemen, who (as I " underſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait impriſonment " for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in " your ſight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn " hath been pleaſing in your ears, then let me ob- " tain this requeſt, and I will ſo leave to trouble " your grace any further, with my earneſt prayers " to the Trinity to have your grace in his good " keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. " From my doleful priſon in the tower, this ſixth " of May;

" Your moſt loyal,
" and ever faithful wife,
" Anne Boleyn."

But Henry's paſſion would not permit him to liſten to remonſtrances or the voice of reaſon and perſuaſion. He had already determined that the death of Anne Boleyn ſhould pave the way for a new marriage with Jane Seymour, who had now taken entire poſſeſſion of his heart. Accordingly Norris, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried, but no legal evidence was produced againſt them. They were, however, all found guilty by the partial judges; and Smeton was prevailed upon by the vain hopes of life, to confeſs a criminal correſpondence with the queen; but even her enemies themſelves expected ſo little advantages from this confeſſion, that they never attempted to confront him with her. He was therefore, together with Brereton and More, immediately executed. The king was fond of Norris, and he was accordingly offered his life, if he would confeſs his crime and accuſe the queen. But Norris generouſly refuſed the offer: he declared that he believed her entirely innocent, with regard to himſelf ſhe was abſolutely ſo. And added, that he would ſooner ſuffer a thouſand deaths, than ſtain the reputation of an innocent perſon.

Nothing having therefore offered to ſupport the accuſation of the queen from thoſe who were ſuppoſed the moſt capable of giving ſuch information, orders were giving for trying the queen and her brother by a jury of peers, conſiſting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Derby, Worceſter, Rutland, Suſſex, and Huntingdon, and the lords Deleware, Montague, Morley, Dacres, Cobham, Maltravers, Powis, Monteagle, Clenton, Sands, Windſor, Wentworth, Burgh, and Mordant; the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the priſoners, preſiding as lord high ſteward. But Northumberland, who had formerly been a lover of the fair priſoner, was ſo affected at ſeeing her brought as a criminal to the bar, that he was obliged to withdraw from the court. She was tried upon the ſtatute made in the twenty-ſixth year of Henry's reign, in favour of her and her iſſue. The charges againſt her were of the moſt attrocious and deteſtible nature: that ſhe had held criminal converſation with her brother, and the four perſons already convicted: that ſhe had made each of them believe he had the preference above all mankind in her breaſt, and that ſhe declared to each ſeparately, that the king never was in poſſeſſion of her heart.

The queen was not allowed any counſel. None but her maids were permitted to attend her, and the only mark of dignity permitted her, was a chair placed at the bar. But notwithſtanding all theſe mortifying circumſtances, ſhe behaved with a calm, modeſt, intrepidity, which charmed all that ſaw her, particularly the magiſtrates of London, who were preſent at the trial. She pleaded not guilty to the indictment, and her defence was ſuch, that, had not her fate been abſolutely pre-determined, ſhe muſt have been acquitted. Indeed the indictment was ſo poorly ſupported, and the evidence ſo contradictory, that the ſpectators could not forbear pronouncing her innocent. But ſuch palpable abſurdities were admitted in this tyrannical reign, that the evidence was conſidered by the peers of England, as a ſufficient reaſon for ſacrificing an innocent queen to the inhuman cruelty of their deſpotic maſter. Sentence of death was accordingly paſſed upon her, that ſhe ſhould be burnt or beheaded at the king's pleaſure. This dreadful ſentence could not ſhake the firmneſs of her ſoul; but lifting up her hands to heaven ſhe cried out, " O! Father, O! Creator, thou who art the way, " the truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I have " not deſerved this death." And then turning to her uncle the duke of Norfolk, ſhe made the moſt pathetic declaration of her own innocence, but avoided all harſhneſs of expreſſion, leſt ſhe might exaſperate the king againſt her innocent daughter.

But even this unjuſt and cruel ſentence was not ſufficient to ſatiate the unrelenting fury of Henry. He was determined to annul entirely his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her iſſue illegitimate. In order to this he recalled to his memory, that ſoon after her appearance in the Engliſh court, ſome attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy, and that nobleman was now queſtioned with regard to thoſe engagements. But the earl had too much honour, and too much juſtice to accuſe an innocent perſon, and declared upon oath before the two archbiſhops, that no contract, nor any promiſe of marriage had ever paſſed between them. He alſo atteſted this declaration before the privy council, and received the ſacrament to confirm it, proteſting at the ſame time his veracity in the moſt ſolemn manner. The queen, however, was ſhaken by menaces of executing the ſentence againſt her in its utmoſt rigour; and was prevailed upon

upon to confeſs in court, that there was ſome impediment to her marriage with the king. Upon this the afflicted primate, who preſided on this occaſion, thought himſelf obliged to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Nor did Henry in his tranſports of fury perceive that his proceedings were totally inconſiſtent; for if her marriage was, from the beginning, invalid, ſhe could not poſſible be guilty of adultery.

The queen was too well acquainted with the relentleſs temper of Henry to expect any mercy, and therefore prepared to ſuffer purſuant to her ſentence, which had been reſtricted to that of beheading. Henry had ſent another meſſage to Anne, requeſting her to confeſs the truth; but ſhe anſwered ſhe could confeſs no more than what ſhe had already declared. At the ſame time expreſſed her acknowledgements, for his raiſing her firſt from a private gentlewoman to a marchioneſs, then to a queen, and now, as he could raiſe her no higher in this world, he was ſending her to be a ſaint in heaven.

The night before her execution ſhe gave a memorable inſtance of her being truly affected with her misfortunes. For reflecting on the hardſhips, which through her means the princeſs Mary had ſuffered, ſhe deſired the lady of the lieutenant of the tower to fill the chair of ſtate, when falling on her knees ſhe repeated to the perſonated princeſs her ſenſe of the injuries ſhe had done her, begging for forgiveneſs, and that her words might be repeated to that princeſs. Theſe circumſtances were all written to court by Kingſton, and made ſuch an impreſſion, that an order was ſent for removing all ſtrangers out of the tower, in order to prevent the proteſtations, which ſhe was expected to make at her death from ſpreading among the people.

A little before noon on the nineteenth of May ſhe was conducted to the ſcaffold; but even in that dreadful hour, ſhe had a chearfulneſs in her looks, and an unuſual beauty in her countenance. But did not make ſo many proteſtations of her innocence as was expected. She probably reflected, that the obſtinacy of queen Catherine, and her oppoſition of the king's will, had greatly tended to alienate his affections from the princeſs Mary: her maternal concern therefore for Elizabeth, prevailed in the laſt and awful moments, over that indignation, which the unjuſt ſentence by which ſhe ſuffered, muſt naturally excite in her breaſt. She ſaid ſhe was come to die as ſhe was ſentenced by the law, and would therefore accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe had been judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a moſt merciful and gentle prince; acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious ſovereign; and deſired if any perſon ſhould think proper to canvas her cauſe, to judge favourably and candidly. She expreſſed a becoming concern for not having done all the good in her power, though it was well known, that, during the laſt nine months of her life, ſhe had laid out near fifteen thouſand pounds in works of charity. Having ended the ſpeech ſhe thought proper to make on this dreadful occaſion, ſhe, by the aſſiſtance of her maids laid bare her neck, and ſubmitted to the fatal ſtroke, which was given by an executioner ſent from Calais, as being more expert in his office than any perſon in England. Her body was thrown negligently into a cheſt made of common elm for holding arrows, and buried privately in the tower.

Thus fell the famous Anne Boleyn, in the thirtieth year of her age, a victim to the jealouſy and paſſion of her arbitrary and relentleſs ſovereign. Her innocence ſupported her in the dreadful conflict, and removed the ſting of death from her heart. If any proofs were wanting to clear the character of this princeſs, the conduct of Henry himſelf would be more than ſufficient; for he married the lady Jane Seymour, the very day after her execution. He was ſo impatient to gratify his new paſſion, that neither a regard for decency, nor any reflection on the bloody cataſtrophe of a perſon ſo long the object of his moſt tender affection, could prevail upon him to defer his nuptials for a moment. His brutal appetite excluded reflection, and deſpiſed the rules which decency had eſtabliſhed.

The friends of the princeſs Mary, conſidered this as a favourable opportunity for making a reconciliation between Henry and the princeſs Mary, then about twenty years of age. This was not, however, an eaſy taſk: Henry refuſed all advances made by the princeſs for this purpoſe, unleſs ſhe would agree to adopt his theological tenets, acknowledge his ſupremacy, renounce the pope, and own her mother's marriage to have been both inceſtuous and unlawful. Cruel as theſe conditions were, ſhe was at laſt obliged to accept them; and ſhe accordingly wrote a letter to her father, containing her aſſent to the articles required of her, and ſhe was again received into favour. The new queen, who was bleſt with a ſingular ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, took the young princeſs Elizabeth under her protection, and by that means averted the misfortunes that might otherwiſe have attended the iſſue of Anne Boleyn.

Some attempts were made about this time both by the emperor and the French king, to bring about a reconciliation between Henry and the pope. But the Engliſh monarch declared that his ſeparation from the biſhop of Rome was ſo fixed, and founded on ſuch ſolid reaſons, that he ſhould conſider any prince as his enemy, who ſhould ſpeak in favour of the pope's authority.

This anſwer ſufficiently convinced the pontiff that there did not remain even the ſmalleſt probability of regaining England; and therefore had recourſe to the uſual methods of humbling refractory princes, by forming a kind of cruſade againſt Henry as a heretic. But this was a taſk beyond his power. Charles and Francis were ſtill inveterate enemies, and without their joint aſſiſtance no ſucceſs could be expected. The pope therefore applied himſelf to terminate the diſputes which had ſo long ſubſiſted between theſe two powerful monarchs; but all his labours proved abortive: the breach between them was as great as ever.

On the twenty-ſecond of June, the emperor entered France with two armies; one on the ſouth ſide commanded by himſelf in perſon: the other on the north under the direction of the count of Naſſau. This precipitate ſtep was inconſiſtent with his cool method of proceeding; but his natural hatred of Francis was ſo ſtrong, that it ſilenced all other conſiderations. He had ſecretly formed a great number of expedients for weakening the credit of the French monarch, and had effectually deſtroyed every connection between him and the proteſtant princes of Germany, and even raiſed their indignation to ſuch a pitch againſt him, that

they encouraged their ſubjects to enliſt in the emperor's army, perſuaded they would acquire all the wealth of France for their plunder. He alſo found means to raiſe ſome ſpirit of reſentment againſt the French in Italy.

Encouraged by thoſe circumſtances, Charles laid ſiege to Foſſan, which, after a vigorous defence, ſurrendered on honourable conditions. This ſucceſs, together with the defection of the marquis of Salucces, one of the principal generals in France, determined Charles to lead his army into Provence, and to appear before Marſeilles. But Francis, who had given the command of his army to the dauphin and Montmorenci, obſerved the emperor's motions ſo narrowly, that Charles ſoon loſt near his army by fatigue and famine, and was obliged to quit the territories of France in an inglorious manner, leaving all his ſieges unfiniſhed, and Francis in full poſſeſſion of the hearts and affections of his people.

During the invaſion of France by the imperial forces, James, king of Scotland, whoſe averſion to the name and people of England, daily increaſed, endeavoured to ſignalize himſelf in favour of his antient allies, the French. Accordingly he raiſed an army of ſixteen thouſand men, and equipped a fleet to carry them over to France, and determined to head his troops in perſon. After ſome difficulties in the paſſage, the Scottiſh army landed in France, and James riding poſt incognito, met the king of France juſt at the time of the emperor's retreat, and demanded the princeſs Magdalen, daughter to Francis, in marriage. Francis would willingly have deferred giving an anſwer to this demand, well knowing that his conſent would irritate Henry, who had for ſome time laboured to render the alliance abortive. Prudential reaſons, however, prevailed, the nuptials were celebrated, and Francis ſent Pomeroy as his ambaſſador to England, to lay before Henry the reaſons for his conduct. Henry, however, proved irreconcileable, and would hear no apology for the Scotch marriage. This coldneſs with regard to France, naturally increaſed Henry's correſpondence with the emperor, and the face of affairs being now greatly changed, a parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the eighth of June. This aſſembly, as complaiſant to Henry as the laſt, ratified Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn, attainted the queen and all her accomplices, declared the iſſue of both the former marriages illegitimate, and made it even treaſon to aſſert the legitimacy of either; they ſubjected all thoſe to the ſame penalty, who ſhould throw any ſlander upon the preſent king, queen, or their iſſue; ſettled the crown on the king's iſſue, on Jane Seymour, or any ſubſequent wife; and, in caſe he ſhould die without iſſue, empowered him to diſpoſe of the crown, either by his will or letters patent. They alſo declared every perſon guilty of treaſon who ſhould, when required, refuſe to anſwer upon oath to any article in this act of ſettlement. They alſo empowered the king to confer on any perſon, either by his will, or letters patent, any caſtles, honours, liberties, or franchiſes; and declared it treaſon for any one to marry without the king's conſent, any princeſs related in the firſt degree to the crown.

Nor were theſe all the conceſſions made by this degenerate parliament. They empowered the king or any of his ſucceſſors, to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever acts of parliament had been paſſed before he was four and twenty years of age. They ſubjected to the penalty of a premunire, whoever ſhould maintain, either by word or writing, the authority of the biſhop of Rome: they declared every perſon guilty of treaſon, who, holding any office either eccleſiaſtical or civil, refuſed to renounce the pope upon oath.

The two houſes of convocation alſo agreed to every thing propoſed by the king; they approved of his moſt refined and ſcholaſtic ſubtilties; tho' not a ſingle member in either of the aſſemblies, believed what they aſſerted. Both houſes were divided into two parties, one ſupported the reformation, and the other the ancient religion. The former carried their oppoſition to Rome much farther than they dared to aſſert, while the latter extended their complaiſance to the king, to greater lengths than was conſiſtent with their religious principles. They agreed to a ſet of articles drawn up by Henry, and which he ſtiled, the articles of our faith. But theſe tenets were no ſooner publiſhed than the whole nation was in a flame; one party thinking that too little, and the other that too much had been done. The whole was indeed a ſtrange medley of doctrine; in ſome parts admitting many points of reformation, and, in others, retaining the groſſeſt abſurdities of popery. About the ſame time another act paſſed the two houſes of convocation, aboliſhing a great number of holidays, which were now ſo frequent, that it was hardly poſſible to get in the harveſt.

Before the convocation broke up, the king laid before both houſes a ſummons he had received to be preſent at a general council which the pope and the emperor had agreed ſhould meet at Mantua. As the name of a general council carried with it a popular and a plauſible ſound, it was neceſſary to guard againſt its conſequences with reſpect to the ſteps which had been taken by Henry, who had the greateſt reaſon to believe its deciſions would be no ways favourable to his cauſe. He was alſo under ſome difficulty with regard to the appeal he had made from the pope to a general council; but Cranmer and other prelates who favoured the reformation, ſoon removed his apprehenſions, and a decree paſſed in the convocation defining what a general council was, and ſhewing that no ſuch could be called by the authority of the pope, or in the preſent juncture of affairs; and that no juſtice could be expected in an aſſembly where the biſhop of Rome was to preſide. Strengthened by this opinion, Henry publiſhed a very ſevere proteſt againſt the approaching council.

But though the parliament and convocation were thus laviſhly complaiſant to Henry, the collective body of the people was never known to be in a greater ferment than upon the riſing of the parliament and convocation. The diſſolution of the monaſteries was carried on with great vigour by Cromwell; while the flames of perſecution raged with more violence againſt the reformers. Before the riſing of the parliament, a freſh ſet of inſtructions were iſſued for the diſſolution of the monaſteries. The commiſſioners executed their orders with vigour, though not with honeſty. Their power gave them great opportunities of embezzlements, and the temptations were often too ſtrong to be reſiſted. In ſhort the whole country appeared a heap

heap of ruins, ſwarming with vagrants. The monuments of ancient piety were pulled down, the materials ſold, and the more ſacred utenſils, to which time and cuſtom had affixed veneration, were applied to profane uſes, while the notorious embezzlements of private perſons ſtill increaſed the indignation of the public. No leſs than ten thouſand helpleſs needy wretches, unuſed to labour, and uninſtructed in buſineſs, were driven from their retreats. Every corner of the kingdom reſounded with their ſorrows, and every heart was pierced with their miſeries. The cruel taſk-maſters ſhut up the ſeats of Engliſh hoſpitality, and wantoned in the ſpoils of ancient devotion. The fainting traveller, and the induſtrious huſbandman, knew not now where to apply for refreſhment after their fatigues: the poor were no longer relieved by a charitable hand, and the ſtranger wandered through unhoſpitable roads.

Such a ſcene of miſery was too great to be concealed, and too threatening to be continued. Henry therefore enforced the proviſions that had been made by parliament, for continuing the old hoſpitality of abbeys and monaſteries, by the owners of the eſtates that before belonged to theſe religious ſtructures. At the ſame time he ſold many of the lands of the diſſolved houſes that he might form a laſting intereſt among the purchaſers, whom he knew would never ſuffer theſe lands to be reſumed. And to give ſtill farther qualifications to his ſeverity, he continued thirty-one of the moſt regular religious houſes ſtill undiſſolved.

But while theſe acts of reformation, ſo diſtaſteful to the people who had from their earlieſt youth embraced the doctrines of the popiſh religion, were carrying on in every part of the kingdom, one of the ſubſidies granted by the parliament came to be collected. This gave the populace an opportunity of ſhewing their reſentment. Many of the old clergy were men of conſequence and ſubſtance in the ſeveral counties; and the pope having now publiſhed his ſentence of excommunication againſt Henry that had ſome time ſince been agreed to in the conſiſtory, the enthuſiaſts for popery thought it their duty to rebel.

Harveſt was juſt over; and the popiſh emiſſaries had been ſo ſucceſsful in Lincolnſhire, that about twenty thouſand people aſſembled, under the command of one Mackarel, an eccleſiaſtic, but diſguiſed on this occaſion under the appearance of a cobler. Henry, on receiving account of this inſurrection ordered the duke of Suffolk to repair thither, and raiſe forces for oppoſing the deſigns of this tumultuous multitude; but at the ſame time he was enjoined to make uſe of as few ſeverities as poſſible. The duke found no great difficulty in raiſing an army, as all the men of property who either had ſhared or were expecting to ſhare in the ſpoils of the diſſolved houſes, were deeply concerned in ſuppreſſing this inſurrection.

While the duke was on his march, the rebels had time to form themſelves into a body, and to publiſh their grievances, which were contained in a petition to his majeſty, to whom they ſwore allegiance.

They complained of ſeveral ſevere and oppreſſive acts of parliament: of the ſuppreſſion of ſo many religious houſes: and of ſome biſhops who had ſubverted the faith. As theſe complaints were not peculiar to the inhabitants of Lincolnſhire; and there were at this time great appearances of another rebellion in Yorkſhire, Henry thought proper to publiſh an anſwer, in which he ſeverely reprimanded the rebels, commanded them to ſubmit to his mercy, to deliver their leaders into the hands of his officers, and diſperſe themſelves immediately.

The aſperity of this anſwer ſufficiently demonſtrated Henry's ſentiments of government, and gave the clergy an opportunity of repreſenting the ſtate of the people to be as deplorable as thoſe who lived under the Turkiſh government, and that they were now to expect an end both to popery and chriſtianity itſelf. Heated by theſe diſcourſes, the people ſeized ſeveral perſons of fortune and quality in the country, in order to give a ſanction to their undertaking. Theſe gentlemen who declined with them were kept under confinement; but many very well affected to the government appeared to countenance their proceedings, that they might have the better opportunity of moderating their conduct. Theſe gentlemen ſent the duke of Suffolk a true ſtate of the diſpoſi ions of the inſurgents; and the duke, who was himſelf a very moderate man, laid the account before the king, requeſting at the ſame time, fuller powers for offering a general pardon. Alarmed at theſe threatening appearances, Henry ſent orders to promiſe mercy to all who ſhould acknowledge their fault, lay down their arms, and promiſe to ſubmit to all the acts of parliament made during the king's reign, This produced the deſired effect, the greater part of the rebels laid down their arms and diſperſed, while the reſt retired into Yorkſhire, where the rebellion was now become very formidable.

One Aſke, a gentleman of a moderate fortune, but well qualified to act at the head of a popular inſurrection, had drawn a vaſt number of people together, preceded by a little army of monks driven from the convents, carrying before them a banner, in which a crucifix with five wounds and a chalice, were finely painted. They alſo wore the ſame device upon their ſleeves, and called their expedition, "The pilgrimage of grace." They declared that they intended only the preſervation of the king and his family, and the ſuppreſſion of heretics and their dangerous opinions.

Theſe popular pretences ſoon increaſed the number of the rebels to forty thouſand, and they ſuſtained for ſome time from all kinds of outrage: but at laſt they inveſted Pontefract caſtle, which was conſidered as a place of ſtrength, and was then defended by a good garriſon under the command of the archbiſhop of York, and the lord Darcey. Both the prelate and the nobleman had for ſome time been ſuſpected of being no friends to the reformation, and thoſe ſuſpicions were now ſtrongly confirmed by their ſurrendering the caſtle upon the firſt ſummons from the rebels. This ſucceſs gave the inſurgents great ſpirits: they retained both the prelate and nobleman with them, and made them ſwear to their aſſociation. They now erected beacons in different parts of Richmondſhire, Lancaſhire, Durham, and the adjacent counties, by the firing of which, the different bodies of the rebels kept up a kind of correſpondence with one another.

Having taken theſe precautions, they marched to York, which fell into their hands immediately.

Hull

Hull was the next place they attempted, and the garriſon after making a brave reſiſtance was obliged to capitulate.

In the mean time the government was very apprehenſive of the conſequences. The duke of Suffolk ſtill continued with his army in Lincolnſhire, where a new rebellion was every day expected. The loyalty of the northern barons was very doubtful, and the rapid progreſs of the inſurgents rendered it neceſſary for the government to oppoſe them. The earl of Shrewſbury was the only peer upon the ſpot who had courage to act up to his duty. He had received no commiſſion from Henry, yet he ventured to raiſe as many men as poſſible in defence of his prince. Henry had generoſity enough to acknowledge his loyalty, and not only ſent him his pardon, but made him lieutenant general in theſe parts, and ordered a train of artillery to be ſent him immediately. The earl of Derby alſo had orders to raiſe, at the king's expence, all the troops poſſible, and act in concert with the earl of Shrewſbury. The latter, armed with the royal authority, ſent a herald to Pomfret, where Aſke had his head quarters, commanding them to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to his majeſty. Aſke received the herald in great ſtate, having the archbiſhop of York on one hand, and the lord Darcey on the other, but would not ſuffer the proclamation to be read. He, however, gave the herald a ſafe conduct, which was to laſt as long as he wore the badges of his office.

The number of the rebels continuing to increaſe daily, Henry ordered the duke of Norfolk, who had been a ſoldier, and was a perſon of addreſs, to march at the head of a body of troops to aſſiſt the earl of Shrewſbury. In the mean time the rebels divided their army into three bodies, and took different roads to Doncaſter, where the king's generals lay to oppoſe them with five thouſand men. But though their number was far inferior to that of the rebels, they had greatly the advantage, by being well provided with arms and artillery, and in having fortified the bridge and the ford over the Don, the only two paſſes by which the rebels could advance to Doncaſter. But notwithſtanding all the precautions of the duke of Norfolk, the rebels would certainly have forced a paſſage at the ford, had not a very heavy rain fallen which rendered it impaſſable, and left the royaliſts at liberty to draw off their artillery, and plant it at the bridge.

The rebels being thus ſtopped in their progreſs, the duke of Norfolk, knowing that the gaining time was gaining every thing, ſent a meſſage to the rebels, encouraging them to preſent a petition to the king, who, he told them, would doubtleſs remove all their grievances. A petition was accordingly ſent to Henry, and a conference was appointed to be held at Doncaſter on the ſixth of December.

The rebels, who in the mean time had increaſed their number, met the king's commiſſioners at the place appointed, and produced the following copy of their demands: that a general pardon ſhould be granted: that a parliament ſhould be held at York: that courts of juſtice ſhould be eſtabliſhed in that city: that no law-ſuit between perſons reſiding on the north ſide of the Trent ſhould be determined at Weſtminſter: that ſome of the late acts of parliament ſhould be repealed, particularly thoſe for the laſt ſubſidy, for making words miſpriſion of treaſon, and for obliging the clergy to pay their tenths and firſt fruits to the king. They alſo requeſted, that the princeſs Mary might be reſtored to her right of ſucceſſion; the pope to his former juriſdiction, and the monks to their houſes: that the Lutherans might be puniſhed; that Audley and Cromwell might be excluded from the next parliament; and that Lee and Leighton, who had viſited the monaſteries, might be impriſoned for bribery and extortion.

Theſe were demands which the king's commiſſioners did not dare to grant; nor would the rebels, who were now greatly elated by the late reinforcements they had received, make any abatement. They therefore once more made preparations for paſſing the Don, and attacking the royal army. But a ſecond flood prevented their deſigns by ſwelling the river to ſuch a height as rendered the paſſage at the ford impracticable.

Henry was highly exaſperated at the demands of the rebels, but the accounts he daily received from the duke of Norfolk, of their ſtrength and diſcipline, obliged him, contrary to his own inclinations, to ſend down a general pardon, but with ſtrict orders not to uſe it, till reduced to the laſt extremity. It was not long before this was really the caſe: the rebels once prepared to force the paſſage of the river, and the duke, who was in no condition to oppoſe them, was obliged to publiſh the pardon, which reſtored a ſhort tranquillity. The king inſiſted that Aſke and Darcey ſhould come in perſon to court, and aſk his pardon. Aſke accordingly repaired to London, and, upon making all the ſubmiſſions required of him, was diſmiſſed. Lord Darcey endeavoured to excuſe himſelf from attending the court on account of his age and infirmities; and in a letter which he wrote to Cromwell, he attempted to vindicate his proceedings, by pleading that his continuing with the rebels was only to obtain opportunity of doing the king effectual ſervice, and concluded with giving a detail of the ſervices he had performed for the royal family during the courſe of fifty years.

A. D. 1537. Theſe excuſes did not ſatisfy Henry, he was determined to ſecure him; and Darcey was accordingly brought a priſoner to London, and committed to the tower. The rebels complained of this breach of faith, and the whole north was again in arms. Muſgrave and Tilby, two of the rebel officers, putting themſelves at the head of eight thouſand men, endeavoured to ſurprize Carliſle. They were, however, diſappointed in their attempt; and in their return were routed by a party commanded by the duke of Norfolk, who ordered all their officers that fell into his hands, together with ſeventy private men, to be hanged over the walls of Carliſle.

Another body of the rebels under the command of Sir Francis Bigot, and one Helſham, were not, however, intimidated by the misfortunes of the aſſociates: they attempted to ſurprize Hull, but were diſappointed, and both their leaders taken and executed. The inſurrections continued for ſome time to be very frequent in various parts of the country; the people having been encouraged by a report induſtriouſly ſpread, that the duke of Norfolk himſelf wiſhed well to their cauſe. In this perhaps they were not miſtaken; but that nobleman wiſhed much better to his own ſafety; and religion

religion was not with him, a matter of ſuch conſequence as to induce him to join in a dangerous rebellion. He well knew that he muſt in that caſe be ruined with his jealous maſter, if the attempt miſcarried.

Irritated by theſe numerous revolts, Henry was determined not to adhere to the general pardon he had granted, and from a motion of his natural violence, made the innocent ſuffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by the expreſs command of his maſter, ſpread the royal banner, and executed martial law in the puniſhment of the offenders, wherever he thought proper. Beſides Aſke, the leader of the firſt inſurrection, Sir Robert Conſtable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt, William Lumley, were thrown into priſon, and moſt of them condemned and executed. Lord Huſſey was found guilty as an accomplice in the inſurrection of Lincolnſhire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcey was beheaded on Tower-hill.

Soon after the extinction of the rebellion, an event happened which crowned Henry's joy, his queen was delivered of a ſon, who was afterwards baptized by the name of Edward. Henry's happineſs was not, however, complete: the queen died two days after her delivery. She was a ſincere friend to the reformation, and ſo tenderly beloved by Henry, that for ſome days after her death he refuſed to ſee any company. But the birth of a ſon ſo long and ſo ardently deſired by Henry, and now rendered ſo neceſſary, in order to prevent diſputes with regard to the ſucceſſion, after the iſſue of two princeſſes had been rendered illegitimate, ſoon conſoled the king, who expreſſed great ſatisfaction on this occaſion. The prince when only ſix days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. Sir Edmund Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-William, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, lord St. John, and Sir John Ruſſel, lord Ruſſel.

A. D. 1538. The birth of a prince totally changed the face of affairs. All the hopes of the Scottiſh monarch and his party was now extinguiſhed, eſpecially as the death of the queen had rendered it impoſſible for any diſpute to ariſe with regard to Edward's legitimacy. At the ſame time this event greatly confirmed Henry's authority; a ſecond viſitation of the religious houſes was now ſettled, and the viſitors were particularly enjoined to enquire into the impoſtures that had been practiſed to draw the people into ſuch exceſſive adorations as had been paid to their images, relics, and other miraculous productions. Nor was the enquiry deſtitute of ſucceſs; ſeveral remarkable diſcoveries were made, which tended greatly to leſſen the authority of the Romiſh prieſts in the eyes of the people. At Boxley in Kent was a very remarkable crucifix that ſometimes moved the head, the eyes, and even bent its whole body, to aſſure its votaries that their prayers were accepted. Great offerings were therefore made to ſo wonderful an image. But upon removing the image it was diſcovered, that the whole was effected by certain ſprings concealed in the body of the image, which was hollow from the wall againſt which it was placed. It was brought to London, where all the motions were repeated before the king and the whole court, and after a ſermon ſuitable to the occaſion, by the biſhop of Rocheſter, the idol was committed to the flames.

The multitude of thoſe impoſtures diſcovered by the viſitors, opened the eyes of the people, and enabled Henry to execute the ſcheme he had long formed, of deſtroying entirely all the monaſteries. Convinced that nothing could avert this blow, ſeveral abbots and priors made voluntary ſurrenders of their houſes to the crown, and by that means obtained penſions for their ſubſiſtence in proportion to the value of their reſignations. Where promiſes failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence were employed. Some were proſecuted for high treaſon, under pretence that they had been the principal cauſe of the late rebellion. While others, having ſecretly embraced the tenets of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows. So that upon the whole, the deſign was conducted with ſuch ſucceſs, that Henry ſoon obtained poſſeſſion of all the monaſtic revenues.

Theſe proceedings ſo exaſperated the pope, that he thundered out a dreadful anathema againſt Henry, which his agents found means to affix to the doors of ſeveral churches both in France, Scotland, and Ireland. But Henry was ſo far from being intimidated by the thunder of the vatican, that he even attacked the ſhrine of the famous St. Thomas a Becket, generally called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This ſhrine was of ineſtimable value, ſo that Henry was actuated by a double motive, that of enriching himſelf, and of uncanonizing a prelate, whom the papal power, as a reward for his rebellion, raiſed to a ſaint. The gold of the ſhrine, when broken down, filled two large cheſts, each of which required eight ſtrong men to carry it out of the church. But the gold was the leaſt valuable part of this ſhrine; it was enriched with jewels to an immenſe value, among which was a precious ſtone, reckoned the fineſt in Europe, offered to this miraculous tomb, by Lewis XI. of France. This ſtone Henry ever after wore in a ring. Nor was Henry contented with plundering the ſhrine of Becket, he cited the ſaint himſelf to appear in court, in order to his being tried as a traitor. He ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the calendar; the office of his feſtival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burnt, and his aſhes to be diſſipated.

This ſacrilege, as the papiſts termed it, produced ſwarms of invectives againſt Henry, which were handed about all over Europe, and in which the ſtile of cardinal Pole was eaſily diſtinguiſhed. This gentleman was deſcended from the royal family of England, being fourth ſon to the counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter to the duke of Clarence. He diſcovered in very early youth, evident ſymptoms of that fine genius, and generous diſpoſition, by which he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed during his whole life; and Henry having conceived a great friendſhip for him, propoſed to raiſe him to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignities; and accordingly, as a pledge for future favours, gave him the deanry of Exeter, in order to bear the expences of his education. Pole was employed in purſuing his ſtudies in Paris, at the time when Henry ſollicited the ſuffrages of that univerſity in favour of his divorce; but Pole, though applied to by the Engliſh agents, declined taking any part in that affair.

Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him, and appeared unwilling upon that account, to renounce his friendſhip with a perſon, whoſe virtues and talents he hoped, would prove at once both uſeful and ornamental to his court and kingdom. He therefore permitted him ſtill to enjoy his deanery, and even gave him permiſſion to finiſh his ſtudies at Paris.

Some years after this incident, when Henry was determined to aboliſh the papal authority, he wrote to Pole who was then in Italy, deſiring him to give his opinion freely, with regard to the pope's ſupremacy. Pole, who had now formed connections with the moſt learned perſons in Italy, obeyed the commands of the Engliſh monarch, and forgetting the duty he owed Henry both as his benefactor and ſovereign, he wrote a treatiſe on "The unity of "the church;" in which he inveighed againſt the king's ſupremacy, his divorce, his ſecond marriage, and even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury he had done to his family, and the catholic cauſe. Exaſperated at this ſtrange behaviour, Henry vowed revenge againſt the author, but thought it prudent to conceal his anger, in order, if poſſible, to get Pole into his hands. In order to this he ſent a meſſage to him, requeſting his return to England, in order to explain ſome paſſages in his book, which he found ſomewhat difficult and obſcure. This ſtratagem, however, had not the deſired effect. Pole was too well acquainted with the character of Henry, to regard this inſidious invitation.

This refuſal cut off all hopes of his obtaining preferment in England, and therefore the pope and emperor thought themſelves obliged to ſupport a man who had forfeited the faireſt proſpects of raiſing his fortune in ſupport of their cauſe. He was accordingly created a cardinal, and though he had only taken deacon's orders, was ſent as legate into Flanders. But Henry, who well knew that the principal intention of ſending him into Flanders was to foment the mutinous diſpoſition of the Engliſh, remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly againſt Pole, that the regent of the Low Countries diſmiſſed the legate, without ſuffering him to execute his commiſſion.

No farther meaſures were now kept by either party. The cardinal carried on a correſpondence with ſeveral perſons of character and fortune; and he was even ſuſpected of having aſpired to the crown by means of a marriage with the princeſs Mary. Alarmed at theſe informations, Henry arreſted the marquis of Exeter, Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny, Sir Nicholas Carew, maſter of the horſe, Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute, and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brother to the cardinal. All theſe were indicted for having carried on a treaſonable correſpondence with cardinal Pole; and being tried before lord Audley, they were found guilty of the indictment, and all of them executed, except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned.

The new tranſlation of the bible, which had been ſometime ſince undertaken, was now completed; but the king, jealous leſt his ſubjects ſhould become wiſe enough to queſtion his tenets, uſed great precaution in publiſhing the tranſlation. He would only permit a copy of it to be placed in each pariſh church, where it was fixed by a chain. At the ſame time he took care to inform the people by proclamation "That this indulgence was "not the effect of his duty, but of his goodneſs "and liberality to them; who ſhould therefore uſe "it moderately, for the increaſe of virtue, not of "ſtrife: and he ordered that no perſon ſhould "read the bible aloud, ſo as to diſturb the prieſt "while he ſung maſs, nor preſume to expound "doubtful places without advice from the learn-"ed."

Henry was equally dogmatical and vain of his own opinions in other particulars, and thought himſelf entitled to regulate by his own particular ſtandard, the religious faith of the whole nation. But what he conſidered as the very foundation of religion, was the real preſence in the ſacrament; a tenet which he defended with all the arts of ſophiſtry.

Among many perſons who denied this article in the royal creed, was one Lambert a ſchoolmaſter in London, who had been confined for heretical opinions by archbiſhop Warham; but upon the death of that prelate, and the changing the council at court, had obtained his liberty. Not intimidated by the dangers he had eſcaped, he continued to promulgate his tenets, and having heard Dr. Taylor defend the corporal preſence in a ſermon, he could not forbear expreſſing his diſſent from that doctrine; and ſent his objections to Taylor, drawn up under ten ſeveral heads. This open oppoſition to the king's faith, exaſperated Henry, and Lambert was ſummoned before archbiſhop Cranmer. After maintaining a long diſpute with the archbiſhop, and refuſing to retract, he appealed to Henry himſelf.

Perſuaded that he himſelf was the greateſt theologian in the world, Henry was not at all diſpleaſed with the appeal, as it offered him an opportunity of exerting his ſupremacy, and diſplaying his learning. Public notice was therefore given that he intended to hold a ſolemn diſpute with this heretical ſchoolmaſter; and ſcaffolds were accordingly erected in Weſtminſter-hall for the accommodation of the audience. Henry appeared upon his ſeat, attended with all the enſigns of majeſty, having the prelates on his right hand, and the temporal peers on his left. Before this ſplendid aſſembly the unfortunate Lambert was produced, and required to defend his opinions againſt his royal antagoniſt. But the conteſt was unequal, and the reader may eaſily gueſs to whom the victory fell. Lambert was ſilenced after a great many ſophiſtical arguments advanced by Cranmer, Gardiner, Tonſtall, and Henry himſelf. The king then aſked him whether he was convinced, and left it entirely to the ſchoolmaſter whether he would be burnt or retract. The unhappy priſoner, who was poſſeſſed of that courage which conſiſts in obſtinacy, refuſed to retract his opinions, and was accordingly burnt in Smithfield with the moſt horrid circumſtances of barbarity.

A. D. 1539. A parliament was now ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, and all the parliamentary abbots had ſummonſes to attend. The religious houſes in England to the number of ſix hundred and forty-five, had been ſuppreſſed, either by ſurrender, purchaſe, or forfeiture; ninety colleges had been demoliſhed, together with two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chanteries, and one hundred and ten hoſpitals. But this had not been effected without ſtrong oppoſition in ſome places,

Engraved for Mountagues History of England.

Wale del: *Grignion Sculpt:*

CROMWELL *Presenting y^e First Translation of y^e* BIBLE *in* ENGLISH
to HENRY the 8^th.

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places. The yearly revenue of all the ſuppreſſed houſes, amounted to one hundred and ſixty one thouſand one hundred pounds, excluſive of the money which aroſe from the ſale of the materials, plate, jewels, and eccleſiaſtical ornaments. Henry had augmented the number of colleges and profeſſors in the univerſities, and had erected the biſhoprics of Oxford, Peterborough, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter, endowing them with about four thouſand pounds a year, out of the revenues of the ſuppreſſed houſes.

He had alſo taken care to employ the famous Leland, and other learned perſons to collect all the remains of antiquity remaining in theſe houſes; and it was remarked, that great numbers of uſeful hands were, by thoſe ſuppreſſions, employed in commerce and manufactures. But a parliamentary ſanction was now required, both to confirm what had been done, and eſtabliſh future meaſures.

Henry was not diſappointed in his parliament; they were ſtill, if poſſible, more complaiſant than any that had hitherto been intruſted with the rights of the people. For they ſurrendered to Henry both the civil and religious liberties of their country. Among other remarkable ſtatutes made by this aſſembly, was one which enacted, That the king, for the time being, with the advice of his council, or the major part of them, might iſſue proclamations which ſhould have the ſame force as acts of parliament; and under whatever pains and penalties he ſhould think proper: an act which made a total ſubverſion of the Engliſh conſtitution.

By another act, the king was empowered to nominate ſuch a number of biſhops, ſees for biſhops, and cathedral churches, and endow them with what poſſeſſions he thought proper. It was likewiſe enacted, that all leaſes made of manors belonging to monaſteries already diſſolved, or to be diſſolved, and aſſured to the king, ſhould be effectual: that the king ſhould poſſeſs and enjoy himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, all monaſteries, abbeys, priories, nunneries, colleges, hoſpitals, houſes of friars, and other religious houſes and places, which had been diſſolved, ſuppreſſed, renounced, given up, or by any other means fell into the hands of his majeſty.

But what rendered this parliament ſo very remarkable in the hiſtory of thoſe times, was an act they paſſed, called, the bill of the ſix articles; or, as the proteſtants more juſtly termed it, the bloody bill. By this law, the real preſence in the ſacrament of the altar, was eſtabliſhed; the communion in one kind was ſufficient for all but the prieſts; the perpetual obligation of vows of chaſtity declared binding; and no perſon who has taken the vow of chaſtity or widowhood, may marry; the celebacy of the clergy was confirmed; private maſſes declared efficacious, and the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion eſtabliſhed. The denial of the real preſence in the ſacrament ſubjected the perſon to death by burning, and to the ſame forfeiture as in caſes of treaſon, without being admitted even the privilege of abjuration. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was puniſhable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and impriſonment during the king's pleaſure: an obſtinate adherence to error, or a relapſe, was adjudged to be felony, and puniſhable with death. The marriage of prieſts was ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment. Their commerce with women, for the firſt offence, was forfeiture and impriſonment; for the ſecond death. Abſtaining from confeſſion and receiving the euchariſt at the accuſtomed ſeaſons, ſubjected the perſon to fine and impriſonment, during the king's pleaſure; and if the criminal perſevered after conviction, he was puniſhable by death and forfeiture, as in caſes of felony.

It is no wonder that this oppreſſive law, threw the whole nation into a ferment, as it deeply affected both parties. The papiſts complained, that it was the moſt flagrant act of injuſtice, after having driven the friars and nuns from their monaſteries, to increaſe the weight of their misfortunes by reſtraining them from marriage. But the proteſtants were chiefly expoſed to the ſeverity of the act. Cranmer alone had the courage to oppoſe the bill in the houſe of lords, with great ſtrength of argument; and though Henry deſired him to abſent himſelf, as he could not conſcientiouſly vote for the bill, he refuſed to comply, ſaying, that his conſcience impelled him to vote againſt it. Henry was no ſtranger to Cranmer's freedom and ſincerity, and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unuſual indulgence in that particular, and never allowed even a whiſper againſt his conduct. That prelate was, however, now obliged to diſmiſs his wife, a niece of Oſiander, a famous divine of Nuremburgh; and Henry, ſatisfied with this proof of ſubmiſſion, gave him his former countenance and protection. But Latimer and Shaxton were more obſtinate: they refuſed to ſubmit, threw up their biſhoprics, and were committed to priſon. Commiſſioners were appointed by the king for enquiring into theſe hereſies, and irregular practices; and all eccleſiaſtical incumbents were to read this act in their churches once a quarter.

Such were the deteſtible articles which opened in England the floodgates of civil murder, ſo that during the remainder of this reign, barbarities were committed under the forms of juſtice, as ſhocking to human nature, as any to be met with in hiſtory, under the moſt bloody tyrants. The counteſs of Saliſbury, cardinal Pole her ſon, the marchioneſs of Exeter, Sir Adrian Forteſcue, and Sir Thomas Dingley were attainted of treaſon. Before this was paſſed Cromwell demanded of the judges whether a perſon could be attainted without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before the parliament. The judges replied, that no inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner: but the parliament being the ſupreme judicature, their proceedings could not be called in queſtion, but muſt remain good in law. By this anſwer Henry perceived, that his method was practicable, though contrary to all the principles of natural juſtice and equity. The counteſs, however, received a reprieve; the marchioneſs of Exeter was pardoned; Forteſcue and Dingley were executed.

Henry's love of prerogative had no bounds. It was his intereſt to unite with the proteſtants of Germany; but his arbitrary proceedings prevented this ſalutary meaſure. They were as jealous of the power of the emperor, as of the pope; and had they acknowledged a ſupremacy in Henry, it would have been a fair precedent for the emperor to make the ſame demand. They were therefore extremely cautious in all their advances, which

diſguſted

diſguſted the imperious ſpirit of Henry. Cromwell, however, had too much good ſenſe not to ſee the occaſion there was for their friendſhip; and therefore endeavoured to give Henry more favourable notions of the German reformers. He ſhewed his maſter that they did not acknowledge the emperor as ſovereign within their own dominions; that he was only the head of a political confederacy; and that they acknowledged the diet of the empire to have a power nearly reſembling that of Henry's own ſupremacy, the power of making or altering laws, with regard to eccleſiaſtical affairs. But Gardiner pretended to a more perfect knowledge of the German conſtitution, and repreſented Charles, as the natural ſovereign of the empire. Both theſe miniſters, in ſome meaſure gained their points. Henry, by the inſtigations of Gardiner, conceived an invincible diſlike to the German reformers, while Cromwell prevailed upon him to think of a marriage with Anne of Cleves, whoſe father, the duke of that name, had great influence among the Lutheran princes, and whoſe ſiſter Sibylla was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the proteſtant alliance. But this lady had been already contracted to the ſon of the duke of Lorrain, when they were both children, though, by a ſubſequent diſagreement between the two dukes, the marriage never took place. Hans Holbein was ordered to draw the lady's picture; and the painter performed his taſk, but gave it charms which were wanting in the original. This picture inflamed Henry's paſſion ſo far, that he immediately applied to her father. The duke liſtened to the propoſal; a negotiation was opened, and the marriage, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the elector of Saxony was ſoon completed.

Henry, impatient to ſee his new bride, of whoſe beauty he had formed the higheſt idea, went privately to Rocheſter as ſoon as he heard ſhe was landed in England. But he was greatly diſappointed; ſhe was utterly devoid of grace, elegance and beauty, and totally unlike the picture he had received. Mortified at thus finding all his pleaſing ideas totally vaniſhed, he ſwore they had brought him over a Flanders-mare for a wife; declaring at the ſame time he could never bear her the leaſt affection. This diſguſt was increaſed when he was informed that ſhe underſtood no language but Dutch, of which he was totally ignorant; and that the charms of her converſation were not likely to compenſate for the homelineſs of her perſon.

Alarmed at this diſlike of Henry for his intended queen, the courtiers debated whether it was not poſſible yet to break off the marriage, and ſend the princeſs back to her own country; but Henry's ſituation at that time would not ſuffer them to proceed. A ten years truce ſome time ſince concluded between Charles and Francis, had produced ſo good an underſtanding between theſe rival monarchs, as gave great jealouſy to the court of England; it being apprehended that their zeal for the popiſh religion might prompt them to fall with their combined forces upon Henry's dominions. An alliance, therefore, with the German princes, ſeemed now more than ever requiſite for his intereſt and ſafety; and it was known that the ſending back the princeſs of Cleves would be conſidered as the higheſt affront, and properly reſented by all the confederated princes of Germany.

A. D. 1540. Henry, therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding all his averſion for the princeſs, to complete his marriage, and he accordingly told Cromwell, that as he had gone ſo far, it was now neceſſary for him to put his neck into the yoke. Cromwell, convinced that his own intereſt was greatly concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from Henry, the next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his ſpouſe any better. The king told him that he hated her worſe than ever; and that her perſon was more loathſome on a near approach. He was, therefore, reſolved never to meddle with her; and even ſuſpected that ſhe was not a true maid; a point about which Henry entertained an extreme delicacy. He, however, continued his civilities to Anne, and to repoſe his uſual confidence in Cromwell.

In the mean time the fires of perſecution threatened the moſt horrid deſtruction to all, who had ſpirit or virtue enough to reſiſt the ſix deteſted articles. All the advances Henry had made with regard to reformation, were with a view of gaining the confidence of the German reformers; and no leſs than five hundred perſons were thrown into priſon on account of their religion. But Cromwell, though he could not prevent that act from paſſing, had now intereſt enough to elude its execution. And ſeconded by the duke of Suffolk, the lord chancellor Audley and Cranmer, he remonſtrated againſt the cruelty of puniſhing ſo many delinquents, and obtained permiſſion to ſet them at liberty. At the ſame time, Henry granted a general permiſſion, for every one to have the new tranſlation of the bible in his family. Cromwell was alſo created earl of Eſſex, on the death of Bourchier, and enjoyed, together with the title, all the eſtate of that ancient and honourable family.

The only religious order that now remained in England, was that of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, or, as they were generally called, the knights of Malta. This order, partly eccleſiaſtical, and partly military, had by their valour, done great ſervice to Chriſtendom, and greatly retarded the rapid progreſs of the barbarians, at Jeruſalem, Rhodes, and Malta. During the general ſurrender of religious houſes in England, they had exerted their uſual ſpirit, and abſolutely refuſed to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who could not endure in his own dominions, any ſociety that profeſſed obedience to the pope, determined to have recourſe to parliament for the diſſolution of this religious order. Though the king had obtained ſuch large additions to his revenue by the plunder of the church, yet his profuſe generoſity had diſſipated it faſter than his rapacity could find a ſupply. But, as this was only known to his privy council, the parliament was aſtoniſhed to find a new demand made upon them of four tenths, and a ſubſidy of one ſhilling in the pound, during two years. The commons, who made no difficulty of ſporting with the lives and liberties of their fellow ſubjects, were ſo very unwilling to part with their money, that this abſolute and dreaded monarch, found it very difficult to get the bill paſſed.

On the twenty ſecond of April, a bill was brought in for ſuppreſſing the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, and paſſed without much oppoſition. In conſequence of this, their houſes, both in England and Ireland, were ſuppreſſed. The prior of St. John,

John, in London, ſat as the firſt of the temporal barons in parliament; and as many of the youngeſt ſons of the nobleſt families in the kingdom had entered into the order, large penſions were reſerved for their ſupport. The Engliſh prior had a thouſand pounds a year allotted him, and the Iriſh five hundred; and about three thouſand pounds a year were given in penſions to the knights.

Henry had, for the laſt ſeven or eight years, made Cromwell the inſtrument of all his unpopular actions, and began to apprehend that the general clamour againſt him, was too ſtrong for the crown to protect him any longer. The nobility hated him, becauſe he had mounted above them, though a perſon of very mean extraction. The people were averſe to him, as the ſuppoſed author of the violences committed on the monaſteries; eſtabliſhments which were ſtill revered and beloved by the commonalty. The Catholics conſidered him as the concealed enemy of their religion: while the proteſtants, obſerving his exterior concurrence with all the perſecutions exerciſed againſt them, reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery of his conduct, Thus all parties agreed to depreſs the miniſter; while Henry hoped, by ſo eaſy a ſacrifice, to regain his former popularity.

Beſids theſe reaſons, Henry had other motives of a more perſonal nature, for taking off Cromwell. The king had, for ſome time entertained a commerce with Catherine Howard, a lady infamouſly noble, and uncommonly lewd. She was daughter to lord Edmond Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk; and in her perſon remarkable ſmall, but her face was very agreeable. Gardiner, at once a pander and a prieſt, perceived and improved the king's growing affection. He made frequent entertainments at his own houſe for the royal lover and his miſtreſs, and Henry was ſo pleaſed with her company, that ſhe prevailed upon him to marry her. In conſequence of this tranſaction, the credit of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner was greatly raiſed in the cabinet, and a reſolution taken for procuring a divorce between the king and Anne of Cleves. Henry had mentioned to Cromwell in confidence, his marriage with Catherine Howard; but from ſeveral circumſtances, he was perſuaded that his miniſter had betrayed the ſecret. This determined his fate; but the deſign was kept ſo ſecret, that Cromwell, without the leaſt ſuſpicion, came as uſual to court, where he was arreſted for high treaſon by the duke of Norfolk, and ſent priſoner to the tower.

Soon after his commitment, articles of impeachments againſt him were preſented to parliament; and thoſe were followed by a bill of attainder, which paſſed both houſes, without his being heard in his own defence. He fell by that unconſtitutional power which he himſelf had raiſed, and became a ſacrifice to the laws he had attempted to aboliſh. He was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon; but the inſtances given of his treaſonable practices were highly improbable, and abſolutely ridiculous. Indeed the only circumſtance of his conduct, by which he ſeems to have merited the fate he met with, was his being the inſtrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting bills of the ſame iniquitous tendence, in the former ſeſſions of parliament, againſt the counteſs of Saliſbury and others.

When Cromwell heard that a bill of attainder was paſſed againſt him, he endeavoured to obtain mercy from the king by the moſt humble ſupplications: but he ought to have known the unrelenting temper of Henry better than flatter himſelf with being able to ſoften the breaſt of that inexorable tyrant. But the only favour he could obtain from Henry was not to be burnt as an heretic. He lay ſix weeks a priſoner in the tower, and wrote another letter to Henry in ſuch moving terms, that he ordered it to be thrice read, and appeared deeply affected with it. But the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, together with the charms of the new miſtreſs, prevented the effects of his pity. On the twenty-eighth of July, he was brought to the ſcaffold erected on Tower-hill, where he avoided all earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, and all complaints againſt the ſentence pronounced upon him. He well knew that Henry would reſent upon his ſon all theſe ſymptoms of oppoſition to his will; and that his death alone would not terminate the vengeance of that monarch.

Cromwell was a man of prudence, induſtry and abilities, worthy of a better maſter and of a better fate. Though raiſed to the ſummit of power from a very low origin, he betrayed no inſolence or contempt to his inferiors, and was careful to remember all the obligations, which, during his lower fortune, he had owed to any one.

Henry, in external deportment, continued ſtill decent to his queen. But having taken a reſolution to obtain a divorce, he perſuaded her to retire to Richmond for the benefit of the air. Soon after her leaving the capital, a motion was made in the houſe of peers, with a great deal of affected caution, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the king, requeſting that he would be pleaſed to allow his marriage to be tried. The motion paſſed without oppoſition, and the lord chancellor, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earl of Southampton and the biſhop of Durham, were ſent down to open the matter to the commons, and to require their concurrence. This was eaſily granted, and twenty of the commons were added to that of the lords, to wait upon the king, and deſire leave to move a matter of great conſequence both to himſelf and the public. As Henry, who had been ſufficiently inſtructed in every thing that paſſed, eaſily conſented, a commiſſion was accordingly iſſued for trying the iſſue of his marriage in the convocation. The cauſe was opened by Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and the neceſſary depoſitions were taken. Anne had, as we have already mentioned been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorrain; but ſhe, as well as the duke were at that time under age; and the contract had been annulled by the conſent of both parties. The king however, pleaded this contract as a ground of divorce, and added two other reaſons, which may ſeem ſomewhat extraordinary; that when he married Anne, he had not inwardly given his conſent, and that he had not thought proper to conſummate the marriage. However weak theſe reaſons may appear, they were ſufficient for the convocation; and they accordingly annulled, in a very ſolemn manner, the marriage between the king and the queen. The parliament ratified the deciſion of the clergy, and the ſentence was ſoon after notified to the princeſs.

But this event which would have rouzed moſt women to the higheſt reſentment, had no effect on Anne. She was bleſt with a happy inſenſibility of temper, even in points which moſt nearly affect

her ſex. Nor had either the king's averſion for her, or his proſecution of the divorce ever given her the leaſt uneaſineſs. She readily liſtened to terms of compoſition with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his ſiſter, and give her a place next the queen, and his own daughter, and to make a ſettlement on her of three thouſand pounds a year, ſhe accepted the conditions, and gave her conſent to the divorce. She even wrote to her brother, for her father was now dead, that ſhe had been very well uſed in England, and requeſted that he would conſider Henry as his friend and ally. The only inſtance of pride ſhe betrayed was, that ſhe refuſed to return into her own country after the affront ſhe had received: and accordingly lived and died in England, without wiſhing for her former ſtation of honour and greatneſs.

As ſoon as the whole tranſaction with Anne was ſettled, Catherine Howard was declared queen of England, having ſome time before been privately married to Henry. By this connection the popiſh intereſt was greatly ſtrengthened, and the firſt tranſaction of the privy-council was to iſſue out new commiſſions for trying offenders upon the ſix articles. In conſequence of this, the priſons about London were filled in a few days. Bonner, biſhop of London, adminiſtered the oath to the commiſſioners, and the jury found all the priſoners who came before them guilty. It was impoſſible to ſee how far this ſcene of barbarity would be carried, if that bloody prelate became director of the proſecutions. But Audley the chancellor found means to take them out of Bonner's hands, by obliging two hundred priſoners to be bound for one another's appearance next day before the court of ſtar-chamber, where, for want of proſecutors, they were all diſcharged. The mitigation, however, was probably owing, in a great meaſure, to the interpoſition of the proteſtants of Germany; who conſidered every proſecution founded on the ſix articles, as an open attack on their own religion. Bucer, a celebrated divine, was very preſſing with the elector of Saxony to ſend Melancton to Henry, as the only perſon in Europe capable of ſoftening the rigour of that monarch againſt the proteſtants; but the elector was ſo piqued at the diſappointment his former ambaſſadors had met with at the Engliſh court, that he would not ſuffer Melancton to leave Germany. The other princes, however, were deſirous of purſuing milder meaſures; and Henry was then on ſuch terms with France, that it would have been highly imprudent for him to exaſperate them too far. Francis had built a fortreſs at Ardres, and a bridge of communication with the Engliſh territories. The garriſon of Calais, by order of lord Maltravers the governor, demoliſhed the work, and the king of France gave orders to the mareſchal de Bryez to raiſe troops in Picardy. Upon which Henry ſent orders to the governor of Calais, to ſtrengthen the garriſon, and to repair the fortifications, The emperor took care to improve this difference between Francis and Henry. He betrayed to the Engliſh monarch every thing which Francis had imparted to him in confidence, and at the ſame time abſolutely refuſed to give Francis the inveſtiture of Milan, though he offered to give one of his daughters to the duke of Orleans, with Flanders, which was to be erected into a kingdom, for her fortune. The French monarch refuſed the offer, and endeavoured once more to prevail upon the Turks to make a ſecond invaſion of the empire. In this exigence, Charles, fearing he ſhould be deprived of the aſſiſtance of the proteſtants, ordered a conference for a reconciliation to be held at Worms. But this proving abortive, a diet was held at Ratiſbon, where new offers were made them but without ſucceſs. Henry conſidered himſelf as ſo deeply intereſted in thoſe attempts towards a reconciliation, that he ſent Gardiner and Sir Henry Knevet, to the diet; but they did their maſter no great ſervice; for Henry's ſtrange and even contradictory opinions, were agreeable to neither party. The emperor was obliged to ſuſpend the penal laws againſt the proteſtants, till a general council could be held; and the proteſtants, on their part, engaged to aſſiſt him againſt the Turks. Francis was greatly alarmed at this diſappointment, and formed an alliance with Chriſtian III. king of Denmark, and another with Guſtavus king of Sweden.

In the mean time the inhuman ſeverities of Henry occaſioned a rebellion in Yorkſhire; but it was quickly ſuppreſſed, and Sir John Nevil, who headed the inſurgents, was executed at York. Henry having every day freſh alarms from the papiſts, determined, if poſſible, to deſtroy the whole faction; and accordingly gave orders for a progreſs into Yorkſhire; but before he left the capital, the old counteſs of Saliſbury, who had been attainted of treaſon, for correſponding with her ſon, cardinal Pole, was brought to the ſcaffold in the tower, in order to ſuffer death. But on her mounting the ſcaffold ſhe refuſed to lay her head on the block, or ſubmit to a ſentence where ſhe had received no trial; maintaining, even in theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, the ſpirit of that long race of monarchs from whom ſhe was deſcended. Being again deſired by the executioner to wave all further oppoſition as it muſt needs be fruitleſs, ſhe told him that if he would have her head, he muſt win it the beſt manner he could: and ſhaking her venerable grey locks, ſhe ran about the ſcaffold; and the executioner followed her with his axe, aiming many fruitleſs blows at her neck before he could give the fatal ſtroke. Thus periſhed the laſt of the Plantagenet line, which, with great glory, but ſtill greater crimes and misfortunes, had ſwayed the ſcepter of England for the ſpace of three hundred years. But this unparalleled barbarity exerciſed upon a princeſs upwards of ſeventy years of age, and whoſe chief, perhaps her only demerit, was her expreſſion of parental tenderneſs, ſtruck every mind with ſuch horror and aſtoniſhment, that the other cruelties of Henry loſt their terror.

A. D. 1541. Preceded by diſmay, and followed by blood and murder, Henry ſet out on his progreſs towards Yorkſhire. and was every where received by his ſubjects, as they would a deſtroying angel, ready to inflict the vengeance of heaven. The inhabitants of Lincolnſhire appeaſed him with money, which they offered as a propitiation for their late rebellion; and thoſe of Yorkſhire followed their example, and obtained the like favour. But Henry had another motive, beſides that of extinguiſhing the rebellion; he flattered himſelf with concluding a laſting alliance with his nephew James, king of Scotland.

He hoped he ſhould meet with few difficulties in this attempt, as the ſame ſpirit of religious innovation, which had ſeized the other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun long before this period, to excite the ſame jealouſies, fears,

fears, and perſecutions. James was indeed a bigot and hated the Engliſh; but otherwiſe he was a prince of greater virtues than any of his time. He had great courage, and was bleſſed with a fine genius for government. He was greatly eſteemed both by Charles and Francis; and his friendſhip was, at this juncture, almoſt of deciſive advantage to the party who could gain it. His court was at once both learned and polite, and he was himſelf a man of parts. But bigotry was his ruling paſſion; and the friars took care to over awe his judgment, by the phantoms raiſed by ſuperſtition and cuſtom; and he had, at this time, actually begun a kind of perſecution againſt the reformers in his own country. Henry had at once a great affection for his nephew, and a high opinion of his judgment, and imagined that if he could give his ſpirit a proper turn, it would be of the greateſt conſequence to his intereſt. In this he was not miſtaken; for the two kings, at that juncture, had they joined in a regular plan of reformation, they might have bid defiance to the united ſtrength of Rome, and all its foreign allies. Henry had been at great pains, and had met with ſeveral diſappointments, to perſuade James to meet him at York, and had now actually obtained a promiſe for that purpoſe. He conſidered this as the greateſt difficulty he had to ſurmount. He knew that his nephew was fond of expenſive pleaſures. James had adorned his kingdom with fabrics that do honour to that age, and, at the ſame time, purſued his amours at great expence. Money was a tempting offer to a prince of this turn, while he had England for his friend. The religious endowments in Scotland were, in proportion, both as rich and numerous as thoſe in England; and Henry's purpoſe was to encourage James to ſeize them into his own hands.

Alarmed at the reſolution James had taken to meet Henry at York, the clergy of Scotland had recourſe to every expedient to prevent his carrying it into execution. They repreſented the dangers of innovation, the pernicious conſequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh, his hereditary enemy; the dependence which muſt enſue on loſing the aſſiſtance of France, and all foreign potentates. To theſe conſiderations, they added the proſpect of preſent intereſt, which they knew had great power over the king. They offered him a preſent gratuity of fifty thouſand pound ſcots; they promiſed him, that the church would be always ready to contribute to his ſupply; and pointed out to them the confiſcations of the eſtates of heretics, as a ſure means of filling his exchequer, and adding a hundred thouſand pounds to the crown revenue. The inſinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty and addreſs, had given a powerful influence over him, ſeconded all theſe reaſons; and James was prevailed upon firſt to delay his journey, and then to ſend excuſes to the king of England who had now reached York, in order to be preſent at the conference.

Vexed at this diſappointment, and enraged at the affront, Henry vowed to take ample vengeance on the king of Scotland; and accordingly permitted his ſubjects to moleſt the Scots both by ſea and land. But he ſoon after received, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more ſenſible; and which touched him in a point, where he had always an extreme delicacy. He had thought himſelf extremely happy in his new marriage: the youth, beauty, and agreeable diſpoſition of Catherine, had entirely captivated his affections, and he made no ſecret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even put up a prayer in his chapel for the felicity which the conjugal ſtate afforded him; and deſired the biſhop of Lincoln to compoſe a form of thankſgiving for that purpoſe. But this happineſs was of no long continuance. Henry had left the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor Audley, and the earl of Hertford, to manage the affairs of government in London, during his progreſs. While he was at York, one Laſcelles gave intelligence of her diſſolute life to Cranmer; and to confirm his aſſertion, offered to produce the evidence of his ſiſter, who had been a ſervant in the houſe of the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, where the queen had been educated; and had carried on a criminal intrigue at the ſame time, with two of the ſervants, Derham and Mannock. Cranmer, ſtruck with this intelligence which was equally dangerous to conceal or to diſcover, communicated the whole affair to the earl of Hertford and the chancellor; and it was unanimouſly agreed that the matter ſhould by no means be buried in ſilence; and the archbiſhop ſeemed the moſt proper perſon to diſcloſe it to the king. Unwilling to ſpeak on ſo delicate a ſubject, he wrote a narrative of the whole, and ſent it to Henry, who was infinitely aſtoniſhed at the intelligence. The king was ſo confident of the fidelity of his conſort, that it was ſome time before he would give any credit to the information; and ſaid to lord Ruſſel, keeper of the privy ſeal, the high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriotheſley, that he conſidered the whole as a forgery. But when he underſtood that Derham was actually in the queen's ſervice, and that another woman beſides Laſcelles ſiſter had been privy to the lewdneſs with which ſhe was charged, it was immediately reſolved that the lord privy-ſeal ſhould ſet out immediately for London, and examine Laſcelles. Ruſſel executed his commiſſion, and found the informer ſteady in his evidence. The ſiſter of Laſcelles was next examined, which coinciding with her brother's information, Derham and Mannock were immediately arreſted. The proofs every day increaſed in ſtrength. The woman confirmed her depoſition, by undeniable evidence and circumſtances. Derham confeſſed repeated acts of impurity with her majeſty before her marriage: Mannock confeſſed ſufficient to prove her lewdneſs; and it was found that one Colepepper had paſſed a whole night with her in her bedchamber ſince her marriage.

By this time the court was returned to London, when the whole evidence being collected, the queen's guilt appeared ſo undeniable, that Henry remained for ſome time ſpeechleſs, and at laſt burſt into tears. The queen was immediately taken into cuſtody, and on her examination at firſt denied every thing; but being informed that every thing was diſcovered, ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had been criminal before her marriage with Henry. But tho' ſhe appeared ſufficiently incontinent by that confeſſion, yet their is reaſon to believe ſhe was ſtill more criminal than ſhe thought proper to acknowledge. But no pre contract could be fixed upon her, for ſhe had the wickedneſs to refuſe marriage, tho' preſſed to it by the perſon with whom ſhe had been criminal. The confeſſions of Mannock and Derham were much more full than her own; and ſeveral women were found

found to have been witneſs to her lewdneſs. The lady Rochford in particular, the lady who had been ſo inſtrumental in the death of Anne Boleyn, was found to have been an accomplice in the queen's infamy, and both her and the queen were accordingly committed to the tower; and the reſt of her aſſociates ſent to different priſons. The lord William Howard, the queen's uncle, was then ambaſſador in France; but, upon this occaſion was recalled. The old dutcheſs of Norfolk was ſent to the tower. The counteſs of Bridgewater, the lord William Howard and his lady, together with four other men and five women were alſo thrown into priſon; and it was reſolved to proceed againſt them in the ſevereſt manner.

A. D. 1542. But Henry was ſoon convinced that the only method of thoroughly ſatiating his vengeance with expedition on the criminals, was that of aſſembling a parliament, where a bill of attainder for high treaſon againſt the queen and the lady Rochford, who had conducted her ſecret amours, was ſoon paſſed, and in which Colepeper and Derham were compriſed. At the ſame time they paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother, her uncle, the lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine other perſons; becauſe they knew the queen's vicious life before her marriage with the king, and yet concealed it. But Henry himſelf, though hardened in cruelty, could not conſider this ſentence of miſpriſion of treaſon as founded either on natural juſtice or the dictates of humanity; and accordingly he pardoned the dutcheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others condemned by the ſecond act of attainder.

In conſequence of theſe bills of attainder, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rochford. Their behaviour was ſuitable to their diſſolute life; and as the lady Rochford was known to have been the chief inſtrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to the block, ſhe died unpitied by the ſpectators.

Henry was now wholy employed in making preparations for revenging the late inſult he had received from James, king of Scotland; provided he could not bring that monarch over to his intereſt. Having failed in tempting his avarice, he now practiſed upon his ambition; and offered to ſubſtitute him to the crown of England, after the death of the prince of Wales, the acts of parliament for illigitimating Henry's daughters not having been repealed. James, not yet ready for war, ſeemed to liſten to this propoſal, and commiſſioners from both princes were appointed to ſettle all their differences upon the borders of the two kingdoms. But during the conferences men were raiſed on both ſides, ſo that there was no difficulty in perceiving that both wanted only to gain time. The lord Maxwell, warden of the weſt marches of Scotland, ordered all the Scots borderers to withdraw their effects out of England; and though the commiſſioners had parted in a friendly manner, without coming to any agreement, he entered England and carried off a great booty from Henry's ſubjects. But a reinforcement of Engliſh troops ariſing, James ordered Learmouth, the maſter of his houſhold to offer to renew the conferences for an accommodation; and the Engliſh complained, that even at the very time when Learmouth was at Henry's court, a freſh inroad was made by the Scots to the great detriment of the Engliſh borderers. Edward Bowes was therefore determined to make repriſals by invading Scotland, but he was defeated; and himſelf with many of his officers taken priſoners; with this peculiar hardſhip, that the Scots refuſed to admit them to ranſom.

As both princes were determined upon war, it is hard to ſay who was the real aggreſſor; but it is certain that Henry gave orders for his fleet, which was now in excellent condition, to attack their fleets by ſea, ſo that in a few days about twenty-eight of their trading veſſels were carried into Engliſh ports. A ſtrong army was now raiſed under the command of the duke of Norfolk; and a manifeſto was publiſhed by Henry, in order to juſtify his hoſtilities. He complained of James's diſappointing him in the promiſed interview; that the Scottiſh monarch had given protection to ſome Engliſh rebels and fugitives, and detained ſome territories which Henry pretended belonged to England. He even revived the old claim of the dependence of the crown of Scotland, and ſummoned James to do homage to him as his leige lord and ſuperior.

Every thing being ready for the intended invaſion, the duke of Norfolk moved from his camp at Newcaſtle, and advanced to the borders of Scotland. The Engliſh army amounted to above twenty thouſand men, a force which required the utmoſt efforts of the Scots to reſiſt. James had aſſembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as ſoon as he ſhould be informed that Norfolk had invaded his kingdom. The Engliſh croſſed the Tweed at Berwick, and advanced along the banks of the river as far as Kelſo, but hearing that James was at the head of near thirty thouſand men, Norfolk repaſſed the river, and returned with his army into his own country.

Inflamed with a deſire of military glory, and revenge on the invaders, James gave the ſignal for purſuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was ſurprized to find that his nobility who were generally diſaffected on account of the preference given to the clergy, oppoſed his reſolution, and refuſed to follow him in his projected enterprize. Enraged at this defection he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance: but reſolved with the forces which ſtill adhered to him, to make an impreſſion on the enemies country. Accordingly he ſent ten thouſand men to the weſtern borders, who entered England at Solway-frith; he himſelf following them at a ſmall diſtance, in order to join them whenever any occaſion rendered the junction needful.

Diſguſted, however, at the refractory diſpoſition of his nobles, he ſent a meſſenger to the army, depriving lord Maxwell of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. This alteration greatly diſpleaſed the army, who were ready to diſband, when a ſmall body of the Engliſh, not above five hundred men made their appearance, under the command of Dacres and Muſgrave. A panick inſtantly ſeized the Scots, who immediately betook themſelves to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout, for it did not deſerve the name of an action. A great many, however, were taken priſoners, and ſome of the principal nobility. Among theſe were the earls of Caſſils,

Caſſils, and Glencairn; the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, who were all ſent to London, and committed to the cuſtody of different noblemen, till it was determined in what manner they ſhould be treated.

When the news of this diſaſter reached the ears of the Scottiſh monarch, he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; and being naturally of a melancholy diſpoſition, and at the ſame time endowed with an imperious ſpirit, he loſt entirely the command of his temper. He broke out in the moſt dreadful rage againſt his nobility, by whom he thought he had been betrayed. When this paſſion had vented its fury; the ſhame of being defeated by ſuch a handful of foes, took poſſeſſion of his breaſt; he regretted the times that were paſt, and dreaded the future, in ſuch a dreadful manner, that he would liſten to no conſolation, but abandoned himſelf entirely to deſpair. He ſaw the conſequence of theſe conflicts in his ſoul, but could not ſooth the jarring paſſions into peace. He had no ſon living; and hearing that his queen was ſafely delivered, he aſked, with ſome emotion, whether ſhe had brought him a male or a female; Being told the latter, he turned in his bed, regretted the miſeries which he foreſaw would fall on his native country, and in a few days expired. He was a prince of conſiderable virtues and talents, well adapted by his vigilance and perſonal courage for repreſſing thoſe diſorders, to which his kingdom, during that ferocious age, was ſo much expoſed.

The death of king James, and the birth of a daughter, heireſs to a kingdom, whoſe friendſhip was ſo important to England, gave a new turn to Henry's councils. He looked upon his late advantage as a lucky incident, and wiſely forbore driving the Scots to ſeek ſafety in deſpair. A marriage between his ſon, and the young queen of Scotland naturally preſented itſelf to his thoughts. He had ordered the Scots priſoners of quality to be brought up to London, by Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir Henry Saville, where they were at firſt lodged in the Tower; but ſoon after complimented by Henry with a preſent of rich apparel, and then carried before the council of England. The lord chancellor had orders to expoſtulate with them very fully upon the cauſes of the war, and to impute all to the obſtinacy of king James. They were then diſcharged from their confinement in the Tower, and committed to the cuſtody of different noblemen, who treated them with the greateſt civility, and often took them to court, which, upon this occaſion appeared with more than common magnificence. The noblemen were ſo well pleaſed with their treatment, that they lent a willing ear to Henry's propoſal for marrying their young queen to the prince of Wales; and were, upon their paroles, diſmiſſed to their own country, in order to uſe their intereſt for bringing about ſo deſirable an event; promiſing to return if it could not be effected. Henry, however, thought proper to ſend Sir Ralph Sadler into Scotland, with private inſtructions for gaining over the government of Scotland in favour of this union.

The Scottiſh nobility on their arrival in their own kingdom, found that unhappy country divided into two factions the French and the Engliſh: the former was headed by cardinal Beaton, and the latter by the earl of Arran. The cardinal was a perſon of unpopular manners, and of a perſecuting ſpirit. He had been dignified by the pope, in order to gain him the greater reverence from the people, and enable him to acquire a greater aſcendency over his maſter, whom he kept firm in his obedience to the ſee of Rome; and therefore naturally attached himſelf to the French intereſt; and was ſupported by the queen-mother, a native of France and a zealous papiſt. The clergy, and perſons of the moſt virtuous principles joined the cardinal; becauſe they were perſuaded if the projected marriage ſhould take place, their country muſt inevitably be ruined.

The earl of Arran was a young nobleman of ſound judgment and uncorrupted morals; but diffident and without experience; and thence expoſed to the deſigns of artful men, againſt the dictates of his better reaſon. The ſeverities practiſed during the late reign in matters of religion; the unamiable character of the cardinal, and the unſufferable inſolence of the clergy, had greatly diſpoſed the minds of the people to embrace the tenets of the reformation. This diſpoſition was conſiderably increaſed by the Scottiſh noblemen who had been ſome time detained in England; for they gave the higheſt encomiums of the politeneſs, magnificence and power of the Engliſh court, and which they attributed to the extinction of the papal intereſt.

Soon after the death of James, cardinal Beaton publiſhed his will, which the Scots ſay was a forgery. But, however that be, the government was left to him, the earls of Argyle, Huntley and Murry, during the minority of his daughter. But the nation, who could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing a prieſt at the helm of affairs, choſe the earl of Arran, firſt prince of the blood, regent of the kingdom. The new governor entered upon his office with great applauſe, and diſcharged it with almoſt unexampled prudence.

A. D. 1543. A parliament was now ſummoned, where the marriage between the queen of Scots and the prince of Wales, was propoſed in form, and debated with great warmth. The wiſer and more independent members reaſoned againſt it, from every principle of common ſenſe and former experience. But the Engliſh party enforced the arguments of conveniency, ſafety and protection, together with the reformation of all abuſes, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil.

During this debate the cardinal had been confined, by order of the government, and his abſence perhaps increaſed the oppoſition to this motion. the governor himſelf was no enemy to the reformation, but was not clear, that the independence of his country could be preſerved by the marriage. This is ſufficiently evident from his ſubſequent conduct, and his apprehenſions were conſiderably increaſed by the propoſals made to him by Sir Ralph Sadler, which were, that Henry ſhould have the cuſtody of the young queen, till ſhe was of age; and alſo that of the Scottiſh forts and caſtles, until ſhe ſhould have iſſue by prince Edward, and a governor ſhould be named for the kingdom. Henry was ſo intent upon ſucceeding in this negotiation, that Sadler had orders to offer the princeſs Elizabeth of England, in marriage to the governor's ſon. But even this offer failed of ſucceſs; and Sir James Hamilton, with Sir James Learmouth, were ſent to Henry's court, with propoſals that could not be accepted. Upon their return the earl of Glencairn and Sir George Douglas, who were both in the

Engliſh party, undertook the negotiation with Henry. They were accordingly furniſhed with two commiſſions, the one for making a treaty of peace, the other for concluding the marriage. The treaty of peace was ſoon concluded, and the next day the articles for the marriage were ſigned.

By the latter it was ſtipulated that the young queen ſhould have an appointment during Henry's life, of two thouſand pounds ſterling a year from the time of the conſummation of the marriage, and four thouſand pounds a year after Henry's death: that the court of Scotland ſhould aſſign her proper guardians and tutors while ſhe reſided in that country; but that Henry might have the liberty of ſending an Engliſh nobleman with his lady, and twenty ſervants to the court of the young queen: that the young queen as ſoon as ſhe reached the age of ten years ſhould be delivered at Berwic to commiſſioners appointed by Henry, in order to her being conducted to the Engliſh court: that ſix noblemen of Scotland ſhould be given as hoſtages for the due performance of their part of the above conditions; and that in caſe any of them ſhould die, others ſhould be ſent to ſupply their place: that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be ſtill called by its ancient name, and enjoy all its former laws and liberties: and, that the earl of Arran ſhould, as governor, be accountable to the prince of Wales, for all the revenues of Scotland, after deducting the neceſſary expences of the queen's maintenance.

By theſe treaties the war between England and Scotland, which had ſo long waſted the borders, and which now threatened the latter with the moſt diſmal calamities, was terminated, and a proſpect of perpetual concord and unanimity opened to the view. But all theſe flattering hopes were ſoon diſſipated by the intrigues of cardinal Beaton. That prelate having prevailed upon Seton to reſtore him to his liberty, ſoon found means to confound all thoſe meaſures, which appeared to have been ſo well concerted. He aſſembled the principal clergy of the kingdom, and having repreſented to them the imminent danger, to which both their revenues and privileges were expoſed, he perſuaded them to collect privately from their brethren a large ſum of money, by which, if intruſted to his management, he promiſed to overturn the ſchemes of their enemies. Nor was he contented with the partizans he acquired by pecuniary motives, he rouzed up the zeal of thoſe, who were attached to the eſtabliſhed worſhip; and repreſented the union with England, as the certain forerunner of ruin to their church and eſtabliſhed religion. The hereditary animoſity that ſubſiſted between the Scots and the Engliſh was alſo an infallible engine employed by the cardinal, to gain the people to his party. Terrified by the power of Henry's arms they had indeed aſſented to the alliance and propoſed marriage; but as ſoon as their fears began to ſubſide the ſettled habits of the nation again prevailed, and excited an extreme averſion to Henry's offers. Sadler ſoon perceived this change, but concealed his ſuſpicions till the day appointed for the delivery of the hoſtages, when he demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for anſwer, that the face of affairs was greatly changed; that his own authority was extremely precarious; and that it was not in his power to compel any of of the nobility to deliver themſelves up as hoſtages to the Engliſh. This anſwer was ſufficiently explicit, and Sadler accordingly ſummoned all thoſe who had been priſoners in England, to return thither purſuant to their parole. They all, however, refuſed to obey the call of honour, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſils; who immediately ſet out for Henry's court, where his behaviour procured him a very gracious reception; and he was ſent back to Scotland, loaded with preſents, in company with his two brothers whom he had left with Henry as hoſtages.

Exaſperated at this treatment of the Scots, by the intrigues of the French party, Henry determined to break with Francis, and unite his arms with thoſe of the emperor, who had declared war againſt the French king. Accordingly he concluded a treaty with Charles, and it was agreed that the two monarchs ſhould enter the French dominions with an army of fifty thouſand men; and demand from Francis all the ſums he owed Henry, and inſiſt upon his aſſigning Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne and Ardres to the Engliſh monarch, as a ſecurity for the regular payment of his penſion hereafter. If theſe conditions were refuſed, the two princes were to challenge for Henry the crown of France, with the dutchies of Normandy, Aquitaine and Guienne; and for Charles the dutchy of Burgundy and ſome other territories.

Every thing being thus ſettled by the treaty between theſe two powerful princes, a meſſage was ſent to Francis, requiring him to renounce his allegiance with the Turks, and make full reparation for all the injuries the Chriſtian world had received from ſo unnatural a connection. Francis, tho' he perceived the ſtorm that was gathering from the alliance between Charles and Henry, refuſed to renounce his connections with Sultan Solyman, and war was in conſequence declared againſt him by the two confederated princes.

The emperor opened the campaign with the ſiege of Landrecy, which had been taken by Francis before the emperor's army was in a condition to face the enemy. While the emperor lay before the place, he was joined by ſix thouſand Engliſh under the command of Sir John Wallop, which enabled him to take almoſt every fortreſs in the dutchy of Cleves. Landrecy, however, ſtill continued to make a noble defence, and Francis advanced at the head of a powerful army in order to relieve the place, and a general battle was every day expected. But this was not the intention of Francis, his only deſign was to relieve the place; and accordingly while the two armies lay facing each other, the French found means to throw ſuccours into Landrecy, and then made a very ſkilful retreat. Charles perceiving that it would be now in vain to continue the ſiege, as the ſeaſon was conſiderably advanced, abandoned the undertaking and put his army into winter quarters.

During the heat of the campaign Henry married Catherine Parr, widow of Nevil, lord Latimer. But notwithſtanding this lady entertained the higheſt regard for the reformation, ſhe could not prevent a freſh perſecution of her own party, three of whom were burnt at Windſor for no other crime than that of reading the ſcriptures, and ſome books publiſhed by reformed divines. In the courſe of their trial it appeared that doctor Landon, a wretch who had ſerved the moſt ſacrilegious of the reformers, and the moſt bloody of the papiſts, in their deteſted violences,

violences, had, in conjunction with one Symonds, been guilty of a conſpiracy to ruin ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. But though this was ſufficiently proved, and though Henry affected great reſentment at the villany, yet all the puniſhment he inflicted on them for their perjury, conſiſted in their ſtanding on the pillory with ſome circumſtances of diſgrace.

A. D. 1544. A parliament was now ſummoned, and Henry obtained a ſubſidy of three ſhillings in the pound to be paid in three years; and the convocation agreed to give the king ſix ſhillings in the pound. The ſucceſſion to the crown was ſettled; and another act was paſſed by which it was enacted, that nothing but the oaths of twelve men, before authorized commiſſioners ſhould be ſufficient to bring any perſon to his trial, for offences comprehended in the ſtatute of the ſix articles; and that all ſuch preſentments ſhould be made within one year after the offence was committed: that no perſon ſhould be committed without indictment; and that all indictments againſt preachers or readers for ſuch offences from the pulpit, ſhould be within forty days. Thus the bloody ſtatute of the ſix articles was, in ſome meaſure qualified as to its penalties.

Furniſhed with every thing neceſſary that could render a war with France and Scotland ſucceſsful, Henry made the neceſſary preparations for both. He propoſed to head his army in perſon againſt France; and appointed the earl of Hertford commander againſt the Scots. Dudley lord Liſle, was to command a fleet of two hundred ſail, which were to take on board the army at Newcaſtle, and land them near Leith, where they were to be joined by lord Evers, governor of Berwick, at the head of four thouſand men.

Scotland was now in a very deplorable ſituation, Francis, when applied to for ſuccours by cardinal Beaton, ſent over Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of great family and connections, to aſſiſt the French party againſt the regent, and by his intereſt added to that of the queen-mother, the cardinal had gained the aſcendant in the Scottiſh council. Lenox had been flattered with the hopes of marrying the queen dowager, and had been ſucceſsful enough to place the young queen under the tuition of four Scottiſh noblemen. This ſo greatly diſobliged both the regent and the queen dowager, that the cardinal adviſed the court of France to recall Lenox. Exaſperated at this treatment, Lenox made uſe of fifty thouſand crowns ſent by Francis to the government of Scotland, in increaſing the number of his own party, in oppoſition to the queen dowager, the regent, and the cardinal. This method of proceeding was highly reſented by the whole party, and the court of France was ſo prejudiced againſt Lenox, who finding he muſt expect no farther favours from Francis, joined the Engliſh faction in Scotland. Henry readily accepted the offers of his ſervice, and promiſed him in marriage the lady Margaret Douglas his own niece, daughter to the queen dowager of James the fourth, by the earl of Angus her ſecond huſband.

Alarmed at the defection of Lenox, the cardinal purſued him ſo cloſe, that he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Dumbarton, where he continued till the Engliſh arms landed in Scotland, which happened on the fourth of May, and in three or four days after the troops were ready to take the field. The lord admiral led the van, the lord Hertford the center, and the earl of Shrewſbury the rear.

The cardinal, who had now entirely gained over the regent to his party, made diſpoſitions for interrupting the Engliſh in their march, and for that purpoſe had raiſed a large body of foot, and about ſix thouſand horſe. But not chuſing to ſtand a battle, the Engliſh marched on without reſiſtance, and took poſſeſſion of Leith, where they found a very conſiderable booty. After making themſelves maſters of Leith, they marched to Edinburgh. The gates were ſoon broke down, and the Engliſh firſt pillaged and then ſet the city on fire. The regent and cardinal being in no condition to oppoſe a powerful and victorious enemy fled to Stirling; and Hertford being joined by a freſh body of forces under Evers, laid waſte the whole country, burned and deſtroyed Haddington and Dunbar, and then retired into England; having loſt only forty men in the whole expedition. They had no ſooner left the kingdom, than the earl of Arran marched at the head of a conſiderable army againſt Lenox, who after making a feeble reſiſtance fled to England, where Henry ſettled a penſion on him, and gave him his niece the lady Margaret Douglas in marriage.

By this expedition Henry exaſperated without ſubduing the Scots; he did too much if he intended to ſollicit an alliance, and too little if he deſigned a conqueſt. But his true reaſon for recalling the earl of Hertford, was his eagerneſs to carry on the projected invaſion of France, in which he intended to employ the principal force of his kingdom. It had been agreed between Charles and Henry, to enter France at the head of an hundred thouſand men: the former engaged to march from the low countries, and Henry from Calais. They were to enter on no ſiege; but, leaving all the frontier towns behind them, march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence proceed to make an entire conqueſt of the kingdom.

In purſuance of this concerted plan, Henry balanced the intereſt of the papiſts, by conferring great powers on the proteſtants; left the queen regent of the kingdom during his abſence, and paſſed over to Calais, at the head of thirty thouſand men. The van was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; the main body by the duke of Suffolk, under whom ſerved the earl Arundel as mareſchal of the field, Paulet lord St John, and Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe; and the rear was led by Ruſſel, lord privy ſeal, having under him the earls of Surry and Oxford, the lords Grey, Ferrers, and Montjoy, and Sir Francis Brian. The Welch and Iriſh troops marched in the rear, and the whole army directed its rout towards Montreuil, and were ſoon joined by ten thouſand imperial foot, and about four thouſand horſe, under the count de Bures. With this reinforcement the Engliſh laid ſiege to Montreuil, which was defended by the mareſchal de Biez at the head of a ſtrong garriſon. But nothing remarkable happened before the arrival of Henry in perſon.

The king was amazed when he underſtood the conduct of the emperor. That monarch, as a proper preparative for his war with France, held a diet at Spires, where he was ſucceſsful enough to ſow diſſenſions among the proteſtant princes, and by granting them certain ſtipulations in favour of their religion, to detach them entirely from Francis. He even prevailed upon the elector of Saxony to acknowledge

knowledge Frederick as king of the Romans, and the other princes to conſent to the raiſing a capitation for carrying on the war againſt the Turks, and ſupporting twenty-eight thouſand men, who were to join the Engliſh army in France.

This ſucceſs made Charles the leſs ſollicitous to fulfill his engagements with Henry; but it was greatly leſſened by a ſignal victory gained over his army in Piedmont, by the French, under the duke of Enguienne. Charles, however, aſſembled his army at Spires, and divided it into two bodies, one of which was led by himſelf in perſon, and ſat down before Commercy; and the other by the count de Fuſtemburg, who beſieged the city of Luxemburg. Both theſe places with ſeveral others of the greateſt importance fell into the emperor's hands; and he ſoon after formed the ſiege of St. Didier, inſtead of marching to join Henry.

But the imperial party had, at this time, ſo much influence in the Engliſh council, that Henry was prevailed upon to continue the war, expecting that when St. Didier was taken, the emperor would march directly and join the king's army. In the mean time, Henry formed the ſiege of Boulogne, leaving the conduct of the ſiege of Montreuil to the duke of Norfolk and the imperial general. Theſe impolitic proceedings ſaved the French monarchy from deſtruction; for Francis, having recalled ten thouſand of his beſt troops from Piedmont, and the garriſon of St. Didier defending itſelf for upwards of ſix weeks, had time for putting his kingdom in a poſture of defence, he had then no army in the field, his troops being employed in garriſoning his ſtrong towns, and rationally ſuppoſed they would be able to ſtop the career of the Engliſh, till the ſeaſon was too far advanced for their junction with the emperor. The imperial miniſters, extremely ſenſible of this, were daily preſſing Henry to march forward to Paris, without undertaking any ſiege. This undeceived Henry: he ſaw the emperor employed in the ſiege of St. Didier without making any diſpoſitions for joining the two armies. Henry therefore told them that he ſhould adopt the emperor's meaſures; that Charles had already failed in fulfilling his engagements, and he ſhould therefore endeavour to indemnify himſelf by making ſome important and uſeful conqueſt.

Boulogne was the place Henry propoſed to attack, and accordingly the duke of Suffolk was ſent with part of the army to form the ſiege. Vervin was governor of Boulogne, having under him Philip Corſe, a brave old officer, who encouraged the garriſon to defend the place to the laſt extremity. He was killed during the courſe of the ſiege, and the town immediately ſurrendered to the Engliſh by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for his diſhonourable conduct.

In the mean time Charles had made himſelf maſter of St. Didier, after a very vigorous defence made by the garriſon. The great length of this ſiege diſcouraged Charles: he ſaw his army daily diminiſhing, and the winter ſeaſon of the year advancing apace; he ſaw that all his ſchemes for ſubduing France muſt now prove abortive, and therefore liſtened to the offer of making a treaty of peace with Francis. But, in order to have ſome pretence for deſerting his ally, he ſent a meſſenger to the Engliſh camp, requiring Henry to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him at the head of his army before Paris. Henry refuſed to comply, and accuſed the emperor of being the firſt perſon who had broke the contract.

This anſwer ſerved Charles as a ſufficient reaſon for concluding a peace at Creſſy. He ſtipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's ſecond ſon; and Francis engaged to withdraw his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and to renounce all claim to Milan, Naples and other places and territories in Italy.

This treaty, ſo ſingular advantageous to France, was procured partly by a deciſive victory gained by the French over the Imperialiſts in Piedmont, at the beginning of the campaign, and partly by the emperor's great deſire of turning his arms againſt the proteſtant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops from the Engliſh in Picardy, and Henry finding himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montruil, returned to England.

A. D. 1545. Soon after Henry's return, a ſquadron was fitted out under the command of the earl of Lenox, who ſailed immediately to Scotland, and ravaged the ſea coaſt of that divided kingdom. At the ſame time the lord Evers, warden of the middle marches, entered Scotland at the head of four thouſand men, and after laying waſte all the country about Jedburgh and Kelſo, he fortified the tower and church of Coldingham, and left a garriſon in the place. Theſe troops proved ſo exremely troubleſome to the adjacent country, that the regent of Scotland beſieged Coldingham with an army of eight thouſand men; and for ſome time carried on the ſiege with great vigour: but ſuch were the diviſions in that unhappy country, that one brother could not truſt another, and the regent fearing he might be betrayed by his countrymen, or ſurprized by the enemy, ſuddenly left the army, which immediately after his departure raiſed the ſiege, and ſeparated. Upon this unexpected advantage, the Engliſh under lord Evers, marched into the adjacent counties, which they either put under ſevere contributions, or laid waſte with fire and ſword. But the earl of Angus, now reſtored to his country, put himſelf at the head of a body of the inhabitants, and ſecuring the Engliſh artillery, he deſired them to obſerve how eaſy it was to ſurprize an enemy, wholly intent upon plunder. Nor did he content himſelf with this acquiſition; he drew up his men behind a hill, ordering all the grooms in the camp to mount the horſes, and ride along in ſight of the Engliſh, and upon their approach to fly towards the place where the main body of the Scots were drawn up ready to receive them. The ſtratagem was attended with the deſired ſucceſs. The Engliſh, eager to make themſelves maſters of the horſes, purſued, with ſo little precaution, that they fell into the ambuſh, and having both the ſun and a violent wind in their faces, were totally routed, two hundred of them were killed on the ſpot, among whom were the lords Evers and Ogle, Sir Brian Layton, with ſeveral gentlemen of note; and about a thouſand taken priſoners.

Soon after this action, Francis ſent over a body of auxiliaries, amounting to three thouſand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery lord of Lorges. The regent, reinforced by theſe ſuccours, aſſembled an army of fifteen thouſand men at Haddington, and marched to ravage the eaſtern borders of England. Accordingly they laid waſte the whole country through which they paſſed, and having met with no conſiderable reſiſtance, they retired

retired into their own country, and diſperſed themſelves. In revenge for this inſult, the earl of Hertford committed the moſt dreadful ravages on the middle and weſt marches; ſo that the war was rendered remarkable rather for the miſeries each party brought on the innocent inhabitants, than for any ſingular advantage gained either by Engliſh or Scots.

The enlarging the Engliſh dominions in France, was extremely diſagreeable to that court, and Francis determined at any rate to retake Boulogne. He was now at peace with the emperor, the dauphin had proteſted againſt the treaty of Creſſy; but the death of the duke of Orleans whoſe ſettlement was the chief motive for concluding it, reſtored peace to the royal family of France, nor did the emperor ſeem at all deſirous to renew the war. In order to this, Francis aſſembled a numerous fleet at Havre de Grace, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty large ſhips, and fifty ſmall veſſels, beſides twenty-five gallies which he brought from the Mediterranean. He alſo hired ten large Carracks from the Genoeſe; but thoſe came too late to have any ſhare in the expedition. Henry's fleet was greatly inferior with regard to number, but they were much better manned, and commanded by more able officers.

Francis, therefore, imagining himſelf maſter by ſea, raiſed a land army of thirty four thouſand men, with a proportional number of cavalry, and ordered the mareſchal de Biez to build a fort, which ſhould command the entrance of the harbour of Boulogne, and capable of containing four or five thouſand men. His intention was to attack Guiſnes, ravage the Terre d'Oye, a ſmall, but well defended territory, from whence the Engliſh pale was ſupplied with forage, to block up Boulogne on the land ſide, while the fort prevented its being ſupplied by ſea, and his vaſt naval armament made a deſcent upon England. The admiral d'Annibault commanded the fleet, and Paulin baron de Lagarde, the gallies. The fleet ſoon ſailed on the projected expedition; but before they got out of the harbour, a fire happened on board a firſt rate of war, carrying an hundred guns, by which ſhe was totally deſtroyed. D'Annibault, however, proceeded, but Henry was not to be ſurprized: he had viſited Portſmouth in perſon where his fleet aſſembled, together with a land army under the command of the duke of Suffolk. Receiving information of theſe preparations, the French ſailed immediately to St. Helens, and diſpatched four gallies to look into the harbour of Portſmouth. On their appearance, ſixty Engliſh ſhips came out of the harbour, and offered battle to the whole French fleet. But d'Annibault did not chuſe to accept the offer, and was obliged to retire after a ſmart cannonading on both ſides, and the beſt ſhip in the French navy being rendered uſeleſs.

There being very little wind the next day, d'Annibault endeavoured to draw the Engliſh from their advantageous diſpoſition by the help of their gallies, which were moſt uſeful in a calm. In order to this they cannonaded the Engliſh for ſome time, and forced the Mary-Roſe, one of Henry's beſt ſhips, on ſhore. But a freſh breeze ſpringing up, it was not without the greateſt difficulty that the French gallies eſcaped to their main fleet. D'Annibault, finding that the Engliſh could not be attacked in the bay, but at a great diſadvantage, as there was not room ſufficient for him to form his whole fleet into a line of battle, he landed ſeveral detachments of land forces on the Iſle of Wight; but the Engliſh government had taken ſuch wiſe precautions, that the French were every where repulſed, without being able even to take on board any freſh water. A conſiderable body of the enemy landed alſo in Suſſex, but met with no better ſucceſs. This wiſe conduct of the Engliſh convinced d'Annibault, that no advantage could be gained over the enemy. He therefore called a council of war, where it was propoſed to land a greater number of forces in the Iſle of Wight, and endeavour to form a ſettlement there.

But this being judged impracticable without erecting a great number of forts, it was determined to ſail for the coaſt of France, where he landed four thouſand ſoldiers, and all the pioneers he had taken on board for fortifying the conqueſts he ſhould make in England.

But a ſtrong gale blowing from the land again drove his fleet on the coaſts of Suſſex, and the Engliſh, who could not bear to be thus inſulted, met them at ſea, and a very terrible fight enſued, which laſted for two days; but the ſecond night, the wind ſhifting, the French embraced the opportunity of ſtealing away to Havre, while the Engliſh admiral burnt the ſuburbs of Treport in Normandy, and cut ſeveral ſhips out of the harbour.

This vaſt ſucceſs againſt the moſt powerful armament by ſea that had appeared for ſeveral ages, infuſed into the Engliſh that ſpirit, which will always render them formidable. The ſea was immediately covered with their privateers, and upwards of three hundred French merchant men were taken that very year.

Francis was at Foreſt Monſtier, when d'Annibault returned from his unſucceſsful expedition, and was very intent in carrying on his preparations by land; but to his great aſtoniſhment the engineer whom Biez had employed in building the fort, intended to block up the harbour of Boulogne, had executed his orders in ſo ſhameful a manner, that the fort was not finiſhed by the limited time, nor would it be ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe. This rendered all the ſchemes of Francis abortive; and as the harbour of Boulogne was open, he durſt not beſiege Guiſnes, which was ſituated between that place and Calais. He therefore ordered the mareſchal de Biez to ravage the Terre d'Oye, with a conſiderable detachment, while the main army took poſt at Mount Lambert, and blocked up Boulogne on the land ſide. De Biez executed his commiſſion like an able officer: he attacked and carried ſome of the lines of the Terre d'Oye, and a body of the Engliſh attempting to recover them were repulſed with loſs, by his cavalry; but it being now the beginning of October, and that territory lying extremely low, the French could not keep the advantage they had gained. Nor was the main body of their army more ſucceſsful againſt Boulogne. The garriſons of that place, of Guiſnes, and of Calais, preſerved a communication with each other, and many ſkirmiſhes happened between them and the enemy, generally to the diſadvantage of the latter.

As there was now the ſtrongeſt appearances that the war between France and England would continue, a parliament was ſummoned to meet on the twenty-third of November. Henry's late ſucceſs, had given him a ſufficient pretence for demanding fur-

ther ſupplies from his people. Accordingly, the commons granted him a ſubſidy payable in two years, of two ſhillings in the pound on lands, and one ſhilling in the pound on goods and money. The convocation voted him ſix ſhillings in the pound. But the parliament, apprehenſive leſt more demands ſhould be made upon them, thought proper to ſave themſelves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property; and by one vote beſtowed upon the king all the revenues of the univerſities, as well as the chantries, free chapels, and hoſpitals. Henry was pleaſed with this conceſſion, as it increaſed his power; but he had no intention of ſtripping learning of all her endowments; and therefore ſoon informed the univerſities, that he did not mean to touch their revenues. Thus theſe ancient and celebrated eſtabliſhments owed their ſubſiſting to the generoſity of the king, not to the protection of this ſervile and proſtitute parliament.

A. D. 1546. Henry having received a ſupply from his parliament, employed himſelf in making the neceſſary preparations for the enſuing campaign: and as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, he ſent over the earl of Hertford, and the high admiral lord Liſle, to Calais, with a body of nine thouſand men, two thirds of whom were foreigners. The earl on his arrival ſecured the communication between Calais and Boulogne, by taking up his quarters at Ambleteuſe, where the French had marked out a ſtrong camp. But it was very difficult for him to keep his German ſoldiers from mutiny, which encouraged the French to occupy their former poſt upon mount Lambert, and every day produced ſkirmiſhes between the two armies.

The war now put on the appearance of greater fury than ever; but both princes, in their cooler moments, perceived they were only weakening each other, in favour of the emperor, the natural enemy of both. Francis had many reaſons to wiſh for a peace. His war with England had, in general, been unfortunate, and attended with a moſt enormous expence. His late peace with the emperor was, in a manner, diſſolved, by the death of the duke of Orleans; and he was deſtitute both of men and money ſhould Charles again think proper to break the treaty. Henry, who was now grown prodigiouſly corpulent, and afflicted with ſeveral diſeaſes, was very deſirous of ending a quarrel, which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. He was alſo afraid leſt the council then ſitting at Trent ſhould declare againſt him, as he would be left to ſupport himſelf againſt all the powers of Europe, as well as his own diſcontented ſubjects at home. Each being thus deſirous of terminating the quarrel, commiſſioners were appointed, who met at Campe, a place between Ardres and Guiſnes, where a peace was ſoon concluded on the following conditions: That Henry ſhould retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due from Francis ſhould be paid: that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to ſettle the ſums due from the king of France to the king of England, which were ſuppoſed to amount to five hundred thouſand crowns: that the Scots, as well as the emperor, ſhould be comprehended in this treaty.

Upon theſe conditions all hoſtilities ceaſed between the two nations; and all that Henry obtained from a war, which had coſt him above one million three hundred and forty thouſand pounds ſterling, was a diſputable ſecurity for a debt reduced to one third of the original value; while Francis was delivered from the terrors of a powerful enemy whom he found ſuperior to his utmoſt efforts; and at the ſame time, avoided for the preſent the payment of a debt which the low condition of his finances rendered it impoſſible for him to diſcharge.

Soon after the concluſion of the peace, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, paid the debt of nature. This nobleman, who was always a ſincere and powerful friend to Cranmer, married the queen dowager of France, but ſhe had been dead ſome years. He enjoyed the favour of Henry from his earlieſt youth, which affords one inſtance that the king was not wholly incapable of a cordial and ſteady friendſhip. Henry was ſitting in council when he was informed of Suffolk's death; and took that opportunity of expreſſing his own ſorrow for the loſs, and to celebrate the merits of the deceaſed nobleman. He declared that during the whole courſe of their correſpondence, his brother-in-law had never made any attempt to injure an adverſary, nor even ever whiſpered a word to the diſadvantage of any perſon. He added, "Is there any of you my lords "who can ſay as much?" The queſtion was not anſwered, but the confuſion naturally excited by a conſcientiouſneſs of guilt viſibly appeared.

The death of this nobleman inſpired the popiſh party with the hopes of being able to ruin Cranmer. They well knew the king's paſſion for orthodoxy, and repreſented the primate as the principal cauſe of its making no greater progreſs. Henry, in order to ſee how far they would carry their malice, pretended to liſten to the accuſation, and deſired the council to enquire into Cranmer's conduct; promiſing that if he was really the ſecret ſupport of hereſy, he would ſend him to the tower, and bring him to condign puniſhment.

The primate's enemies had no ſooner received this promiſe, than they conſidered his ruin as inevitable; and his old friends from mercenary motives, as well as the oppoſite party who were actuated by animoſity, began to treat him with diſreſpect. Among other mortifying inſtances of neglect, he was obliged to wait ſeveral hours among the ſervants at the door of the council-chamber before he could gain admittance; and on his being at laſt called in, they told him they had agreed to ſend him to the tower. Unmoved by this threat, Cranmer told them that he was not obliged to ſubmit to their ſentence, and that he appealed to the king himſelf. This appeal had, however, no effect upon the council, who were determined on his deſtruction. The primate therefore produced a ring which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. Terror and confuſion now ſeized the whole party; and when they came before the king he reproved them in the harſheſt terms, and told them, that he was thoroughly acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their envious and malicious ſpirit; but had ſuffered them to proceed ſo far, in order to teach them by the ſevereſt diſcipline, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his ſervice: and ordered all to embrace the primate as a ſign of their cordial reconciliation.

But tho' their malice againſt the primate ended, whom they conſidered as the principal enemy to the ſuperſtition of the Romiſh church, yet the other friends to the reformation were expoſed to all the miſeries

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Engraved for Mountague's History of England.

Bishop Gardiner coming with a Guard to seize Catherine Parr,
Who was walking in the Garden with **HENRY VIII.**

miſeries that could be inflicted by a bigotted party. Even Catherine herſelf did not eſcape their malice.

She was ſecretly a friend to the reformation, and Henry having been much confined by his illneſs, ſhe endeavoured to perform all the good offices ſhe could to thoſe of her own perſuaſion. Religion became naturally the ſubject of their converſation; nor did the queen ſuſpect that the king could liſten to any ſuggeſtion againſt her life, while ſhe was innocently amuſing his tedious hours with her converſation. But Gardiner knew him better, he and Wriotheſly had the audacity to propoſe taking off the queen's head, as being the life of all hereſy. As the deteſtable laws then ſtood, it was in Henry's breaſt, even from the converſation they had together, to have convicted her upon the ſtatute of the ſix articles, and he was inhuman enough to ſubſcribe articles againſt her, upon which ſhe was to be tried for her life, and which were preſented to him by Gardiner and Wriotheſly. The queen firſt ſuſpected, and then perceived her danger. For the chancellor dropping the copy of the articles, with Henry's ſubſcription to it, it fell into her hands. This threw her into a violent perturbation of mind, which coming to Henry's knowledge, he paid her a viſit, and expreſſed ſome marks of pity for her ſituation: but this was far from delivering the queen from her danger. Her impeachment was not retracted, and a warrant had actually been ſigned for committing her to the tower; but ſhe had the addreſs to extricate herſelf from this impending danger. Being a little recovered from her diſorder, ſhe went into the king's chamber, who, as uſual, begun with her on the topic of religion. He found ſhe affected to decline the ſubject, and expreſſed uncommon difference to his opinion, telling him that to his learning and judgment ſhe perfectly reſigned herſelf. "Not ſo, by St. Mary, "replied Henry, you are become a doctor, Kate, "to inſtruct us as we take it, and not to be in-"ſtructed, or directed by us." The queen's anſwer was mild and prudent; ſhe ſaid that all the diſcourſes ſhe ever held with him about religion, were only with a view of alleviating the anguiſh of his illneſs, by what ſhe thought an innocent amuſement, and alſo to receive ſome improvement herſelf, by engaging him in a diſcourſe in which he diſplayed ſuch profound knowledge and learning. "And is it even ſo, ſweetheart," replied Henry, with great marks of tenderneſs, "then we are "friends again." When this reconciliation happened, no perſon of condition was preſent, but lady Herbert, the queen's ſiſter, and it was ſo profound a ſecret, that Gardiner came next day into the garden, where the queen was walking with Henry, attended by a party of guards, in order to arreſt her. Henry knew his buſineſs, and unwilling to ſhock the queen by giving her ſo near a proſpect of her paſt danger, he called Gardiner aſide, and treated him with all the opprobrious names that his own indignation could ſuggeſt, or the worthleſſneſs of the other could merit, and turned him out of his preſence with great emotion. Upon this the queen affected to intercede for her enemy; but ſhe received no other anſwer from Henry, than that ſhe little knew how ill he deſerved it from her.

But a lady of a leſs conſiderable rank in life, did not eſcape ſo well; this was Mrs. Ann Aſcue, ſiſter to a baronet of that name. She had been already ſignalized for her affection to the reformation; her huſband having turned her out of his houſe on that account. She was a woman of great ſpirits, learned above the generality of her ſex, and extremely handſome in her perſon. After ſeveral ſtages of perſecution and impriſonment, it was reſolved to try her for her life, and ſhe underwent an examination before the council; but her anſwers were ſo lively and ſo juſt, that her enemies were not able to fix any guilt upon the queen, or any of the ladies of diſtinction at court, with whom ſhe had been intimate. At laſt, to put her faith to the extremeſt proof, it was reſolved to rack her in the tower. She bore the torture with a firmneſs which could only be equalled by the barbarity of her proſecutors. The lieutenant of the tower compaſſionately refuſed to give her farther torture, upon which the lord chancellor threw off his gown, and, with his own hands, ſtrained the ropes ſo hard, that her limbs were almoſt torn from each other. All this ſhe bore with the greateſt fortitude, and at laſt being doomed to the flames, ſhe was carried to the place of execution in a chair, but ſo weak from the rack, that two ſerjeants ſupported her while ſhe ſtood to be tied to the ſtake: with her ſuffered three men for their private opinions, and upon the ſtatute of the ſix articles.

It is uncertain from what cauſe Henry, at this time diſcarded Gardiner; but ſome have attributed it to the baſe part he had acted in regard to the queen. Gardiner by the meaneſt arts had gained a great aſcendancy over his maſter's ſpirit. Henry, who had never loved him, began now not to eſteem him: this appeared on many occaſions: he was laid aſide in all foreign buſineſs, where he had long enjoyed a principal direction. When admiral Annibault had his laſt private audience of Henry, he was introduced by Gardiner to the antichamber, but the king ordered that he ſhould come no farther, nor ſuffered him to be acquainted with the ſubject of their converſation. But notwithſtanding all this, from peculiar motives of pride, vanity, and ſelf-ſufficiency, Henry found himſelf more eaſy with Gardiner's company and counſels, than in thoſe of his other miniſters. He could bear public abuſe, of which Henry was very liberal to him, and Gardiner underſtood his temper ſo well that he looked upon it as a mark of his favour. He affected to improve under this ſort of chaſtiſement, to draw all his lights from Henry's directions, and to owe all his knowledge to his inſtructions. This vile adulation had long kept him humble to Henry, high in the miniſtry, and ſafe in his perſon.

A. D. 1547. But the diſgrace of Gardiner was not ſufficient to gratify Henry's tyrannical diſpoſition, ſoured by an ill ſtate of health; his fury extended its violence to a perſon of much higher rank than Gardiner. The head of the Norfolk family had long been conſidered as the greateſt ſubject in the kingdom. The duke himſelf had gained great honour by his naval enterprizes during his youth; and had rendered the crown conſiderable ſervices.

The victory gained at Flouden over the Scots, was, in a great meaſure owing to him; he had ſuppreſſed a very dangerous rebellion in the north; and always executed the part incumbent on a general, during the French expeditions, with the greateſt honour. By his own induſtry and the favours heaped upon him by the crown, he had acquired an immenſe eſtate. He was deſcended from the ancient family

of

of the Moubrays, and conſequently allied to the crown; and had married a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was deſcended by a female branch, from Edward the third. The king himſelf had married two of his nieces ſucceſſively; and the duke of Richmond had married his daughter. At the ſame time he was believed to adhere ſecretly to the ancient religion, and, on that account, conſidered as the head of the catholic party. Perhaps all theſe advantages, inſtead of protecting him from the machinations of his enemy, excited his jealouſy, who foreſaw the danger that might reſult from ſo powerful a ſubject during his ſon's minority, both to the new eſtabliſhments in the church, and the public tranquillity. Beſides, Henry had for ſome time entertained great prejudices againſt the earl of Surry, ſon to that nobleman, and was determined to involve the father in his ruin.

The earl of Surry was a young nobleman of the moſt promiſing hopes. His ſpirit and diſcernment deſpiſed the low prejudices and bloody principles of Henry's court. His courage was unqueſtionable; and he ſeemed to inherit all the virtues and abilities of his family. The king's illneſs daily increaſing, the people turned their eyes upon the earl of Hertford, as the guardian of their future king; and that nobleman, ſenſible of the importance of the charge, was deſirous of rendering it as eaſy as poſſible. He hated the earl of Surry, who had refuſed to marry his daughter, and even waved every propoſal of that kind which had been made him. From this ſtrange conduct, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of eſpouſing the princeſs Mary; and inſtantly determined to have recourſe to the moſt ſevere expedients for repreſſing an ambition which he conſidered as deſtructive to the peace and happineſs of his kingdom.

The fate of Surry being thus determined, private orders were iſſued for arreſting the duke of Norfolk and his ſon, who were accordingly ſent the ſame day to the tower. It was not neceſſary in this reign to bring proofs of the crimes laid to the charge of any perſon, when the king was the accuſer, as very little attention was paid to evidence, either by the parliament or juries. He was not even accuſed of having committed any crime; it was ſufficient that he was ſuſpected of holding correſpondence with the king's enemies, and of aſpiring to the crown, becauſe he quartered the arms of Edward the confeſſor on his ſcutcheon, though it was notoriouſly known that this had long been openly practiſed by his anceſtors, and had even been juſtified by the authority of the heralds. But theſe ſuſpicions, vague and uncertain as they were, proved ſufficient, notwithſtanding his eloquent and ſpirited defence, for the jury to find him guilty, and he accordingly fell a victim to Henry's tyranny.

It was not ſo eaſy to convict the duke of Norfolk, no ſuſpicion of a crime could be found to alledge againſt him, except his having once ſaid that the king was ſickly and could not hold out long, and that the kingdom was likely to fall into diſorders, thro' the diverſities of religious opinions. But Henry had recourſe to the ſureſt and moſt expeditious inſtrument of his tyranny. He aſſembled a parliament, and the houſe of peers, without examining the priſoner, without evidence, or even the form of a trial paſſed a bill of attainder againſt him, and ſent it down to the commons. It deſerves, however, to be remembered, that Cranmer, though the duke had been always his moſt inveterate enemy, refuſed to have any ſhare in ſo unjuſt a proſecution, and accordingly retired to his palace at Croydon in Surry. The commons not being ſo expeditious in paſſing the bill as Henry expected, he ſent a meſſage to the houſe, requeſting that as Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marſhal, the bill might be haſtened, that another might be appointed to officiate at the enſuing ceremony of inſtalling his ſon prince of Wales. This frivolous excuſe was, however, ſufficient for the obſequious commons. They paſſed the bill immediately, and the ſame day it received the royal aſſent, by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. And Henry was ſo intent upon the death of this innocent nobleman, that he ſigned the warrant for his execution almoſt in the ſame hour, when Heaven was pleaſed to put a period to his own exiſtence; and thereby ſpared his ſoul from any further load of actual, though not of intentional guilt.

Henry's health had been long in a very declining condition; but for ſome days it was viſible to all perſons near him, that his end was approaching. But none of his ſervants were willing to riſk the conſequence of diſcloſing to him the fatal ſecret. The foretelling the king's death had been made penal by the ſtatute, and the frowardneſs of his temper ſufficiently indicated, that his cruelty did not decline with his life. At laſt Sir Anthony Denny undertook the dangerous though charitable taſk, and exhorted him to prepare for the awful change which then awaited him. Henry expreſſed his reſignation, and bewailed the errors of his paſt life, when the ink was hardly dry upon his warrant for a deteſtible murder. He alſo deſired Cranmer might be ſent for; but before that prelate arrived the king was ſpeechleſs, though he ſtill retained ſome remains of his ſenſes. Cranmer requeſted that he would give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt, accordingly he ſqueezed his hand and immediately expired on the twenty-eighth of January in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years and nine months.

Thus expired Henry the eighth; but the hiſtorian muſt attend him beyond the grave, though the taſk is at once both delicate and difficult. He was ſo different from himſelf in different parts of his reign, that his hiſtory is perhaps his beſt character and deſcription. But notwithſtanding the inconſiſtency of his conduct, towards his miniſters, his enemies and his allies, no man was ever more even in his temper than Henry. During the whole courſe of his life it does not appear that he ever knew one pang of affliction, if we except the ſhort interval of grief ſhewn for his favourite queen Jane Seymour. On that, and perhaps a few other occaſions he was known to mourn, but never to grieve. He was indeed deſirous to appear ſuperior to human nature; and in conſequence of this, he became a ſtranger to its virtuous weakneſſes, and a ſlave to its impetuous paſſions. He never contributed to happineſs in which he was not to ſhare, nor ever puniſhed vice by which he was not to ſuffer. If therefore he extended his beneficence, it was not to remove misfortunes from others, but to purchaſe repoſe to himſelf; nor does it appear he had ever caught, from all his reading, the generous paſſion of feeling for the unfortunate.

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He thought his ſubjects were created merely for his pleaſure, and therefore meaſured their happineſs by his own; imagined his ſmalleſt interval of joy was cheaply purchaſed by their greateſt miſery; and that the latter ought to loſe its name, whenever it could contribute to his pleaſure.

He conſidered the ſpirit of the conſtitution as depending upon himſelf, and locked up within his own boſom. Hence he generally made his parliament and judges the executioners of his cruelty; and rendered law and equity the ſlaves of his paſſions. He was therefore in all his humanity and ſacrilege provided with a ſhield ſufficiently ample to receive all the arrows ſhot againſt him from the bow of popular diſcontent. If a few by accident reached himſelf, he ſtood at ſuch a diſtance that they ſpent their force before they touched him, and ſerved only to increaſe his ſecurity, without abating his inſolence.

At his firſt aſcending the throne, he had the happineſs of being directed by a miniſter whoſe wiſdom and genius in politics were not inferior to Henry's ſpirit and intrepidity. Their councils and enterprizes were ſupported by immenſe treaſures, ſeconded by the veneration of a powerful people at home, and favoured by the diſputes of divided ſtates abroad. The ſame miniſter ſhewed him how eaſy it was to enrich the crown from the ſpoils of the church, while he was ſupported by the parliament, and had the people at his devotion. He inſtructed him that the more powerful he was within himſelf, the more he would be reſpected at the courts of foreign princes; that his ſubjects would be the leſs ſollicitous to diſpute his will, and that the more he acquired, the more he would be obeyed. A little experience convinced Henry that all this was true. He ſaw how eaſily both the pope and the people acquieſced in the diſſolution of ſome religious houſes; and well knew that a greater degree of power could ſupport him in a greater degree of ſacrilege. He treaſured up in his mind the maxims of his miniſter, without intimating that he knew how to carry them much farther. Wolſey and his maſter purſued the ſame path to glory and power till the road divided; the one leading Henry to the enjoyment of a beloved object, the other conducting Wolſey to pay his devotion to the ſee of Rome, to which he was addicted both by inclination and intereſt.

The greater part of Henry's life was employed in eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of religion; but at the ſame time his courtiers were taught, by his own example, to reverence no temple but that of fortune. His conduct opened the fields of diſputation, while his cruelty locked up the fruits of enquiry. He had perverted law to the deſtruction of humanity, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh religion upon the ruins of reaſon. He was capable of reflection, but not of ſentiment: he miſtook the ſtrength of his paſſions for that of his reaſon; and the dread excited by power, for the reverence attracted by authority.

He had many miniſters but few favourites; the former felt the effects of his deſpotic paſſions; the latter experienced the generoſity of his friendſhip. He was ungenerous to Wolſey, ſevere to Cromwell, and unjuſt to Norfolk: a kind protector to Cranmer; a conſtant friend to the duke of Suffolk, and a grateful maſter to Sir Henry Paget.

His reading was laborious; his learning was intoxicating; and his knowledge ſuperficial. But he was an encourager of learned men. He founded Trinity college in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. On the death of Wolſey he ſeized all the revenues intended by the cardinal for the endowment of his college at Oxford, but afterwards reſtored them.

He poſſeſſed great vigour of mind, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, and inflexibility. And hence he was able to effect what ſeemed beyond the power of a king. His diſſolution of the monaſteries was an arduous undertaking, but performed with amazing facility; becauſe all thoſe who were capable of making any formidable oppoſition, were deeply intereſted in the ſucceſs. He had a parliament more ready to grant than he was to demand; and a people who embraced the yoke with more alacrity than he could impoſe it. He was ſure of ſupport in proportion to his firmneſs; he ventured nothing to complete, by reſolution, the work of ſacrilege; he riſked every thing by cautiouſly attempting to heal up the wounds of religion.

His exterior qualities were advantages, and proper to captivate the multitude: his magnificence and perſonal bravery rendered him illuſtrious in the eyes of the vulgar. Indeed the Engliſh were ſo thoroughly ſubdued in that age, that, like eaſtern ſlaves, they were inclined to admire even thoſe acts of violence and tyranny which were exerciſed over themſelves.

Henry made his will about a month before his death, wherein he confirmed the deſignation of parliament, in leaving the crown firſt to prince Edward, then to the princeſs Mary, and then to the princeſs Elizabeth; but obliged the two princeſſes, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without the conſent of the council, he appointed for the government of his minor ſon. In caſe all his children died without iſſue, he ſettled the ſucceſſion on Frances Brandon, marchioneſs of Dorſet, eldeſt daughter to his ſiſter the French queen; then on Eleanor counteſs of Cumberland, her ſecond daughter. He alſo left a ſum of money for ſaying maſſes for the delivery of his ſoul out of purgatory, though he had before deſtroyed all thoſe inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by his anceſtors and others for the ſame purpoſe; and had even, in all the articles of faith he publiſhed during the latter part of his reign, left the doctrine of purgatory itſelf doubtful. So full of contrarieties, violence and caprice was the temper of Henry, even to the laſt moments of his life.

EDWARD VI.

A. D. 1547. HENRY, who vainly hoped that his authority would not terminate with his life, had taken care to chalk out a path which his miniſters were to follow. He fixed the majority of his ſon on his completing his eighteenth year, but as that prince was now only a few months above nine, he appointed ſixteen executors, who were intruſted with the government of the kingdom during the king's minority. Theſe were Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury; lord Wriotheſly, chancellor; lord St. John, great maſter; lord Ruſſel, privy-ſeal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viſcount Liſle, admiral; Sir William Paget, ſecretary of ſtate; Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, Anthony Denny, and Sir Wiliam Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Henry Wotton, treaſurer of Calais; doctor Watton, dean of Canterbury and York.

Theſe regents were to direct all the affairs of government. They were the guardians of the young king, and intruſted with the whole regal authority; but were to be aſſiſted by twelve counſellors, who poſſeſſed no immediate authority; they were to give their advice only, of every affair that came before them. This council conſiſted of the earls of Arundel and Eſſex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, treaſurer of the houſhold; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Peter, ſecretary of ſtate; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edward Peckham.

On the firſt meeting of the regents and council, it was perceived that there was a material defect in Henry's will, by not appointing one to repreſent the royal perſonage, who might receive diſpatches from foreign ambaſſadors, and to whom diſpatches from Engliſh miniſters abroad might be carried. It was therefore thought proper to ſupply this omiſſion, by chuſing a protector, who might poſſeſs all the external ſymbols of regal power, but without being able to exerciſe any power ſuperior to the other executors. This propoſal met with no oppoſition from any perſon except the chancellor, being by his office entitled to the firſt rank in the regency except the primate, hoped that the whole direction of public buſineſs would devolve principally upon himſelf. He aſſerted that they violated the will of their late maſter by chuſing a protector, and as that inſtrument had been confirmed by act of parliament, it ought to be an inviolable law to regulate their proceedings. Adding the will could only be altered by the ſame authority that had eſtabliſhed it. But theſe reaſons were diſregarded by the reſt, and the earl of Hertford was unanimouſly choſen. They were, however, well diſpoſed to keep inviolate every other part of Henry's will; they even went farther and paid a ſubmiſſive difference to what he intended to have performed, had not death prevented him. Paget informed them that Henry had determined to make a new creation of nobility, in order to ſupply the place of thoſe who had been cut off by attainders, or their titles would become extinct through defect of male iſſue. At the ſame time he had reſolved to beſtow eſtates upon them, in order to enable them to ſupport their new dignities. His evidence was confirmed by Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert, who added a circumſtantial account of what Henry intended; and as it was well known that the late king always converſed with theſe three gentlemen in a very familiar manner, their evidence was thought ſufficient. Accordingly Hertford was created duke of Somerſet, mareſchal and lord treaſurer; Wriotheſly, earl of Southampton; the earl of Eſſex, marquis of Northampton; viſcount Liſle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; while Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, and Sir Edward Sheffield were created barons.

Tho' the earl of Southampton had his ſhare of the honours, and tho' there is reaſon to believe the protector would have been glad of his friendſhip, yet he was, in his heart an irreconcileable enemy to the new eſtabliſhment, both in church and ſtate. He had, indeed, always been engaged in a party oppoſite to Somerſet, and it was very reaſonable to think that the parties which even the arbitrary power of Henry was unable to repreſs, would be annihilated in a weak adminiſtration, deprived of its head, and not yet ſettled with regard to the people.

But the violent and ambitious ſpirit of Southampton ſoon laid him open to the attacks of the party he deſired to oppoſe. He uſurped the power of putting the great ſeal into commiſſion, without aſking the conſent of the other regents, and impowered Southwell, Tregonel, Oliver and Bellaſis to execute, in his abſence, the office of chancellor. This meaſure was very exceptional, eſpecially as two of the commiſſioners were canoniſts; whence, the lawyers ſuſpected that the chancellor intended to diſcredit the common law. Accordingly, a petition was preſented to the council complaining of this commiſſion. The council, influenced by the protector, readily laid hold of this opportunity to depreſs the chancellor. But being deſirous of maintaining the appearance of moderation, they referred the petition to the judges; who returned for anſwer, that the chancellor, having no warrant for putting the ſeals into commiſſion had forfeited his place to the king, and was liable to fine and impriſonment, during his majeſty's pleaſure.

This anſwer being procured, the council ſummoned the chancellor to appear before them; and though he maintained that he held his office by the late king's will founded on an act of parliament, and therefore could not loſe it, but by a trial before the parliament; yet the council declared that he had

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had forfeited his office; that a fine ſhould be impoſed upon him; and that he ſhould be confined to his own houſe, during pleaſure.

As ſoon as the regency was ſettled, by the excluſion of Southampton, a reſolution was taken to complete the reformation. But a very little experience convinced them, that they had not power ſufficient, either to proceed in that arduous undertaking to any purpoſe, or even to ſcreen themſelves from danger. They knew the genius of their adverſaries, ſecret, bold, bloody, implacable, and vindictive. A few were indeed firm to the cauſe of reformation, and many wiſhed it well, but did not care to engage in its ſupport; while many of the papiſts, in order to ſhare in the profits of the reformation, complied with the proceedings. In this alarming ſtate of the government, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other friends of the reformation, perceiving that Somerſet had not power ſufficient to protect either himſelf or them, a viſible coldneſs enſued in all deliberations of the council. He had already riſen higher than was conſiſtent with the late king's will, and they who had raiſed him were, by that very action, as liable to the penalties of the law as they could poſſible be, ſhould they advance him to a ſtill greater degree of power. Nor were plauſible pretences wanting for carrying this ſcheme into execution. The wheels of government always move with more facility, when they are not clogged by perplexed councils; the more ſimple its principles are, the more regular and vigorous are its effects. It was, therefore, reſolved to place the power on a more ſolid foundation. Accordingly a petition was ſigned by the council, praying the king to grant them a commiſſion under the great ſeal, to juſtify them in their proceedings. A warrant for ſuch a commiſſion was neceſſary; and a warrant was accordingly granted, and the great ſeal put to the commiſſion, which named Somerſet the protector of the kingdom, with full regal power; enabled him to chuſe a council, conſiſting of all the former councellors and all the executors except Southampton, with a power of naming any other counſellors at pleaſure, and of conſulting with ſuch only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were alſo empowered to act at diſcretion, and to execute whatever they thought ſerviceable to the government, without incuring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, ſtatute, or ordinance whatſoever. This patent, though doubtleſs ſurreptitiouſly obtained from a minor king, was univerſally ſubmitted to, eſpecially as the young king diſcovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was in the main, a perſon of moderation and probity.

The party having thus acquired a ſufficient authority, determined to undertake the arduous taſk of reforming the religion of their country. There was the more neceſſity for this, as the zeal of the papiſts and proteſtants produced every where diſputes and animoſities, the uſual preludes of more fatal diviſions. The young king and the duke of Somerſet were both ſincerely diſpoſed to promote the reformation, and their meaſures were directed by the cool and wiſe dictates of Cranmer. It was owing to his prudent councils that a proper medium was obſerved between the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the papiſts and the enthuſiaſtic ſtrain of devotion adopted by many of the reformers. He made an admirable uſe of that knowledge of mankind he had gained from long experience. He could not indeed prevent many of the reformers from appropriating the ſpoils of the church to their own uſe; but he took care that what ſhe loſt in her property, ſhould be made up in her eſtabliſhment. He had privately procured many of the beſt books written againſt popery abroad, to be tranſlated and publiſhed in England. The queen dowager, not only aſſiſted in publiſhing, but ſhe tranſlated herſelf great part of the paraphraſe of Eraſmus upon the new teſtament. Cranmer alſo publiſhed a catechiſm, which he had tranſlated from the latin, and greatly improved. At the ſame an excellent treatiſe on reformation, written by Herman, biſhop of Cologn, was publiſhed in Engliſh. Theſe and a great variety of other tracts diffuſed the princles of the reformation among the people. The ſacrament had for ſome time been adminiſtered in both kinds; the doctrine of purgatory exploded in different parts of the kingdom, and the marriage of the clergy permitted.

But there was ſtill an alarming difference between the eccleſiaſtical and civil government. The majority among the former oppoſed, while the majority among the latter ſupported the reformation. Cranmer was therefore often obliged, though, with the greateſt reluctance, to apply to the ſecular power for aſſiſtance and ſupport.

The profuſion of the late reign had left the affairs of the revenue greatly embarraſſed. Henry was too auſtere and inacceſſible for any perſon to deſire him to diſcover all the penſions and gratuities he had either given or promiſed to his ſubjects. Every day brought freſh demands of that kind; ſo that the government had no certainty either of its incumbrances or revenues.

This perplexed ſtate of the revenues greatly embarraſſed the government, ſo that ſufficient attention could not be paid to the great work of reformation; eſpecially as it was very powerfully oppoſed. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, was at the head of this oppoſition; for though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, was yet entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the confidence of his party. This prelate inſiſted on the prudence of perſevering, at leaſt till the young king's majority, in the eccleſiaſtical model, eſtabliſhed by the late king. He defended the uſe of images, which were now openly attacked by the proteſtants; and inſiſted that they were ſerviceable in maintaining a ſenſe of religion among the illiterate multitude. He even wrote a treatiſe in defence of holy water, which biſhop Ridley had decried in one of his ſermons; and maintained, that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an inſtrument of doing good. Above all, he inſiſted that the conſtitution ſhould be preſerved inviolate, and it was dangerous to follow the will of a ſovereign in oppoſition to an act of the whole legiſlature.

In the mean time the affairs of Scotland were come to a criſis and demanded the whole attention of the regency. Every method had been tried in vain for concluding a treaty with that ferocious people; and meaſures were accordingly taken for raiſing a powerful army; and the protector ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a very conſiderable body of men, well armed, well diſciplin'd, and well ſupplied. Former experience had inſtructed the Engliſh, that the greateſt enemy they had to fear in Scotland was famine. Every man therefore had orders to bring four days proviſions into the field; and

and the lord Clinton, who commanded a fleet of ſixty ſail, had orders to obſerve the motions of the army, in order to ſupply the troops with proviſions when neceſſary. The rendezvous was appointed at Newcaſtle, and thence the army proceeded for Scotland, which they entered on the ſecond of September.

In the mean time the Scots were ſo infatuated, that they took no care to diſpute a long defile called the paths; ſo that the protector led his army, conſiſting of above eighteen thouſand men, into the very heart of their country, without meeting with any oppoſition. He affected great lenity towards the inhabitants, and treated every perſon who did not oppoſe his paſſage with great kindneſs. Several caſtles were reduced and garriſoned, but no ſeverity was uſed, notwithſtanding the deſperate reſiſtance which ſome of them made without the leaſt probability of ſucceſs.

On the other hand, the Scots ſhewed the moſt implacable reſentment, though far inferior to the Engliſh in every reſpect except that of numbers. The earl of Arran and his friends, repreſented the deſigns of the Engliſh in the moſt odious colours. They charged them with a deſign of reducing the whole nation to ſubjection, and making ſlaves of the inhabitants. Alarmed at theſe conſequences, and determined to ſell their liberty as dear as poſſible, the Scots flew to arms, and in a few days one of the greateſt armies ever brought into the field by that people was collected. Their parliament gave particular privileges to all who ventured their lives in ſupport of their independence, which was attended with ſuch remarkable ſucceſs, that their generals found themſelves obliged to refuſe great numbers that offered, retaining only thoſe who were properly armed and appeared likely to perform the duty of ſoldiers. They had a conſiderable train of artillery, and their confidence in the friendſhip of France ſupported their ſpirits. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, their power was in no degree comparable to that of the Engliſh. They were unexperienced, undiſciplined, and unanimated by any remembrance of military glory. Their ſhameful behaviour at Solway moſs, and ſeveral other occaſions, gave the Engliſh a high contempt both of their courage and diſcipline. The protector, however, repeated his offers of friendſhip to the Scots, declared himſelf ready to return to England, and even to pay all the damage they had ſuffered from his army, provided they would allow their infant queen to be educated in England, and to continue unbetrothed till ſhe ſhould arrive at years of maturity, when ſhe ſhould be left to her own diſcretion in the choice of a conſort. The Scots, depending on their numbers, rejected theſe offers, and ſent ſeveral meſſages of defiance from their camp, which expoſed their inſolence rather than diſcovered their courage.

At laſt both armies faced one another, within ſix miles of Edinburgh; but it ſoon appeared that the Engliſh were greatly ſuperior to their enemies in the art of war, by their ſkill in fortifying their camp. The river Eſke ran between the two armies, both of whom continued for ſome days inactive, till the Engliſh ſhips arrived, and lay in ſuch a manner as to flank the Scottiſh army. The Engliſh then made a feint, as if they intended to take poſſeſſion of a piece of ground which commanded the enemy's camp. This had the deſired effect; the Scots ran in a very tumultuous manner to ſeize the ground; while the Engliſh by a ſudden motion, made themſelves maſters of an eminence called Pinkey-cleugh, by which they opened a communication with their ſhips, and had the advantage both of the wind and ſun. The Scots, however, were perſuaded that the Engliſh intended nothing more than to embark on board their ſhips, and the governor of Scotland made a long ſpeech to his army, intreating them not to loſe the advantage they had over the enemy, nor ſuffer them to embark on board their ſhips. He was heard with univerſal applauſe, and diſpoſitions were immediately made for advancing to the charge, which could not be done without paſſing over a plain before the Engliſh camp, and expoſing themſelves to the fire both of the ſhips and army. The earl of Angus commanded the firſt line, which was compoſed of the beſt troops; the ſecond line was commanded by the governor of Scotland; and the third by the earl of Huntley; while a body of highlanders, commanded by the earl of Argyle, marched on the flanks of the ſecond and third lines, and formed a guard to the artillery.

As ſoon as the Engliſh generals ſaw the Scots move in this manner to the charge, they congratulated one another on their approaching victory. They drew up their army in two lines; the earl of Warwick commanded the firſt, and the protector the ſecond; while the lord Gray commanded a reſerved body of cavalry, with orders to attack that flank of the enemy which was not expoſed to the fire of the Engliſh ſhips. They had hardly time to make thoſe diſpotions: the Scots were ſo certain of obtaining a complete victory, that they ran in diſorder to the attack, which was ſo extremely furious, that part of the Engliſh firſt line was thrown into ſome diſorder by the horſe falling back upon their foot. This was owing entirely by the lord Gray's diſobeying his orders; for the Scots receiving a full diſcharge from the Engliſh ſhips, the highlanders were thrown into ſuch a conſternation, that Gray could not reſiſt the tempting opportunity of attacking them before they could recover. But in advancing to the charge, he was obliged to paſs through a defile, which led into a field newly ploughed, where his cavalry acted with great diſadvantage, and gave the Scots time to recover from their conſternation. Warwick and Somerſet, perceiving this overſight of Gray, advanced ſo ſuddenly upon the enemy, that the Engliſh horſe formed again behind the infantry, and the battle became general and obſtinate. But the ill-armed Scots could not long maintain the diſpute. The artillery of the Engliſh camp played upon one flank, and that from the ſhipping upon the other, while they were plied with an inceſſant ſhower of arrows in their front, and Gray, to repair his error, fell in among them with ſo much impetuoſity, that the firſt line was thrown into confuſion. This diſcouraged the highland archers, and the rout became general. The braveſt of the Scots were put to the ſword, their common ſoldiers threw away their arms, and had recourſe to flight. Some of them ran towards the ſea, ſome towards Edinburgh, and others towards Dalkeith; but death met them in every path. The Engliſh, with a reſentment foreign to their nature, gave, for ſome time, no quarter. In their return from purſuing the fugitive enemy, they found upwards of fourteen thouſand Scots dead on the field of battle, while their own loſs amounted to no more than fifty-one horſemen, and one

one foot ſoldier. The Scots nobility behaved with great reſolution, and were moſt of them killed or taken priſoners.

So dreadful a defeat, attended with other misfortunes, ſeemed to threaten an utter extinction of the Scottiſh name and nation. The earl of Lenox, a few days after the battle of Pinkey, entered the weſtern marches at the head of five thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of all the forts in the ſouthern parts of Scotland, except the caſtle of Edinburgh; plundered that city, together with all the places on the ſea-coaſt, and took the Scottiſh ſhips in the river of Forth.

But the Engliſh could not purſue their victory. The country was ruined, ſupplies from ſhipping were precarious, the governor of Scotland had retired to Stirling where the young queen and her mother reſided, and was making preparations for trying once more the chance of war. He was warmly ſeconded by the queen mother, and their party was ſo ſtrong in the council, that it was reſolved to convey the young queen immediately to the caſtle of Dumbarton, and thence to the court of France, rather than ſuffer her to fall into the hands of the Engliſh. No part of this reſolution was, however, carried into execution, it being ſoon known, that the duke of Somerſet, having left garriſons in proper places, and taken an oath of fidelity to the Engliſh government from the nobility and gentry in the ſouthern parts, was on his march for England.

The protector, ſome time before he ſet out on his Scottiſh expedition, had appointed a general viſitation to be made in all the dioceſes of England. The viſitors conſiſted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had ſix circuits aſſigned them, the chief purport of their inſtructions, beſides correcting immoralities, and irregularities in the clergy, was to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtitions, and to bring the diſcipline and worſhip ſomewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Sommerſet and Cranmer is very apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The viſitors were enjoined to retain, for the preſent, all the images that had not been abuſed to idolatry; and to inſtruct the people not to deſpiſe ſuch ceremonies as were not yet abrogated. Twelve homilies were alſo publiſhed, which the viſitors obliged the popiſh clergy to read to the people: and all of them were prohibited, without expreſs permiſſion, to preach any where but in the pariſh churches.

Gardiner expreſſed his diſlike to the viſitation, and wrote two letters on that ſubject, one to the protector, and the other to Sir John Godſalve. "It "is," ſaid he, in his letter to the protector, "a "dangerous thing to uſe too much freedom, in "reſearches of this kind. If you cut the banks of "the old canal, the water is apt to run farther "than you intended. If you indulge the humour "of novelty, you cannot ſtop the people's de"mands, nor govern their indiſcretions at pleaſure. "For my own part," ſaid he in his letter to Sir John, "my only concern is to manage the third "and laſt act of my life with decency, and to make "a handſome exit off the ſtage. Provided this "point is ſecured, I am not ſollicitous about the "reſt. I am already condemned to death by na"ture: no man can give me a pardon from this "ſentence; nor ſo much as procure me a reprieve. "To ſpeak my mind, and to act as my conſcience "directs, are two branches of liberty, which I can "never part with. Sincerity in ſpeech, and integrity "in action, are entertaining qualities: they will "ſtick by a man, when every thing elſe takes its "leave; and I muſt not reſign them upon any conſi"deration. The beſt of it is, if I do not throw "them away myſelf; no man can force them from "me: but if I give them up, then am I ruined "by myſelf, and deſerve to loſe all my prefer"ments." Enraged at this oppoſition, the council ſent him to the fleet, though Cranmer was ſo ſenſible of the injuſtice, that he laboured moſt ſincerely to gain him over to his intereſt. But Gardiner refuſed every offer, and continued to defend his principles with the utmoſt firmneſs.

In the mean time, the affairs on the continent wore a gloomy aſpect. The emperor had recourſe to religion with a view to oppreſs the liberties of Germany. But found it requiſite to cover his intentions under the deepeſt artifice to prevent his enemies from forming a league againſt him. In order to this he found means to ſeparate the elector Palatine, and the elector of Brandenburgh from the general confederacy. Having ſucceeded in this part of his ſcheme, he took up arms againſt the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe; and took the former priſoner. But as this was not ſufficient to anſwer his purpoſe, he had recourſe to treachery and prevarication againſt the latter. He granted him a ſafe conduct to return through part of his dominions; and then renouncing the paſsport he had himſelf ſo lately ſigned, detained him a captive. This double misfortune aſtoniſhed the German princes, whoſe terrors were increaſed on receiving intelligence of the death of Henry the eighth, and ſoon after of that of Francis the firſt, their uſual reſources in every calamity. They well knew that Henry the ſecond, who ſucceeded to the crown of France, was not animated with the ſame animoſity againſt the emperor, as his predeceſſor, and therefore could not depend upon his aſſiſtance.

While affairs remained in this ſituation on the continent, a parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminer; but before the ſeſſion was opened, Somerſet procured a patent from his nephew, appointing him to ſit upon a ſtool or bench on the right hand of the king when he filled the throne of ſtate. This behaviour of Somerſet gave ſome offence to the noblemen who oppoſed his meaſures; but the ſalutary laws paſſed by the parliament, under his direction, recovered his credit with the people. All the ſtatutes which extended the crime of treaſon, beyond that paſſed in the twenty-fifth year of Edward the third, and all the former laws againſt hereſy, together with the ſtatute of the ſix articles were repealed. The law alſo which rendered the king's proclamation of equal force with an act of parliament was repealed. By the abolition of theſe acts, the faint dawnings of civil and religious liberties began to appear to the people.

Nor did the parliament ſtop here: it was not ſufficient to repeal obnoxious laws; others to promote the reformation, and ſilence the clamours of the people with regard to religion, were alſo neceſſary. Accordingly a ſtatute was paſſed for reſtoring the cup to the laity; for aboliſhing private maſſes; and for empowering the king to create biſhops by letters patent, without any pretended election of the chapter. Another act paſſed for puniſhing vagabonds, by which they were adjudged to be ſlaves

for two years, and to be marked with a red hot iron. This act was chiefly levelled againſt the monks and other religious perſons, who, being driven from their convents, and deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, except a ſmall ill paid penſion, they were obliged to ſeek ſubſiſtence from the charity of the people.

But the bill which ſeemed of the greateſt importance, was that which gave all the chantries and colleges to the crown. A bill had been paſſed for the ſame purpoſe in the preceding reign, and the king had appointed commiſſioners to take poſſeſſion of the revenues; but as they had not proceeded far in the execution of their office, it was thought neceſſary to make a renewal of the grant. The pretence for paſſing this bill was, to enable the king to pay the debts of the crown; but the true reaſon was the rapaciouſneſs of the courtiers, who already conſidered the greater part of theſe revenues as their own. Cranmer and ſeveral others, were of opinion that the revenues of the church by the impropriation of tythes and other methods of alienation, were already ſufficiently reduced, and therefore ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill. He was ſeconded by the biſhops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worceſter, and Chicheſter. But their oppoſition was ineffectual; the bill paſſed the houſe of peers, and ſoon after obtained the conſent of the commons. By this act no leſs than two thouſand, three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and other religious foundations fell to the crown, with a few reſerved penſions to be paid to the religious who were thus driven from their retreats.

Beſides this gift to the crown, which, had it been properly managed, would have brought in a conſiderable revenue, this parliament granted Edward tonnage and poundage during his life. The tonnage was three ſhillings upon every ton of wine; ſix ſhillings upon ſweet wines, and twelve upon rheniſh. Poundage was twelve pence in the pound upon all goods imported or exported; but aliens were obliged to pay two ſhillings in the pound upon exported tin. The government alſo received the ſubſidies upon wool, which was thirty-three ſhillings and four-pence upon every ſack of wool exported by natives; and three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence upon that exported by aliens: one pound thirteen ſhillings and four-pence upon every two hundred and forty-three wool fells; three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence upon every laſt of hides and backs, if exported by natives, but aliens paid three pounds, thirteen ſhillings and eight-pence. Before the ſeſſions was concluded, a free pardon was paſſed, of which biſhop Gardiner, among others, had the benefit.

But the common people, eſpecially about London and Weſtminſter, made a very ill uſe of the privileges granted by parliament. Orders had been iſſued by the council, that candles ſhould be no longer carried about on Candlemas-day, aſhes on Aſh-wedneſday, and palms on Palm-ſunday; and alſo for removing all images from the churches; an innovation greatly deſired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almoſt to a total change in the eſtabliſhed religion. The latter was executed with great alacrity by the people; but inſtead of removing, they demoliſhed the images; inſtead of aboliſhing the maſs, they profaned the ſacrament; and inſtead of reforming they inſulted the clergy. Cranmer, Ridley, and the moſt ſober among the proteſtant party, were extremely ſhocked at theſe violent proceedings, and obtained proclamation for preventing them; but their labours were in vain. The people, whoſe minds were filled with enthuſiaſm by their new teachers, broke through all reſtraints, and deſtroyed, without diſtinction, every thing that had the leaſt appearance of ſuperſtition.

A. D. 1548. The affairs in England now wore a very gloomy aſpect. Some thought the parliament had done too much, and others that they had done too little; and perhaps even thoſe who were acquainted with the ſecret ſprings that actuated the government, differed in their views. Cranmer and Ridley were for preſerving as much as poſſible the revenues of the clergy; while Somerſet ſeems to have been deſirous of reducing all church government to a level. All, however, concurred in opinion, that, for the preſent, things ſhould be tacitly underſtood, rather than legally enforced; while Cranmer and his friends were employed in compiling a new liturgy, which might ſatisfy the moderate of all parties. But this undetermined ſtate of religion threatened to produce the moſt terrible convulſions in the ſtate. Every pragmatical demagogue, however mean his empoyment or capacity, preached his own crude opinions unmoleſted; and England was in danger of becoming one confuſed theatre of diſputation. In order to prevent the alarming effects of this ſpirit of controverſy, which had already excited commotions in various parts of the country, a proclamation was publiſhed, ordering all officers of juſtice reſiding in the neighbourhood of London to attend the council; where they were ſtrictly commanded by the chancellor to repair immediately to the reſpective places of their reſidence, and provide for the quiet of their ſeveral counties.

But this ſalutary meaſure was not attended with the expected ſucceſs: the madneſs of the people had carried them to the moſt ſhameful extremities, and prevented them from liſtening to the calls of reaſon. Many had been told by their teachers that it was lawful to marry two wives, and had obeyed the doctrine. Some were perſuaded of the lawfulneſs of a promiſcuous uſe of women; and a general contempt of eccleſiaſtical authority prevailed.

Theſe ſtrange proceedings daily increaſed, while the ſpirit of reformation was quickened by the arrival of ſeveral foreign divines from Germany. But the people being totally incapable to judge of the reaſons advanced on either ſide, a terrible confuſion and fluctuation reſulted from this uncertainty. The council firſt endeavoured to remove that inconvenience by laying ſome reſtraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they impoſed a total ſilence on the preachers, and thus put an end to all the polemies of the pulpit. This reſtraint from the very nature of the thing, could only be temporary: for, in proportion as the ceremonies of public worſhip, its ſhews, and exterior obſervances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to contract ſtronger attachments to ſermons, from whence alone they received any amuſement. On the contrary, the ancient religion, by employing its votaries, freed them from the trouble of thinking. Sermons were delivered in the principal churches only, and on ſome particular faſts and feſtivals; and the practice of haranguing the people, which, if abuſed, is ſo power-

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ful an incitement to faction and ſedition, had much leſs ſcope and influencing during thoſe ages of ignorance and barbariſm.

During theſe contentions with regard to religion, Somerſet received a letter from Stirling, from the queen mother and the governor of Scotland, propoſing a freſh interview between the commiſſioners of both nations, in order to form a laſting peace. But the protector ſoon found, that the propoſal was made only with a view to gain time: a diſcovery that gave the protector great uneaſineſs, as he ſincerely deſired that a final period might be put to the difference between the two kingdoms. But all his endeavours proved abortive. The Scots had the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of aſſiſtance from France, and determined not to ſubmit to marry their young queen to the king of England. Accordingly they laid ſiege to the caſtle of Broughty, which was garriſoned by the Engliſh. This ſiege, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the garriſon, which conſiſted only of two hundred men, created great difficulty to the Scots, they were even forced to turn the ſiege into a blocade; but receiving intelligence that the lord Gray was marching from Berwick towards Haddington, within twelve miles of their capital; they abandoned their deſign on Broughty, and marched to intercept him. They were, however, diſappointed; for before they arrived, the Engliſh were maſters of the caſtle; nor did the Scots attempt to retake it before the arrival of the French ſuccours.

The French auxiliaries amounted to ſix thouſand men, all veteran troops, and commanded by d'Eſſe, one of the beſt officers in France. The duke d'Aumale, brother to the queen dowager of Scotland, and the French king's favourite were ordered to ſend theſe troops, and has ſpared nothing that was requiſite in war. On their landing at Leith, they were immediately joined by eight thouſand Scots, under the command of the governor of Scotland, and the ſiege of Haddington was formed. In the mean time, the lord Gray had taken the caſtle of Yeſter, and fortified ſeveral ſmaller places round, which greatly annoyed the Scots. The garriſon in the caſtle of Haddington was commanded by Willford, who made a noble defence. The combined army, conſiſting of fourteen thouſand men, were repulſed by the Engliſh, in every attack.

This defence alarmed the nobility of Scotland, who, on the ſeventh of July, met at the abbey of Haddington; where the reſolution taken at Stirling of ſending the young queen to France was fully debated, and at laſt agreed to. On which it was determined that ſhe ſhould embark, the firſt opportunity, on board the French ſhips, which were then lying in the harbour of Leith. But the members of the aſſembly were far from being unanimous in this meaſure. But the French ambaſſador and general had aſſiſted in their deliberations, which was conſidered as a breach of liberty, and tending to reſtrain the freedom of debate by the friends of the reformation; and who were for accepting the terms offered by the Engliſh for a general peace. The French influence, however prevailed, and M. Villegagnon, received orders to ſail with four French gallies from Leith, in order to deceive the Engliſh with a notion that he was bound directly to France. But inſtead of purſuing this courſe, he was ordered to ſail for Dumbarton, where he was to take on board the young queen. This was ſucceſsfully performed, and ſhe accordingly landed ſafe in Britany, and then conducted with great marks of honour to the French court.

In the mean time, the ſiege of Haddington was carried on with vigour, and Sir Robert Bows, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Harry Wharton, with other officers were ordered to march from Berwick, with fourteen or fifteen hundred horſe, and throw themſelves, if poſſible, into the caſtle. But this party was intercepted and cut in pieces by the Scots; but another body of three hundred men had much better ſucceſs, and found means to throw themſelves into the caſtle, together with a large quantity of ammunition and proviſions. This ſeaſonable ſupply obliged the beſiegers to change the attack; but, in the mean time, the Scots ſurprized the caſtles of Hume and Taſt, both places of conſiderable ſtrength.

The protector was now in a very uneaſy ſituation. He ſaw the prize for which he fought, the young queen of Scotland eſcaped out of his hands. The people were extremely uneaſy at home; the exchequer was empty; nor were there any hopes of recruiting it by the aſſiſtance of parliament; it having been declared in the houſe, during the laſt ſeſſion, that the lands belonging to the chantries and colleges, were given to the crown, in order to enable his majeſty to pay his debts, and anſwering all the extraordinary ſervices of the year. Add to this, that it was more than probable, that the war with Scotland would occaſion another with France, while ſound policy dictated, that England ought to oppoſe the emperor, in order to prevent the entire ruin of the proteſtants in Germany. At the ſame time he could not find a man of ſufficient abilities and courage, proper to command the army in Scotland; nor was it eaſy to raiſe an army for that purpoſe.

All theſe unfortunate accidents increaſed his perplexity, as the obſtinacy of the Scots, now greatly increaſed by the arrival of the French auxiliaries, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to ſend an army into that kingdom. The moſt proper general then to be found, was the earl of Shrewſbury, that nobleman was extremely beloved, and at the protector's requeſt, had ſerved as a volunteer in the laſt expedition to Scotland. The protector alſo took a body of three thouſand foreign mercenaries into his pay; a ſtep by no means agreeable to the Engliſh. The greater part of thoſe troops had been raiſed by the Engliſh with the leave of the emperor, who was pleaſed with being delivered from ſo many proteſtants. When theſe had joined the Engliſh army, the whole amounted to ſeventeen thouſand men; of whom ſeven thouſand were horſe.

During the interval of making preparations for this army, the duke of Somerſet ſent his brother, the earl of Warwick, with a ſquadron of ſhips to make a deſcent upon the coaſt of Scotland. But the ſmall number of land forces, embarked on board his fleet, ſeemed to indicate that his brother deſigned to deprive him either of his life or his reputation. The admiral, however, though his troops amounted only to twelve hundred men, landed in two places; but was repulſed in both attempts, and was obliged to embark the remainder of his men, the greater part of them having been cut in pieces.

In the mean time the earl of Shrewſbury had better ſucceſs. He was aſſiſted in the command by the earl of Lenox, and arrived on the borders of Scotland

Scotland about the beginning of September, when the Scots being employed in getting in their harveſt, had retired in great numbers, and left the ſiege of Haddington to the French. By this time the approaches were carried on ſo near the walls that the aſſailants were often killed by ſtones thrown from the battlements. But upon the approach of the Engliſh, the beſiegers called a council of war, when it was reſolved to abandon the enterprize, and cover the capital. This was a prudent reſolution; and though the earl of Shrewſbury reinforced the garriſon, he could not force the enemy to a battle. His preſence, however, gave great ſpirits to the reformers in that country. The French, ever ſince the departure of the Scottiſh queen, behaved as if they had been in a conquered country, ſo that d'Eſſe, was obliged to force his way into Edinburgh, after killing the chief magiſtrate. Had the earl of Shrewſbury purſued the enemy while this diſpute laſted, it is highly probable he might have totally ruined their army: but he was confined to a certain method of acting by his inſtructions. Five hundred Scots and French were, however, cut off in their retreat. The earl of Shrewſbury offered battle to the enemy; but after uſing every precaution for ſecuring his maſter's intereſt, he led his army back, about the beginning of November, into England.

Before his return the French and Scots laid a well-concerted plan for making themſelves maſters of Haddington, and had accordingly found means to get within the works of the place. But they were diſcovered by a French deſerter, who fired a cannon, which did great execution among his countrymen, and at the ſame time alarmed the garriſon; ſo that the aſſailants were obliged to retire after looſing near three hundred men. In the mean time the earl of Argyle, with a body of his highlanders endeavoured, though in vain, to take the caſtle of Broughty, which had been lately reinforced by the Engliſh, who had alſo ſeized Dundee, a conſiderable town in the neighbourhood.

During this attempt d'Eſſe returned to Leith after his miſcarriage before Haddington; fortified the town, and ſent the Rhinegrave, who commanded three thouſand Germans in the French ſervice, to retake Dundee, and aſſiſt in the ſiege of Broughty. Dundee was accordingly retaken; but the Rhinegrave was repulſed before Broughty, and marched to the ſouthward; advice having been received that the lord Gray having received from the earl of Shrewſbury, a reinforcement of Engliſh, together with all the foreign mercenaries, had fallen, with the utmoſt fury into Tiviotdale. This induced the government of Scotland to order d'Eſſe to march towards the borders, after leaving a ſufficient detachment to cut off all the ſupplies coming to the garriſon of Haddington.

D'Eſſe performed this ſervice with great ſucceſs. Many ſkirmiſhes happened to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh; and lord Gray was obliged to abandon Scotland. In the mean time the combined army advanced, and for ſome time plundered the Engliſh borders. To add to this misfortune, the garriſon of Haddington began to be in want of neceſſaries, having nothing to ſubſiſt on, but what they procured from England. They, however, defended the caſtle with great reſolution, till the governor, hearing that a ſupply of proviſions and ſtores, was juſt landed from ſome Engliſh ſhips, marched out at the head of a large detachment to eſcort the convoy into the town. But during his march he fell into an ambuſcade of the enemy near Dunbar, and after a galland reſiſtance was taken priſoner, and his men were cut to pieces.

So ſudden a reverſe of fortune ſo exaſperated the people of England, that a prieſt who had been taken priſoner, and been a witneſs of the late glories of his country, could not bear the ſight of the preſent misfortunes. He proſtrated himſelf upon the ground, refuſed to receive any nouriſhment, and died a victim to the miſeries of England.

Theſe calamities were owing to the diſſenſions which now prevailed at the Engliſh court. The ſinews of war no longer performed their functions; they were diverted to maintain the intrigues of the cabinet, inſtead of the operations of the field. The protector found himſelf ſo hardly preſſed by his enemies, that he was obliged to apply, for his own ſafety, the money that was deſtined for the ſupport of the nation. The riches which might have defrayed the expences of a glorious campaign, were ſquandered among the tools of corruption.

In the mean time, the emperor, who was very deſirous of the friendſhip of Edward, finding that all his labours were rendered abortive, behaved with great haughtineſs. A tariff had been ſettled in the beginning of Edwards reign, which was to continue during his minority, with regard to the Engliſh commerce in the low countries, and principally affected the merchants at Antwerp. But Charles now thought proper to pay no regard to that commercial treaty. Higher duties were exacted from the Engliſh than thoſe ſtipulated by the tariff: the Engliſh conſul complained to the preſident of the council; but meeting with no redreſs, he ordered his countrymen to withdraw from Antwerp with all their effects. This was highly reſented by the emperor; but his own ſubjects being the greateſt ſufferers by the loſs of their trade with the Engliſh, he thought proper to mitigate his anger, and iſſued orders for obſerving the articles of the tariff.

By this time images were entirely removed out of the churches, auricular confeſſion was aboliſhed, and a new office of communion was publiſhed. Theſe proceedings highly exaſperated the papiſts. Gardiner could not conceal his reſentment, and was ſent to the tower. During his impriſonment, all the public ſervice of the church was reviewed, a new catechiſm was publiſhed by Cranmer, and the new liturgy, after long conſideration and debate; was finiſhed. Soon after the parliament met at Weſtminſter, where an act was paſſed for the uniformity of public prayer, by which, both the new liturgy and communion ſervice received a national ſanction.

In the mean time, the whole court and kingdom were divided into parties and factions. The protector and his brother the admiral, not contented with the high ſtations they reſpectively enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had riſen, entertained the moſt violent jealouſy of each other's authority; while their oppoſite cabals were ſupported by their friends, and powerful parties were formed by theſe two potent noblemen.

Lord Seymour, admiral of England, was a man of inſatiable ambition, arrogant, aſſuming, implacable, and though his capacity was conſidered as ſuperior to that of his brother, he was not poſſeſſed of an equal ſhare of the confidence and regard of the people.

people. By his flattery and addreſs, he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the queen dowager, that, forgetting her uſual prudence and decency, ſhe married him ſoon after the death of the late king. The credit and riches of the admiral were greatly increaſed by this alliance; but it gave great umbrage to the dutcheſs of Somerſet, who could not bear to ſee the younger brother's wife have the precedency. She accordingly employed all her intereſt with her huſband the protector, and was fatally fortunate enough to create, and then widen a breach between theſe two powerful noblemen.

Paget firſt ſaw the ſymptoms of this miſunderſtanding during the campaign in Scotland, when the protector commanded the army: but the breach between the two brothers was not certainly known till the meeting of the enſuing parliament, when the admiral made an open attack upon his brother's authority. He repreſented to his friends, that formerly, the office of protector of the kingdom, during a minority, was kept ſeparate from that of governor of the king's perſon; and that the preſent union of theſe two important poſts, conferred on Somerſet, an authority which could not be ſafely lodged in the hands of any ſubject. He even prevailed upon the young king to write a letter to the parliament, deſiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and had formed a ſtrong party in both houſes to effect his purpoſe. The deſign, however, was happily diſcovered before it was ripe for execution; and ſome of the nobility, friends to both, were ſent to remonſtrate with him, but without effect: he ſeemed determined to purſue his purpoſe, threw out many menacing expreſſions, and raſhly threatened, that if his deſign was oppoſed, he would make this parliament the blackeſt ever known in England. This attempt failing, he was cited to appear before the council, but refuſed to attend, at laſt, finding himſelf unable to ſtem the torrent of power, he was obliged to ſubmit, and accordingly requeſted a reconciliation with his brother, who was very ready both to forgive and forget his faults.

Soon after this temporary reconciliation, his ſpouſe, the queen dowager, died in child-bed; but this event was ſo far from checking his ambitious views, that he had recourſe to ſtill more extraordinary. He paid his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth; and the princeſs, whom even the hurry of buſineſs, and the purſuits of ambition, could not, in her more advanced years, diſengage entirely from the tender paſſions, ſeems to have liſtened to the inſinuations of a man, who poſſeſſed every talent requiſite for captivating the affections of the ſofter ſex. At the ſame time, knowing, that the will of Henry the eighth had abſolutely excluded his daughters from ſucceeding to the crown in caſe they married without the conſent of the council, he propoſed to effect his purpoſe by expedients ſtill more raſh and more criminal. In this manner he continued to ſhake the very foundations of government, and had taken care to have an army of ten thouſand men ready to take the field. At laſt, his turbulence, and treaſonable actions became too flagitious to be ſuffered, a warrant was iſſued againſt him, and he was committed priſoner to the tower. Some of his accomplices were alſo ſeized at the ſame time; and three privy counſellors being ſent to examine them, made a report, that they had made ſeveral full and important diſcoveries.

Somerſet was, however, deſirous of ſuſpending the blow: he ſhewed the greateſt reluctance to ruin his brother. He even offered to relinquiſh the proſecution, if Seymour would promiſe him a cordial reconciliation; renounce all his ambitious hopes, retire into the country, and be there contented with a private life. Unmoved by theſe offers, and a ſtranger to fear, his anſwer conſiſted only in menances and defiances. Finding every ſalutary method in vain, Somerſet ordered a charge to be drawn up againſt his brother. It conſiſted of thirty-three articles; and after examining witneſſes, the council repaired to the tower in order to interrogate the priſoner. Their appearance was, however, far from daunting Seymour. He boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witneſſes; deſired that a copy of the charge might be left with him, in order to be conſidered; and peremptorily refuſed to anſwer any interrogatories, which tended to enſnare himſelf.

It is apparent, that, notwithſtanding what is pretended, there muſt have been ſome deficiency in the evidence againſt Seymour, when ſuch demands founded on the plaineſt principles of law and equity, were abſolutely rejected. We ſhall indeed, conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and ſcarce capable of any proof; many of them, if true, ſuſceptible of a more favourable interpretation, and that, tho' on the whole, Seymour ſeems to have been a very dangerous ſubject, yet he had not advanced far in thoſe treaſonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his guilt, ſeems to have conſiſted in ſome unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impoſitions laid upon the merchants.

It ſeems hard, that the two requeſts Seymour made, viz. of having the articles left with him for his conſideration, and being confronted in open court with his accuſers, ſhould have been both denied him; but that was agreeable to the practice in the late reign, it was urged, that his confeſſion was a meer matter of form and duty, becauſe the articles had been ſo fully proved by impartial evidence, and by letters under his own hand, that they were undeniable. The admiral ſtill continuing obſtinate, the council laid the whole matter before the king, not chuſing to proceed farther, without his concurrence, in a matter, that concerned him ſo nearly as the blood of his uncle. Edward heard all their opinions, which were ſeverally delivered, with great attention, and anſwered them in the following manner, "We perceive that there are great things "objected, and laid to my lord admiral, my uncle, "and they tend to treaſon, and we perceive that "you require but juſtice to be done, we think it "reaſonable, and we will that you proceed accord-"ing to your requeſt." Though this anſwer was all the council could wiſh for, yet another attempt was made to bring the admiral to ſubmiſſion. Another committee was ſent to him with the lord chancellor at their head. The admiral, no doubt, had all this time depended upon the king's private affection for him, and the friendſhip of ſome about his perſon. But, finding that dependence fail him, he conſented to anſwer the three firſt articles, which related to his attempt againſt the duke of Somerſet's authority; his corrupting the ſervants about the king's perſon, and his preparing a letter, which he was to get the king to ſign, and then he was to deliver it to the houſe of commons. All thoſe charges he ſeems, upon the whole, to have confeſſed; but he ſaid that Paget had diſſuaded him from the

thoughts of being the king's governor, and that he had for ſome time dropt that project. But this ſeems very inconſiſtent with his confeſſion of the third article, by which he ſays, that he had cauſed one Fowler, who was of Edward's bedchamber, and had been gained by the admiral, to deal with Edward, to give his conſent for offering a bill to the houſe of commons, for his, the admiral's having the government of the king; and that before he received any anſwer, he actually had drawn the bill, and inſerted in it, that the king had conſented.

This was all the confeſſion the admiral could be brought to make, nor would he ſign what he had made. It is probable that, upon reflection, he began to miſtruſt the ſincerity of the counſellors, who had told him the king had given him up; for it is certain he ſtopt ſuddenly, and could not be prevailed upon to go any farther in his examination.

Upon this, it was reſolved to let juſtice, or to ſpeak more properly the form of juſtice have its courſe. The judges, and the king's council declared his articles to amount to a charge of high treaſon. On the twenty-fifth of February, a bill of attainder againſt the lord admiral, was read a firſt time, on the twenty-ſixth a ſecond time, on the twenty-ſeventh a third time, and the ſame day it paſt the lords, and was ſent down to the commons. But the commons, though equally docile, were not ſo ready in the trade of formal murder. The lords ſeem to have foreſeen this, for with the bill, they ſent a meſſage by the maſter of the rolls, Sir James Hales, and ſerjeant Molineux, to acquaint the commons, that if they were reſolved to proceed upon the bill in the ſame manner as the peers had done, they might have the lords, who had given evidence, to repeat the ſame in the houſe of commons. Upon this, great debates aroſe, and it was at laſt reſolved to throw in the weight of prerogative to ſink the admiral, whoſe few friends made a feeble effort to have him brought and confronted with his accuſers. For after the commons had ſent a meſſage to the protector, whom the lords had left to receive all meſſages from the commons, that the houſe was reſolved to hear the evidence, againſt the admiral, "Viva voce," the bill was likely to have ſtopped in the houſe, when the king ſent a meſſage by the maſter of the rolls, to ſignify to the commons "his pleaſure to be, that the admi-"ral's preſence was not neceſſary there." This ſeems to have quieted all farther debates; and the bill, after paſſing in a houſe, where about four hundred members were preſent, not above ten or twelve of whom gave their negative to it, was ſent back to the lords, and next day it received the royal aſſent.

The duke of Somerſet did not vote, in paſſing the bill of his brother's attainder, and it was ordered in council that the biſhop of Ely ſhould attend him till he came to the block; and a warrant was ordered for his execution on the twentieth of March, which was performed accordingly; and not only the protector himſelf, but archbiſhop Cranmer, ſigned this warrant, though, in ſo doing, the former acted againſt the ſentiments of nature, and the latter contrary to the canons of the church.

They, who had been moſt active in the admiral's death, were the firſt who charged the protector with his blood. The nobility, and their dependents hated both, but thought it moſt prudent to attack them ſeparately. They received but too good encouragement from the protector's unguarded conduct. The charge of fratricide was ſwelled by that of ſacrilege. He had begun a magnificent palace, ſince called Somerſet-houſe in the Strand. Graves were robbed of their dead, that its foundations might be laid, and churches of their walls, that its ſuperſtructure might be reared. Whatever private ſentiments the protector entertained of thoſe matters, it was certainly impolitic, at ſo critical a juncture, for him to give ſo fair a handle to his enemies. But he truſted to the popularity he had acquired. He would willingly have expelled the clouds that were gathering through, almoſt, all England, but it was not in his power, for they broke out into a ſtorm of civil commotion.

The nation was at this time in terrible confuſion. Some people were for reſtoring the old worſhip, others for abrogating all church government; ſome for levelling all diſtinctions between rich and poor, nobles and commons; ſome for deſtroying incloſures; many deſerted from the land and ſea ſervice; ſome were directed by the mere ſpirit of faction; a few had motives of ambition, many of reſentment, but all agreed in the common cauſe of ſedition. Never was there a juncture which more fully proved, than this did, the neceſſity of an eſtabliſhed religion for keeping the people within the bounds of civil obedience, or preſerving the ſocial ties between one another. The prohibition of preaching, and the lower ſort being deprived the uſe of the ſcriptures, left each at liberty to adopt the notions which fancy, conveniency, or intereſt ſuggeſted. The government began too late to perceive the falſe ſtep which they had committed in ſhutting up the pulpits; and there are extant many licences for preachers to reſume their function in the weſt, at this threatening juncture; as the moſt ready means of compoſing this ſpirit of ſedition.

The lord protector ſought to heal up thoſe ſores in the common-weal; many pardons, indulgences, and proclamations were iſſued in favour of the diſcontented, even after they had, in many places, committed open acts of rebellion. This lenity, inſtead of curing, augmented the diſeaſe. The people thought the protector on their ſide; that both the king and he were under the awe of the nobility, and that it was the buſineſs of the commonalty to give liberty to them, and relief to themſelves. They made no ſecret of all this, and the protector, who, in reality, began to diſlike the manner of the nobles, proceeded to palliate every thing. He repreſented the commotions of the country, in foreign parts, only as a few ſlight diſcontents ariſing from the oppreſſions of landlords, and ordered the Engliſh miniſters abroad to mention them as ſuch, at the ſeveral courts where they reſided. He ſought by his power to beat down the exceſſive prices of proviſions, which bore ſo hard upon the lower claſs of people; he publiſhed a reward of twenty crowns for every deſerter or vagrant, who ſhould be apprehended: and, finding none of thoſe expedients effectual, diſpatched the lord Ruſſel into the weſt, of which he had the care, but with a force too trifling for ſo great an undertaking as that of ſuppreſſing the rebels. This conduct was highly blamed by Paget, who wrote to the protector, and adviſed him to ſend for the German horſe, which had been taken into the pay of the government, four thouſand of whom were lying at Calais; to appoint the

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lord Ferrers and Sir William Herbert, to march from Wales with all the forces they could raiſe there, and the earl of Shrewſbury to advance at the head of all the men he could raiſe in the counties of Derby, Salop, Stafford, and Nottingham, that the protector himſelf ſhould leave the king at Windſor, and proceed in the way of authority, before he attempted that of power, by ſending commiſſioners of oyer and terminer, well ſupported, into the moſt diſaffected places, ſeizing the charters of the moſt culpable corporations, doing capital juſtice upon ſome of the moſt remarkable offenders, and comdemning others either to be ſent to the borders of Scotland, or to ſerve as pioneers and ſoldiers in the Engliſh conqueſts in France. But this advice came too late.

When matters could be no longer diſguiſed, proclamation was iſſued July the eleventh, pardoning all the rebels of Devonſhire and Cornwal, who ſhould, within a limitted time, ſubmit to lord Ruſſel; and giving away the eſtates of thoſe who ſhould not, to them who ſhould firſt ſeize, and enter into poſſeſſion of the ſame. Another proclamation was iſſued for the execution of marſhal law upon all rebels in arms; and it was recommended to the commiſſioners for encloſures, to remedy all grievances of the people, in the ſtricteſt and moſt effectual manner. This laſt greatly diſguſted all the great landlords, and took from the government all aſſiſtance but what aroſe from the mercenaries, and its own dependents, with thoſe of a few public ſpirited noblemen, who were above gratifying their own reſentments at the price of their country's calamity.

In May, many diſorders in Wiltſhire had been committed, but they were, with ſmall effuſion of blood, ſuppreſſed by Sir William Herbert. Soon after, the counties of Suſſex, Kent, Suffolk, Eſſex, Warwickſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Worceſterſhire and Rutlandſhire were all in confuſion; but upon promiſe that the grievances of the encloſures ſhould be removed, the people continued for ſome weeks quiet. The protector found much averſeneſs in the council to fulfil thoſe promiſes; they affected the private property of the members, the practice of encloſures having continued for near ſixty years.

The people, finding themſelves diſappointed, now reaſſembled in Devonſhire. In other counties, the gentry had kept cloſely united with the government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among whom was Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rebels were brought to the form of a regular army, and amounted to the number of ten thouſand men. Lord Ruſſel, finding himſelf too weak to encounter them in the field, kept at a diſtance, and began to treat and negotiate with them, in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of diſperſing them by the difficulty of their ſubſiſting in a body. Their demands were, that the maſs ſhould be reſtored, half of the abbey lands reſumed, the law of the ſix articles executed, holy water, and holy bread reſpected, and all other particular grievances redreſſed. The council to whom Ruſſel tranſmitted theſe demands, ſent a haughty anſwer, exhorted the rebels to diſperſe, and promiſed them pardon upon their immediate ſubmiſſion. Enraged at this diſappointment, they marched to Exeter, carrying before them croſſes, banners, holy water, candleſticks, and other implements of the ancient ſuperſtition; together with the hoſt, which they covered with a canopy. The inhabitants of Exeter ſhut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, firſt by ſcalade, then by mining, but were repulſed in all their attempts. Ruſſel, mean while lay at Honiton, till reinforced by Sir William Herbert, and lord Gray, with ſome German horſe, and ſome Italian arquebuſiers under Battiſta Spinola. He then reſolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their poſts, committed great ſlaughter upon them, both in the action and purſuit, and took many priſoners. Arundel and the other leaders were ſent to London, tried, condemned, and executed. Many of the inferior ſort were put to death by martial law; the vicar of St. Thomas, one of principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own tower, arrayed in his habit, with his beads at his girdle.

The inſurrection in Norfolk was ſtill more violent. The populace were at firſt excited, as in other places, by the complaints againſt encloſures; but finding their numbers amount to ten thouſand men, they grew inſolent on their force, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretenſions. They required the ſuppreſſion of the gentry, the placing new counſellors about the king, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient rights. One Kit a tanner aſſumed the principal command; he affected great auſterity and regularity of conduct. He held his courts of juſtice under a tree, called the tree of reformation; he puniſhed all who diſobeyed his orders, and his commands were punctually fulfilled by his followers, whom he ſpared no more than others, if they offended him. Thoſe appearances of juſtice and diſcipline, ſoon increaſed his number to ſixteen thouſand, and it was with difficulty that the ſheriff of Norfolk, who ſummoned them to lay down their arms, eſcaped death by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. To add to the difficulties of the government, it ſoon appeared that they had many friends in the city, and ſome in the magiſtracy of Norwich, which encouraged them to advance to that city, and to take up their quarters at Mouſhold, and St. Leonard in the neighbourhood. From thence they had the inſolence to require the king to ſend a herald with an anſwer to their complaints, and the protector had the weakneſs to comply. Their complaints turned chiefly upon encloſures, the exceſſive price of proviſions, and concerning the price of wools. The government's anſwer to all thoſe particulars were ſuch, as emboldened rather than damped the rebels. It was ſaid that orders had already been given with regard to the price of proviſions, and the encloſures, and that the diſorders of the rebels alone prevented their feeling the good effects of the ſame. Their other grievances were, by the king, offered to be ſubmitted to parliament, and in the mean time, the crown engaged to give orders, that the clothiers ſhould advance two thirds of the price upon wool, at the value it ſold for the preceding year, while the parliament was to ſettle the other third. A promiſe likewiſe paſſed, that no landed men, beyond a certain proportion of yearly rent, ſhould be clothiers or farmers; that one man ſhould not uſe two occupations, nor have plurality either of farms or of benefices; and that they might chuſe ſix of their own body to preſent their petitions to parliament, which

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ſhould meet in the beginning of October. The herald who delivered to the rebels thoſe terms, was charged at the ſame time, with a pardon to all who ſhould lay down their arms. But the rebels declared they ſhould have every thing or nothing, and, pointing their artillery from Mouſhold upon Norwich, they eaſily made themſelves maſters of the city, where they had ſo many avowed friends.

Though the rebels were maſters of this city, they ſtill kept their head quarters at Mouſhold, but obliged the magiſtrates, and chief citizens of Norwich, to be preſent at all their conſultations. All this time, they made no diſpoſitions to advance, and all the harm they did was plundering the country of proviſions. The government was diſtracted in its conſultations. The diſaffection was ſo widely ſpread, that when the king's forces marched to ſuppreſs the flame in one quarter, it was ready to break out in another. This was the reaſon why Par, marquis of Northampton, who was appointed to march againſt the Norfolk rebels, gave them leave to finiſh their rude fortifications at Mouſhold, ſo as to command the city of Norwich. But the marquis at laſt marched againſt them with fifteen hundred horſe, and a battalion of foreigners, in the pay of the government; he was accompanied by the lords Sheffield, and Wentworth, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction, and without any reſiſtance he entered the city of Norwich. He was no ſooner entered than the rebels began to diſcharge their artillery againſt the city, and made ſo terrible an attack upon it, that diſcipline gave way to fury, the regular troops were driven before a deſperate rout, and the efforts of rage baffled the rules of war. Among others, the lord Sheffield was killed by his horſe falling under him, which gave a butcher an opportunity of diſpatching him with a club. About thirty gentlemen were taken priſoners, and ſome hundreds of the ſoldiers killed. The rebels, who before were blinded with fury, now became frantic with ſucceſs; and in their madneſs ſet fire to the city; but a ſhower which fell providentially at that inſtant, extinguiſhed the flames, before any conſiderable damage was effected.

In the mean time, the war with Scotland was continued, and the earl of Warwick was appointed to command the troops againſt the ferocious people of that kingdom. But the defeat of the marquis of Northampton obliged him to change his rout, and he marched at the head of ſix thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe towards Norwich, and was joined in his paſſage through the adjacent country, by ſeveral gentlemen in the neighbourhood. On his arrival before the city, he battered one of the gates with his artillery, and ſoon made a breach large enough to enter the place, where about one hundred and fifty of the rebels were put to the ſword; but the main body eſcaped to their camp at Mouſhold, and found means to carry off with them ſome pieces of artillery belonging to the government.

After making himſelf maſter of Norwich, he planted his artillery againſt the camp of the rebels, who gave ſuch amazing proofs of courage, or rather of deſpair, that it required all the experience and intrepidity of the earl of Warwick, to guard againſt the ſame misfortune that had attended the marquis of Northampton. But he had taken ſuch precaution to block up ſo effectually all the avenues of the rebels camp, that they ſoon began to be in want of proviſions. Urged by neceſſity, and convinced that all the efforts of their infernal rage againſt the city was in vain, they abandoned their camp, and offered battle to the royal army in a valley, at the bottom of the hill where they had been encamped, placing all the gentlemen, whom they had made priſoners and detained in their army by force, in the front line, in order to prevent the king's troops from attacking them with vigour. Warwick was not, however, to be intimidated; but, willing to preſerve the lives of ſo many valuable men, who were ſo inhumanly placed as victims to preſerve the rebels, he wiſely left his infantry in the city, and advanced to the attack at the head of about fourteen hundred horſe. Before he charged, he offered them a general pardon, a few of their ring leaders only excepted. This was rejected with contempt, and the herald narrowly eſcaped with his life. Exaſperated at this behaviour, the earl of Warwick gave orders for charging the inſurgents; which was immediately done with ſuch vigour, and with ſo much prudence, that the rebels were totally routed, and not one of the gentlemen they had placed in the front was ſlain. About three thouſand of the rebels were killed in the battle and purſuit. But when the earl of Warwick returned to the field, he perceived a conſiderable body of them entrenched behind their waggons and baggage, with ſo reſolute an appearance of making a deſperate reſiſtance, that he thought proper to go in perſon, aſſure them of the king's pardon, and pledge his honour for their ſafety. Kit, his brother, and ſome other ring-leaders, were taken the next day, and about eighteen of them executed on the tree of reformation.

The rebels of Yorkſhire were not, however, intimidated by this defeat, they aſſembled to the number of about three thouſand men, under one Ombler, a gentleman of that county. But on being offered a free pardon, they diſperſed, and their ring-leaders were put to death.

France, always ſo vigilant to excite, and careful to improve every trouble in England, cannot be imagined to have remained an indifferent ſpectator of theſe ſcenes of civil calamity. The intelligence of that court was early and particular with regard to whatever was tranſacted in England, and the French king laid hold of the preſent occaſion, for making preparations in order to undertake the ſiege of Boulogne. Accordingly, he fell ſuddenly upon the Boullanois, took the caſtles of Sellacque, Blackneſs, and Ambleteuſe, though well ſupplied with proviſions, amunition, and garriſons. He alſo attempted to ſurprize Boulenberg, and was repulſed; but the garriſon, not thinking the place tenable after the loſs of the other fortreſſes, deſtroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains which fell in great abundance during the autumn, together with a peſtilential diſtemper which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all the hopes of ſucceſs againſt Boulogne itſelf; and he accordingly retired to Paris; leaving the command of the army to Garſpar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, afterwards ſo famous under the name of admiral Coligny, with orders to form the ſiege early in the ſpring.

This attack of the French alarmed the protector, who now endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf, by forming an alliance with the emperor. Accordingly ſecretary Paget, was ſent to Bruſſels, where the emperor

peror then reſided, in order to aſſiſt Sir Philip Hoby, the Engliſh ambaſſador in this negotiation. But that artful prince had formed a deſign for extending his own dominions, by appearing the champion of the catholic religion: and though extremely deſirous of fortifying himſelf againſt France, his capital enemy, by forming an alliance with England, he thought it very repugnant to his other inſtructions, to enter into a ſtrict confederacy with a nation, which had broke off all connections with the ſee of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of the Engliſh, and eluded all the application of the protector's ambaſſadors.

Finding it in vain to expect any aſſiſtance from the emperor, Somerſet ſeemed inclinable to conclude a peace with France and Scotland. He found indeed the expence of continuing the war with the latter was very expenſive, without having any object to excite hoſtilities. The Scots had ſent away their queen, and therefore could not poſſibly complete the marriage contracted with Edward: and as the late king had ſtipulated to reſtore Boulogne in the year 1552, he imagined that the anticipation of a few years was a matter of ſmall conſequence. His enemies, however, ſtrongly oppoſed this method of proceeding: they ſaw he was unable to ſupport the war, and were therefore determined to oppoſe every propoſal for a pacification.

The protector now found himſelf beſet with many difficulties, and, at the ſame time, well knew that he wanted that commanding genius requiſite to ſteer the veſſel of government, when toſſed by the waves of civil commotion. The earl of Warwick had long been caballing and forming dark intrigues againſt his power as protector, but not being able to form any charge againſt him to anſwer his purpoſe, he waited till he could form one that was accumulated. The majority of the party formed in the council againſt the protector were perſuaded that the affairs of government might be better managed, rather than that they were ill-conducted; who blamed the duke for his compliance, rather than deſpiſed him for his weakneſs; who diſliked his meaſures rather than hated his perſon. The earl of Warwick was the ſoul that animated this body of counſellors; he improved all their doubts into jealouſies, and their jealouſies into certainties. They ſoon perceived the diſpoſition of the nation was very favourable to their deſigns. The nobility and gentry were, in general, diſpleaſed with the preference which Somerſet ſeemed to have given the people; and they aſcribed to him all the inſults to which they had been lately expoſed. He had erected a court of requeſts in his own houſe for the relief of the people, and even interpoſed with the judges in their behalf. The intereſt, however, he had by this means formed with the people, was, by no means, anſwerable to his expectations. The attainder and execution of his brother was ſtill remembered, and greatly leſſened him in their eſteem.

In the mean time, the catholic party painted theſe proceedings in the moſt invidious colours. The introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom was repreſented as deſtructive to liberty: the prodigious eſtate he had acquired at the expence of the crown and the church, and the palace he was building in the Strand, ſerved, both by its magnificence and the methods he made uſe of to acquire the ſituation, to render him ſtill more obnoxious. The

pariſh church of St. Mary, with three biſhops houſes were pulled down to furniſh ground and materials for this ſtructure. Nor was he contented with that piece of ſacrilege, he made an attempt to demoliſh St. Margaret's Weſtminſter, in order to employ the ſtones to the ſame purpoſe; but the pariſhioners roſe upon the workmen employed on that occaſion, drove them from the church, and threatened to put them to death if they made a ſecond attempt. But Somerſet was not intimidated by this repulſe. He ſeized a chapel, together with a cloiſter and charnel houſe belonging to it in St. Paul's church-yard, and alſo the church of St. John of Jeruſalem, and with theſe materials his palace was raiſed.

Warwick now thought they had accuſations ſufficient to form articles of impeachment againſt the protector. Accordingly the lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton and Arundel, together with five other counſellors, met at Ely-houſe, aſſumed to themſelves the whole power of the council, and began to act independently of the protector, whom they repreſented as the ſole author of every public grievance and misfortune. But it was neceſſary, in order to ſupport their power, to gain over the principal nobility of the kingdom. Letters were therefore wrote to all the leading men in England, informing them of the reaſons that had prevailed upon them to act in this manner; and requeſting their aſſiſtance, in order to remove the grievances of the people. Nor did they ſtop here: they ſent for the lord-mayor and aldermen, and enjoined them to obey their orders, notwithſtanding they might receive contrary directions from the duke of Somerſet. At the ſame time the lieutenant of the tower, who received the ſame injunctions, declared his reſolution of complying with their orders. The next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief juſtice Montague, joined the malecontent counſellors, and every thing ſeemed to threaten a final period to the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, who had been ſent to treat with the council, choſe rather to remain with them than to return; and the common-council of the city declared their approbation of the new meaſures.

Intimidated by theſe appearances, the protector removed the king from Hampton-court to Windſor, and arming all his friends and ſervants, ſeemed determined to defend himſelf againſt all his enemies. At the ſame time he ſent peremptory orders to lord Ruſſel, who was then at the head of a very conſiderable army, commanding him to advance immediately to Windſor with the troops under his command.

But Ruſſel, reflecting that the peace or confuſion of the kingdom depended upon the part he was then to act, preferred the duty he owed his country, to the obligations he owed to any ſubject. He anſwered the protector's letter, in terms full of reſpect; he ſaid he would make no other uſe of the forces under his command, than to preſerve the peace of England, and guard the perſon of his ſovereign; but at the ſame time he hinted to the protector, that from what he had learned, it would be prudent for him to vindicate his conduct from the aſperſions thrown on it by the council. Promiſing, at the ſame time, to keep his troops in readineſs to oppoſe

any attempt that might be made for disturbing the national peace.

Finding all his powerful friends except Cranmer, and Paget had deserted him, he sent a letter to the lords in the opposition, composed in manly but decent terms, demanding an account of their conduct, and expressing the highest regard and tenderness for the king's person. This letter he sent by Sir Philip Hoby, who returned with two letters, one directed to the protector, and couched in very civil terms, tending to persuade him to submit his conduct to the examination of the council: the other was addressed to the king, in which, after the protestations of duty and obedience, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father, for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, with the express condition, that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority to himself, and had neglected, and even opposed their advice; that he had proceeded to that height of presumption, as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person. They therefore begged to be admitted to his royal presence, that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence, and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. The next day, the lord Russel, Sir John Baker, speaker of the house of commons, and three other counsellors, who had hitherto continued neuter, joined the male-contents. Even his friends, Cranmer and Paget, knew not how to act, on receiving a message from the lords, charging them to take care of the king's person, lest it should suffer from his new guards.

The protector now saw that all opposition would be fruitless, and therefore capitulated with the council, on being promised gentle treatment. He was, however, sent to the tower with several of his friends, among whom was Cecil, afterwards the famous lord Burleigh. Articles of impeachment were soon after exhibited against him; in which he was charged with a multiplicity of crimes, but the principal, at least the best founded was his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands, the whole administration of affairs.

But all the arts of the earl of Warwick and his party could never induce the wiser and more virtuous part of the council, to believe him guilty of any thing intentionally bad, either against the king or the constitution. They indeed thought him too obnoxious to the landed interest of England, to continue any longer at the helm of affairs, and were willing to exclude him for ever from his former power. This moderation was chiefly owing to the lord Russel and Sir William Herbert, and they were joined by the earl of Shrewsbury and several other powerful counsellors, who had been instrumental in depriving the duke of the seat of government.

It was now thought proper to summon a parliament, in order to finish this contest for power. The duke had been prevailed upon to confess, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of the charge exhibited against him; imputing these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention. He even subscribed this confession, and the paper was given in to the parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be authentic, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him in two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his room, and Warwick, earl marshal. The prosecution was stopped; the king remitted his fine, and the duke recovered his liberty.

The fall of the duke of Somerset greatly elated the Roman catholics, who ascribed all the late innovations to his councils; and therefore flattered themselves, that this revolution would prove a prelude to the restoration of the antient religion. But they soon found that those flattering ideas had no foundation: Warwick, who now chiefly directed the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all those points of controversy; and perceiving that the principles of the reformation had sunk so deep into the mind of young Edward, as not to be easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with his inclinations, and not to hazard the power he had so late acquired by pursuing any dangerous councils. Accordingly, he took care to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and threw such discouragements on the earl of Southampton, who was considered as the head of the Romish party, that he retired from the council, and soon after died of vexation and disappointment. The other counsellors, who had concurred in bringing about the revolution, were rewarded by promotion and new honours. Russel, was created earl of Bedford; the marquis of Northampton, obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, besides the office of chamberlain of the household, acquired the two large manors of Stepney and Hackney, both of them torn from the see of London. Warwick, now thinking his own power sufficiently established, and that the duke of Somerset had, by his late abject behaviour, forfeited all his authority, admitted him again into the council, and even agreed to form an alliance between their families; by the marriage of his son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, Somerset's daughter.

A. D. 1550. But tho' Warwick and his party had made such grievous complaints against the late protector, with regard to his conduct in foreign affairs, they soon found themselves involved in the same difficulties. The wars with France and Scotland, which could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer, appeared dangerous to a divided and discontented nation; especially as there was now no object worth contending for. Ambassadors were therefore dispatched to the French court; but Henry absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predecessors had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of pensions, declaring that he would never consent to be a tributary prince to any power. He, however, offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne, and four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed upon, one half to be paid immediately, and the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was also included in the treaty; the English, stipulating to restore Lauder and Dunglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth.

Peace being thus concluded, the affairs of the reformation were again resumed, and a resolution, was taken to deprive the catholic prelates of their bishoprics; for though many of them had submitted

mitted to the new laws, yet it was found that they ſecretly encouraged others in their oppoſition. The taſk was not now ſo difficult as formerly, as they had all been obliged to take commiſſions, in which it was declared that they held their ſees only during the king's pleaſure. Gardiner had long been conſidered as the head of the popiſh party, and to which he was entitled both by his age, his experience and his learning. It was therefore determined to begin this proceſs with him, in order to ſtrike a greater terror into the reſt, and by that means to facilitate the undertaking. He had been ordered to inculcate in a ſermon, the duty of obedience to a king even during his minority; but having neglected to perform the duty enjoined him, he had been committed to priſon. Secretary Petre, and ſome other members of the council were now ſent to try his temper, and endeavour, if poſſible, to find ſome reaſon for depriving him of his biſhopric. But they found themſelves greatly miſtaken: Gardiner declared his intention of conforming to the government, of ſupporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. Diſappointed in this attempt, and determined, if poſſible, to ſucceed, the council ſent a ſecond deputation, with ſeveral articles, which he was ordered to ſubſcribe. He was to acknowledge his former miſbehaviour, and confeſs the juſtice of his confinement. He was likewiſe to own, that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making or diſpenſing with holidays, was part of the prerogative; that the common prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete ſovereign in his minority; that the act of the ſix articles was juſtly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform whatever was amiſs in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, government, or doctrine. Gardiner declared he was ready to ſubſcribe all theſe articles except the firſt; maintaining that his conduct had always been inoffenſive; and declaring, he would never own himſelf guilty of faults of which he was innocent. At the ſame time, he deſired a fair trial; adding that he would not ſign any of the new articles till he had obtained his liberty.

A. D. 1551. Upon report being made to the council of Gardiner's anſwer, his biſhopric was laid under ſequeſtration for three months; and upon his then appearing no more compliant than at firſt, a commiſſion was appointed to try him. The commiſſioners were the primate, the biſhops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, ſecretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and ſome other civilians. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commiſſion, which he ſaid was not founded on any ſtatute or precedent; and appealed from the commiſſioners to the king. His appeal was, however, diſregarded; and ſentence was pronounced againſt him, whereby he was deprived of his biſhopric; committed cloſe priſoner; his books and papers were taken from him; he was denied all company; nor was he permitted either to ſend or receive any letters or meſſages.

Nor did the violence of the reformers ſtop there. The biſhops of Chicheſter, Worceſter and Exeter, were deprived of their biſhoprics; and thoſe of Landaff, Saliſbury and Coventry, were obliged to ſacrifice the greater part of their revenues to the rapacity of the courtiers, though they had not refuſed compliance with every thing required by the government.

The princeſs Mary, however, ſtill refuſed to comply with the orders of the government, and continued the Romiſh ſervice in her chapel. The council laboured very aſſiduouſly to gain over the princeſs to their party. They aſked her what warrant there was in ſcripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the uſe of images, or the offering up maſſes for the dead. At the ſame time they deſired her to peruſe the writings of St. Auſtin, and thoſe of the ancient doctors of the church, and ſhe would be ſoon convinced of the errors of the Romiſh ſuperſtition; and that they had no other foundation than pretended miracles, and childiſh ſtories. But this advice had no effect upon the princeſs Mary: ſhe proteſted that nothing ſhould force her to depart from the religion in which ſhe had been educated: adding, that ſhe never had, and hoped ſhe never ſhould, be prevailed upon to peruſe any books written by proteſtants.

Edward was greatly affected at his ſiſter's obſtinacy, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet prevailed upon him not to have recourſe to violent methods. The emperor interpoſed in her behalf, and even threatened to declare war againſt England, if this liberty was denied the princeſs.

In the mean time the ambition of Warwick was arrived at an exorbitant height. Not contented with the ſtation he had attained, Warwick extended his pretenſions much farther, and had gained over to his intereſt a very formidable party, who were determined to ſecond all his ambitious enterprizes. The late earl of Northumberland died without iſſue, and his brother Sir Thomas Piercy having been attainted on account of the ſhare he had in the Yorkſhire inſurrection during the laſt reign, the title was at preſent extinct, and the eſtate veſted in the crown. This was too rich a prize to be neglected by the ambitious Warwick: he procured from the king a grant of thoſe ample poſſeſſions, and was created duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet St. John was created marquis of Wincheſter, and Sir William Herbert earl of Pembroke.

But ſtill Northumberland conſidered himſelf in danger from the influence of the duke of Somerſet. That unfortunate nobleman, who had now recovered a conſiderable ſhare of popularity, imagined himſelf ſafe by the late alliance between his family and that of Northumberland's; but he was fatally miſtaken; his artful enemy made uſe of that very advantage to ruin him. He ſecretly gained over many of that nobleman's friends, and even bribed his own ſervants to betray him. His treacherous confidents informed Northumberland of every paſſionate expreſſion, and of every ſcheme, which even they themſelves had firſt ſuggeſted. By this means his ambitious enemy became poſſeſſed of matter ſufficient to form a charge againſt him; and determined not to loſe the opportunity of ruining his rival.

Accordingly the duke of Somerſet, the lord Gray, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Newdigate, two of the duke's ſervants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were all arreſted in the night of the ſixteenth of October, and committed to priſon. The next day the dutcheſs of Somerſet, with her favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Patridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Baniſter and others were thrown into priſon.

Somerſet

Somerſet was ſoon after brought to his trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, who acted as high ſteward. Twenty-ſeven peers ſat as the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom even common decency ſhould have prevented their acting as judges upon a man who appeared to be their capital enemy. The duke had been accuſed by Sir Thomas Palmer, who had long acted as a ſpy upon Somerſet, of having formed a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muſter-day, to ſecure the tower, and to excite a rebellion in London. But which was a much more probable accuſation, he aſſerted that Somerſet had once laid a ſcheme for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke at a banquet, which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's teſtimony with regard to the latter deſign: and Hamond confeſſed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

Somerſet's defence with regard to the treaſon was very ſatisfactory; but he now, by fatal experience, felt the weight of that unjuſt method of proceeding which he himſelf had carried on againſt his own brother. In vain he demanded to be confronted with the evidence. In vain he endeavoured to ſhew the inſufficiency of the charge; but he ſpoke like a man of honour; as one who diſdained to ſave his life at the expence of either a falſity or an evaſion. He obſerved, that it muſt have been mere madneſs in him to think of attacking nine hundred of the gens d'armes with his ſingle troop, which conſiſted of no more than a hundred men. He acknowledged that he had kept ſome perſons armed in his lodgings at Greenwich, but never with an intention of diſturbing the public tranquillity, and his never having made uſe of them when more than one opportunity had offered, was a ſufficient proof of the innocence of his intentions. He next attacked the characters of the witneſſes againſt him, and was particularly ſevere upon that of Sir Thomas Palmer; and obſerved that the ſtory of his having deſigned to kill the lords when aſſembled at Paget's, was very weakly ſupported by evidence, and that he refuſed to be judged by his own ſervants. He, however, confeſſed that he had mentioned the deſign of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had formed no reſolution for carrying it into execution. The intention, however, was deemed ſufficient, and he was accordingly found guilty of felony, and received ſentence of death. As ſoon as the firſt vote, of his not being guilty of treaſon, was paſt, the tower-ax was immediately removed, and the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, imagining the duke was entirely acquitted, expreſſed their joy by the loudeſt acclamations. Some of them immediately took horſe, and rode into the country, where they diſperſed the joyful news of the duke's acquittal; and it was ſome days before they were undeceived.

When the laſt ſentence was pronounced, the duke thanked the court for the candour of their proceedings, and aſked pardon in particular of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, for the enmity he had born them. The duke of Northumberland, in return, aſſured him, that as he had ſaved him once already, ſo he would ſave him again; and adviſed him to throw himſelf entirely on the king's mercy, and he would himſelf faithfully ſecond his application. Somerſet, accordingly, petitioned the king, and was remanded back to the tower.

But notwithſtanding the promiſe of Northumberland, care had been taken by his emiſſaries to prepoſſeſs the king ſo ſtrongly againſt his unfortunate uncle, that the gates of mercy were ſhut againſt him. Northumberland was alſo too much provoked, and Somerſet's poſſeſſions were too tempting, for him ever more to be truſted with life or fortune.

A. D. 1552. The behaviour of that unfortunate noblemen, after he had received his ſentence, was calm, reſigned, and unaffected. He employed himſelf in reading and compoſing exerciſes of devotion; and on the twenty-ſecond of January was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, amidſt great crowds of ſpectators, who bore him ſuch ſincere kindneſs, that they entertained, to the very laſt moment, the fond hopes of his being pardoned. He was attended by doctor Cox; and, after performing ſome devotions, he addreſſed himſelf to the people, declaring his fidelity to the king, and his earneſt deſire of promoting the happineſs of his country; profeſſed his zeal and affection for the proteſtant religion; exhorted the people to continue their obedience both to the king and the council; aſked pardon of all whom he had offended; and declared he died in peace with all mankind. Having ended his ſpeech, he received the blow, that put a final period to his mortal exiſtence. Many of the people ruſhed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preſerved as a precious relick, and ſome of them, ſoon after, when Northumberland met with a ſimilar fate, upbraided him with his cruelty, and diſplayed before him theſe ſymbols of his crime.

Thus fell the great duke of Somerſet, an eminent inſtance how incapable the beſt intentions, not tempered with caution and modeſty, are to ward off the blows which deſtructive ambition aims at virtuous greatneſs. He was an honeſt, but not an amiable man; he had courage, but not reſolution; honour but not ſpirit. In power he was too overbearing; out of power always repining, though retirement would have been his poſt of honour, as well as his only ſource of happineſs. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life. Fortune had made him too great and too little for a conſpicuous ſtation. His abilities could not ſecure the honours which his virtue deſerved, while his virtue could not conquer the diſgraces his ſpirit was forced to ſuffer. He lived the darling of a people who could not aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs; he fell a victim to a faction whom he had deſpiſed in his greatneſs. But with all his faults and failings, religion has ſince ſeen few friends ſo ſincere, and England fewer patriots ſo honeſt as the duke of Somerſet.

Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Patridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them friends to the duke of Somerſet, were brought to their trial, condemned and executed. They do not, however, appear to have been convicted of any capital offence: perhaps their oppoſition to Northumberland's party, and their enjoying large eſtates, were their only, at leaſt, their greateſt crimes. Lord Paget, was alſo, on ſome pretence, tried in the ſtar-chamber, and condemned to pay a fine of ſix thouſand pounds, and to loſe his office of chancellor of the dutchy. At the ſame time, in order to

to increaſe his mortification he was deprived of the order of the garter, on pretence that the meanneſs of his birth, rendered him unworthy to ſhare that honour. Lord Rich alſo, who had been a friend to Somerſet, was obliged to reſign his office of chancellor.

On the twenty-third of January, the day after Somerſet's execution, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, where ſeveral bills of great importance were paſſed into laws. One of theſe bills was for authorizing the new liturgy: and for puniſhing thoſe perſons who abſented themſelves from divine ſervice.

Northumberland ſoon perceived that he ſhould have occaſion for all his art to manage this parliament. The unjuſt method made uſe of on Somerſet's trial, in not ſuffering him to be confronted with the evidence againſt him, reſounded from every corner; and ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of the miniſter. To ward off this dreadful blow, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords for declaring the nature of ſuch evidences and treaſons. But when the bill came to the commons, they added a clauſe of much greater importance than the bill itſelf. That no one ſhould be convicted of any kind of treaſon, unleſs the crime was proved by the oaths of two witneſſes, who were confronted with the priſoner. This clauſe was ſtrongly oppoſed by Northumberland's party, as it directly condemned their proceedings againſt the duke of Somerſet; but notwithſtanding all the arts of the miniſter, the bill paſſed both houſes, and has ever ſince remained one of the chief bulwarks of Engliſh liberty.

Another bill was paſſed for making proviſion for the poor; by which the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions for the relief of neceſſitous perſons, and if any refuſed to contribute or diſſuaded others from it, the biſhop of the dioceſe was empowered to proceed againſt them.

This parliament alſo condemned the arbitrary proceedings of the miniſtry againſt Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, one of the moſt eminent prelates of that age, for learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had oppoſed, by his vote and authority, all the innovations in religion; but as ſoon as they were confirmed by the authority of parliament, he always ſubmitted, and conformed himſelf to each ſyſtem of religion when lawfully eſtabliſhed. His known probity convinced the world, that this compliance was not owing to an intereſted or time ſerving ſpirit, but to a real ſenſe of duty, which induced him to think, that all private opinions ought to be ſacrificed to the much greater concerns of public peace and tranquillity. This general regard ſo juſtly aſcribed to his integrity had preſerved him from any ſevere treatment during the adminiſtration of the duke of Somerſet; but when Northumberland gained the aſcendant, he was thrown into priſon; and, as that rapacious nobleman had laid a deſign of appropriating the revenues of the biſhopric of Durham, and of forming to himſelf a principality in the northern counties, he reſolved to effectuate his purpoſe by depriving Tonſtal of his ſee. Accordingly, he preferred a bill of attainder in the houſe of peers againſt the prelate under pretence of miſpriſion of treaſon. The lords were obſequious enough to paſs the bill, with only two diſſenting voices, lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and ſincere friendſhip to the biſhop of Durham. But the commons were leſs complaiſant to the miniſter. They required that witneſſes ſhould be examined, that Tonſtal ſhould be permitted to defend himſelf, and that he ſhould be confronted with his accuſers, purſuant to the clauſe in the laſt act of parliament: and this not being complied with, they rejected the bill.

An oppoſition like this in the commons, convinced Northumberland, that little could be expected from the preſent parliament, and therefore a reſolution was taken to diſſolve it, and ſummons a new one. At the ſame time, the duke engaged the king to write circular letters to all the ſheriffs, enjoining them to inform the freeholders and voters, that it was expected they would elect perſons of knowledge and experience for their repreſentatives: an expedient which could not have been practiſed, or even thought of, in any age, when there was the leaſt idea or comprehenſion of liberty.

A. D. 1553. It is no wonder, that a parliament, choſen under ſuch circumſtances, anſwered the intentions of the miniſter. Tonſtal had, during the receſs of parliament, been deprived of his biſhopric in a very arbitrary manner, and theſe proceedings were confirmed by this obſequious houſe of commons. They alſo paſſed an act for dividing the ſee of Durham, and aſſigning certain portions of the revenue to each prelate. The regalities of the ſee, which included the juriſdiction of a count palatine, was given by the king to Northumberland, who certainly propoſed to appropriate to himſelf the whole revenues of the biſhopric, whenever the ſee became vacant.

But, however that be, the ſhort ſpace he enjoyed his power, was not ſufficient for him to carry his deſign into execution. Edward's health viſibly declined every day, and haſtened the execution of the ambitious project Northumberland had formed, of ſecuring the crown in his own family. In order to this he repreſented to Edward, that as his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, had been declared illegitimate by act of parliament, the nation would never ſuffer either of them to fill the Engliſh throne; notwithſtanding their having been reſtored to the ſucceſſion, by the will of the late king: that the queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the king's will; and being an alien, had loſt, by the law, all right of inheritance: that the certain conſequences of his elder ſiſter's ſucceſſion, or even that of the queen of Scotland, would be the total abolition of the proteſtant religion, and the repeal of thoſe laws enacted in favour of the reformation: that if theſe three princeſſes were excluded from the ſucceſſion, it would devolve on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, eldeſt daughter to the French queen, and duke of Suffolk; and that the next heir to the marchioneſs, was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the moſt amiable diſpoſition and virtue, accompliſhed by the beſt education, both in literature and religion, and every way worthy of a throne. He added, that it was in the king's power to eſtabliſh this ſucceſſion, ſhould her title by blood be doubted; as he was poſſeſſed of the ſame authority with his father, and might leave her the crown by letters patent.

Impreſſed by the fears of expoſing the proteſtant religion to the mercy of its inveterate enemies, Edward liſtened to the duke's ſcheme of preſerving the religious and civil peace of the kingdom. He

well knew the conſequences if ſo bigotted a catholic as his ſiſter Mary, ſhould ſucceed to the throne. and though he bore the moſt tender affection to the princeſs Elizabeth, who was liable to no ſuch objection, means were found to perſuade him that he could not exclude one ſiſter on account of illegitimacy, without excluding the other, as they both laboured under the ſame misfortune.

Every thing being determined, Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the common pleas, Sir Thomas Bromley, and Sir John Baker two of the judges, the king's attorney and ſollicitor general, were ſummoned to attend the council, where Edward laid before them the ſcheme of what he deſigned with regard to the ſucceſſion, which he ordered them to draw up and engroſs in the proper form of a letter patent. But they heſitated to obey the king's order, and deſired time to conſider of it. They well knew that the ſettlement of the crown by the late king, had been made purſuant to an act of parliament; and that, by another act paſſed in the beginning of the preſent reign, it had been declared treaſon in any of the heirs, their aiders, or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, any change in the order of ſucceſſion. Theſe reaſons were pleaded by the judges before the council. At the ſame time they urged that the patent intended would be utterly invalid; and ſubject both the judges who drew it, as well as every privy counſellor who ſigned it, to the penalties of treaſon. They added, that the only method capable of giving it ſufficient force, and, at the ſame time, of freeing its partizans from danger, was to obtain the conſent and ſanction of the parliament. The king told them he intended to follow their advice, and have his ſettlement ratified by act of parliament; but in the mean time, required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. Finding it was in vain to contend againſt the violence of the earl of Northumberland, they conſented to draw the patent; but when it was brought to the biſhop of Ely, the chancellor, in order to paſs the great ſeal, he required that all the judges ſhould ſign it. Goſnald at firſt refuſed, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he was prevailed upon, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply: but the conſtancy of Sir James Hales, who, though a zealous proteſtant, preferred juſtice to the prejudices of his party, could not be ſhaken by any expedient. But even the ſignature of the judges was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the chancellor; he required, for his greater ſecurity, that all the privy-counſellors ſhould ſet their hands to the patent. Northumberland's influence and the king's pathetic intreaties, were ſufficient to procure this, and the patent then paſſed the great ſeal.

Having ſo far ſucceeded in his ſcheme, he applied himſelf earneſtly to ſtrengthen his party. In order to this he married his fourth ſon, the lord Guilford Dudley to the lady Jane Gray; he negotiated a marriage between the lady Catharine Gray, ſecond daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Pembroke. He alſo married his own daughter to lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Huntingdon. All theſe marriages were ſolemnized with great pomp and feſtivity, notwithſtanding the languiſhing ſtate of Edward's health. The people ſaw it with indignation, and could not refrain from expreſſing their apprehenſions of what they had to fear from the violence and ambition of Northumberland.

Theſe precautions being taken, Northumberland flattered himſelf that his ſcheme could not fail of ſucceſs, ſo that the viſible decline of Edward's health, gave him little uneaſineſs; he even diſmiſſed the king's phyſicians, and by virtue of an order he had procured from the council, put him under the care of an ignorant woman, who undertook to reſtore him, in a ſhort interval of time, to his former ſtate of health. But experience ſoon expoſed the falſehood of her pretenſions; for after uſing her medicines only a few days, all the alarming ſymptoms increaſed to the moſt violent degree: he felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe became feeble, his legs ſwelled, and his colour changed livid; indications that ſhewed too plainly the prince could not be long an inhabitant of this world. But his pious diſpoſitions, and the benevolent turn of mind never left him. He prayed, with his laſt breath, for the peace and happineſs of England; and expired at Greenwich on the ſixth of July, in the ſixteenth year of his age, after a reign of ſix years, five months and nine days.

Thus died Edward, the darling of his people, and who gave every indication of making his kingdom happy. The unwearied application of this royal youth, laid the corner ſtone on which the Engliſh commerce is founded, and which alone gives her the rank of queen among the nations. His piety purged religion from ſuperſtition and pageanty: while his good ſenſe, ſurmounting the prejudices and bigotted zeal of the times, preſerved the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions from ruin, and the clergy from contempt. His example fired the young nobility with that general emulation which puſhed them into every glorious purſuit, and raiſed, ſoon after, their drooping country to glory and to empire. It is owing to Edward's compaſſion, that at this day, the helpleſs orphan finds, in the capital of England, a parent to guard its tender years from diſtreſs; that erring youth is provided with inſtruction, and miſery is freed from anguiſh: his wiſdom prepared a check for the intemperate, and correction for the idle; while his charity provided an aſylum for the indigent aged, that their grey hairs might go down without ſorrow to the grave.

MARY.

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MARY.

A. D. 1553. THE ambitious Northumberland, even while Edward was ſtruggling with the pains of death, procured an order for the princeſs Mary to attend the court; and ſhe was actually on her road thither when ſhe received ſecret, but certain advice, that Edward was no more. As this alarming event had been carefully concealed, Mary rightly conceived, that Northumberland intended to ſeize her perſon, and perhaps deprive her at once of her life and her crown. During her brother's reign ſhe had generally reſided in thoſe parts of the kingdom that were the leaſt affected to the old religion. Her ſufferings had gained her many friends; and the late flagrant injuſtice done her by her inveterate and ambitious enemy, bound them to her ſervice. The differences of religion were forgotten, while the univerſal odium into which Northumberland was fallen, ſoon gave her deciſive advantages.

Upon receiving the news of her brother's death, and the preparations making for placing the crown on the head of the lady Jane Gray, ſhe returned immediately to Kenningale, in Norfolk, propoſing, in caſe of any unfavourable event, to retire to her caſtle of Framlingham in Suffolk, whence ſhe might have a favourable opportunity of eſcaping to the continent. On her arrival at Kenningale, ſhe wrote letters, in the ſtile of a queen, to Sir George Somerſet, Sir William Drury, Sir William Waldgrave, and other gentlemen in the neighbourhood, notifying her brother's death, and her own acceſſion, requiring them, at the ſame time, to attend her at Kenningale. They obeyed the ſummons immediately, and a privy-council was ſoon formed about her perſon. Nor were the members idle; Sir Edward Haſtings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, ſoon drew together, by Mary's orders, a body of ten thouſand men, from the counties of Buckingham, Berks and Middleſex, and every one of her friends were very aſſiduous to improve the promiſing appearances in her favour. Before Mary's forces marched to the capital, a fleet of ſhips, which Northumberland had fitted out to ſeize the princeſs Mary, in caſe ſhe attempted to make her eſcape, were driven aſhore in a ſtorm, and both the commanders and ſailors entered into the queen's ſervice. At the ſame time the towns of Lynn, Harwich, Thetford, Yarmouth and Aldborough, together with the city of Norwich declared in her favour.

In the mean time Northumberland was very aſſiduous in ſupporting the pretenſions of the lady Jane Gray; but it now appeared that his talents were unequal to his ambition. His intentions at firſt were, if poſſible, to keep Edward's death a ſecret for ſome time; but finding this impracticable, he determined to act without reſerve. The marquis of Wincheſter, lord treaſurer; the lord Shrewſbury, preſident, and lord Clinton, high admiral, were the noblemen on whom he chiefly depended, and their example brought all the great officers of ſtate, and the officers of the guards, to take the oaths to the lady Jane Gray. That unfortunate lady had oppoſed, to the utmoſt of her power, the ambition of her parents and relations; but the violence of Northumberland forced upon her a title ſhe deſpiſed, and obliged her to purſue meaſures ſhe deteſted. Her mother, the dutcheſs of Suffolk, affected to bear up her train on the ninth of July, when ſhe made her public entrance into the tower; and the ſame day a proclamation was iſſued in her name, in which were ſome very unbecoming reflections on Mary's birth. The council that attended her were nearly the ſame with thoſe who had ſerved during the late reign. But it ſoon appeared that they wanted power to execute their reſolutions, the head of the party being unpopular, and the others inſincere. The news of Mary's progreſs daily increaſing, it was reſolved to ſend an army againſt her, commanded by the duke of Suffolk. But queen Jane's tenderneſs for her father, oppoſing this, Northumberland accepted the command. He was very unwilling to leave in other hands the city and tower of London, the perſon of the queen, and the direction of the council. But he thought that one ſucceſsful battle, and the terror of his name would ſoon confound all his enemies and confirm his power. He therefore ſettled affairs in the beſt manner he could during his abſence. Letters were written from queen Jane to foreign miniſters, intimating her acceſſion. The greateſt precautions were uſed with regard to the city and tower of London. The privy-counſellors engaged, under great penalties, to be faithful to the new queen, and Ridley, biſhop of London, too eaſily undertook, and attempted to ſatisfy the people of her right, and to give them an abhorrence both of the title and perſon of Mary. Other circumſtances concurred in queen Jane's favour. She had all the veteran troops and beſt generals at her devotion. She was miſtreſs of the capital, of all the poſts of power, and of all the public treaſure. Hitherto the principal part of Mary's adherents were country people, with little, except zeal to recommend them to her ſervice, and her known principles of religion were extremely diſagreeable to all who, during the late reformation, had ſhared the ſpoils of the church; and thoſe were of themſelves a powerful party.

But the unpopularity of Northumberland was a counter-balance in Mary's favour, to all thoſe circumſtances. When he marched through London to take upon him the command of the army, which conſiſted of two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, he himſelf remarked the diſaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal iſſue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," ſaid he to lord Gray, who attended him, "come out to look at us, but I find "not one who cries, *God ſpeed you.*" He ordered his magazines to be erected at Cambridge; but before he got to St. Edmundſbury, he found his forces ſo much impaired, and that of his enemies ſo much increaſed, that he found it expedient to return to Cambridge, and to write to London, in the moſt preſſing

preſſing terms for a reinforcement. The council was in the tower when they received thoſe letters, which gave them a ſtrong confirmation of what they had heard before; that there was a general diſpoſition in all the counties in favour of Mary, that all the fleet had declared for her, and that her army was in good ſpirits. When the members of the council, therefore, received Northumberland's letters, a meeting was held in the tower, in preſence of Jane and her father, to deliberate upon them. No oppoſition was made to Northumberland's propoſal, but it was thought reaſonable they ſhould be very cautious whom they truſted, and very careful in preventing all intrigues of the imperial party within London. Thoſe, and ſome other pretexts, ſuch as giving an audience to the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who had refuſed to enter the tower, occaſioned a propoſal for the members to go into the city. This was privately managed by the earl of Arundel, who had kept on the maſk of great zeal for Northumberland. He knew that the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earls of Bedford and Pembroke, with the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and ſeveral others of the council, in their hearts diſapproved of queen Jane's title, that the lord-treaſurer was a man of no principles, and that the city of London would be glad to be under Mary's government, rather than that of Northumberland. Whether Gardiner, who was ſtill in the tower, had any ſhare of this management is unknown. It is probable that Paget had before this time declared for Mary, for his houſe at Drayton, was appointed to be a place of rendezvous for her troops. But Northumberland had left ſo ſtrict a charge concerning the tower, that the counſellors, in effect, found themſelves priſoners there, and nothing but the ſoftneſs of the duke of Suffolk delivered them. Having got into London, they conſulted the lord-mayor, and principal citizens, how the inhabitants ſtood affected to the princeſs Mary, and were ſoon convinced that their cauſe was deſperate. Ridley had loſt his popularity by preaching againſt her title; and that the proclamations which had been privately diſperſed in her favour, had been well received by the people. Thoſe favourable ſymptoms determined the council to loſe no time in cultivating the favour of the princeſs Mary, and ſhe was accordingly proclaimed on the nineteenth of July, in all the public places in the city, in preſence of the lord treaſurer, the lord privy-ſeal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewſbury, and Pembroke, the lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, the lord-mayor, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction.

This proclamation was attended with ſuch general rejoicings in London, that the duke of Suffolk thought it neceſſary to obey the orders of the council, by delivering up the tower, and by ſtripping, with his own hand, his daughter of every badge of her uncomfortable greatneſs. The young lady bore the loſs with a temper which ſhewed how well ſhe deſerved the moſt exalted honours, and from that moment prepared for that fate which ſhe knew would ſoon put a period to her being.

During theſe tranſactions Mary continued in Norfolk, where ſhe had been joined by the earls of Bath and Suſſex, and many others of the principal nobility. But none were ſo ready to offer her aſſiſtance as the proteſtants, to whom ſhe promiſed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, every protection in her power; that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of religion, and that ſhe would be contented with the private uſe of her own, without endeavouring to force others to embrace the ſame mode of worſhip. This declaration endeared her ſo much, that ſhe became the idol of the people; and, in order to ſupport this general applauſe, ſhe practiſed all the arts of popularity. At the ſame time ſhe iſſued a proclamation, promiſing a large reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the duke of Northumberland, and bring him to the queen.

Soon after the earl of Arundel arrived with certain intelligence, that the queen had been proclaimed at London, and that the people every where had declared in her favour. It was added, that the duke of Northumberland himſelf, finding any further oppoſition would be madneſs, was the firſt to proclaim her at Cambridge with an extravagance of joy, throwing up his hat into the air as a demonſtration of his loyalty. He depended for ſafety on his having obeyed the orders he had received from the council, ordering him to diſmiſs his army and acknowledge Mary's title. But that princeſs did not think theſe acknowledgements ſufficient; and accordingly committed to the earl of Arundel the agreeable charge of arreſting his inſolent foe, the duke of Northumberland, together with his ſons and chief accomplices.

On the earl of Arundel's arrival, the duke was ſo mean as to fall on his knees before him and implore his favour. The earl enjoyed that abject behaviour ſo peculiar to fallen inſolence. He told the duke he muſt obey the queen's orders. Accordingly he arreſted the duke himſelf, the lords Ambroſe and Henry Dudley, two of Northumberland's ſons, Sir Henry Dudley his brother, the earl of Huntingdon, the lord Haſtings, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sandys, who were all ſent to London, and committed to the tower.

On the third of Auguſt the queen made a pompous entry into London. She was met on the road by her ſiſter Elizabeth at the head of a thouſand horſe, who had followed her in order to aſſiſt the royal family againſt the duke of Suffolk. But notwithſtanding this zeal, and the loyalty expreſſed by the proteſtants in general, the princeſs Elizabeth ſeems to have given more jealouſy than pleaſure to the queen on this occaſion.

The queen was received in London with the greateſt affection; and when ſhe entered the tower, the two ſtate priſoners, in the two late reigns, preſented themſelves before her; and as almoſt all of them had ſuffered either for herſelf, or by her enemies, ſhe ſet them at liberty. The moſt eminent among them were, the old duke of Norfolk, who had continued there under ſentence of death, ever ſince her father's time; the lord Courtney, ſon to the marquis of Exeter; the dutcheſs of Somerſet, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, and Bonner. Norfolk's attainder, notwithſtanding it had paſſed in parliament, was repreſented as null and invalid, becauſe, among other omiſſions, no ſpecial matter had been alledged againſt him, except that of wearing a coat of arms, which he and his anceſtors had always publickly uſed without giving any offence. Courtney was created earl of Devonſhire, and though educated in ſuch cloſe confinement that he was a total ſtranger to the world, he ſoon acquired all the accompliſhments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a conſi-

derable

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The Duke of Northumberland's mean Submission to the
EARL of ARUNDEL

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derable figure during the few years that he lived, after he acquired his liberty.

Beſides performing all thoſe popular acts, which, though they regarded individuals only, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herſelf with the public; by granting a general pardon, though with a few exceptions, and by remitting the ſubſidy voted to her brother, during the laſt parliament.

This gracious demeanor of the queen was not, however, ſufficient to remove the anxiety of the people, with regard to the ſtate of religion, and as the greater part of the nation inclined to the proteſtant communion, apprehenſions were generally conceived againſt the principles and prejudices of the new queen. The legitimacy of Mary's birth, had appeared to be ſomewhat connected with the papal authority; and as that princeſs had been educated with her mother, ſhe had imbibed the ſtrongeſt attachment to the catholic communion, and the higheſt averſion to theſe new tenets, whence ſhe believed all the misfortunes that had attended her family, originally ſprung. The diſcouragements ſhe lay under from her father, though at laſt they brought her to comply with his will, tended ſtill more to increaſe her diſguſt with the reformers; and the vexations given her by the protector and council, during Edward's reign, had no other effect than that of confirming her in her prejudices. Naturally of a ſour and obſtinate temper, and irritated by contradictions and misfortunes, ſhe poſſeſſed every quality neceſſary to compoſe a bigot; while her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubting her own tenets, or granting any indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reaſon to dread, not only the abolition, but alſo the perſecution of the eſtabliſhed religion from the zeal of Mary; nor was it long before ſhe diſcovered her intentions.

The firſt intimation of this deſign appeared by reinſtating Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtal, Day, Heath, and Veſey, in their reſpective ſees, either by a direct act of power; or, what is nearly the ſame, by the ſentence of commiſſioners appointed to review the proceedings againſt them. Though the biſhopric of Durham had been diſſolved by the authority of parliament, the queen reſtored it to its original ſtate by letters patent, and replaced Tonſtal both in his regalities and revenues. Under pretence of diſcouraging controverſy, ſhe ſilenced, by her own authority, all the preachers throughout England, except ſuch as ſhould obtain a particular licence, and it was eaſy to perceive that the catholics only would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbiſhop of York, Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Glouceſter, were thrown into priſon, whither old Latimer alſo was ſent ſoon after. The zealous biſhops and prieſts were encouraged in their forwardneſs to revive the maſs, though contrary to the preſent laws. Judge Hales, who had diſcovered ſuch conſtancy in defending the queen's title loſt all his merit with the government, by his oppoſition to theſe illegal practices; and being committed to cuſtody was treated with ſuch ſeverity, that he was ſeized with a frenzy, and put an end to his own life.

The inhabitants of Suffolk, who had generouſly aſſiſted the queen, and formed her firſt army, were received with all the haughtineſs of religious bigotry, when they preſumed to claim the promiſe the queen had made them, of maintaining the reformed religion. This reception ſufficiently indicated what the people had to expect from a ſovereign entirely under the direction of prieſts, and who ſeemed to pay no regard to the promiſes ſhe had made to thoſe very men who placed her on the throne.

When large ſtrides were made towards a return to the popiſh religion, Cranmer could have no hopes of eſcaping. He had indeed been very inſtrumental in mitigating the ſeverer prejudices which her father entertained againſt her; and it was principally by his advice that ſhe was reſtored by his will to the ſucceſſion: but the active part he had taken in her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, were actions that Mary could never forgive. His fate was, however, precipitated by his own indiſcreet zeal, which was the principal cauſe of the firſt violent perſecution againſt him.

A report had been induſtriouſly ſpread, that Cranmer had abandoned the reformed religion, and had promiſed the queen to officiate in the latin ſervice. Exaſperated at this report, and deſirous of wiping off ſo unjuſt an aſperſion, he publiſhed a very inflammatory paper in his own defence. He aſcribed the endeavours that were now in agitation for reſtoring the Romiſh religion, to the infernal ſpirit; aſſerted that the latin ſatisfactory maſſes, were his own invention and device; and that he made uſe of the primate's name and authority, in order to effectuate his purpoſe. He added, that the maſs is not only deſtitute of foundation, either in the ſcriptures or the practice of the primitive church, but is alſo plainly contradictory to the notions of the firſt chriſtians and the inſpired writings, as well as full of the moſt horrid blaſphemies. This paper highly provoked the queen and her council: Cranmer was cited before the council, and committed to the tower.

About the ſame time Alaſco, the teacher of the foreign proteſtant church in London, was ordered, with all his congregation, to leave the kingdom; as were likewiſe all the French and Flemiſh manufacturers, who had been ſettled here during the late reign. Theſe and a thouſand other inſtances of ſeverity, convinced Peter Martyr, that a dreadful ſtorm of perſecution was gathering, and would ſoon diſcharge its fury on the heads of the proteſtants, and therefore he deſired leave to withdraw from the kingdom. Several of the more zealous catholics were very averſe to the granting this requeſt, and moved for his commitment: but Gardiner ſtrongly oppoſed this motion; he obſerved that Martyr came into England, by a particular and public invitation of the government; and therefore the committing him to priſon, inſtead of granting him leave to return to his own country, would be an act of the higheſt injuſtice. This oppoſition from a prelate, diſtinguiſhed by his zeal, for the catholic religion had the deſired effect; Peter obtained the leave he had requeſted, and Gardiner generouſly furniſhed him with money and other neceſſaries for his journey. Several of the Engliſh proteſtants thought it moſt prudent to withdraw form the ſtorm, and accordingly took ſhelter in foreign countries; this, together with the loſs of many uſeful hands in arts and manufactures, gave a fatal blow to the commerce of England, and exhibited to every thinking man, the diſmal conſequences that would ſoon follow the religious bigotry of the new ſovereign.

On the first of October the parliament met at Westminster, where the court shewed a very signal contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houses, a mass of the Holy Ghost in the latin tongue, attended by all the ancient rights and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, was severely used, and even violently thrust out of the house, for refusing to kneel at this service. It was, however, pretended that the queen meant nothing more than to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry VIII. while the other abuses of popery, which were chiefly complained of by the people, would never be revived; and in order to confirm the truth of this report, she still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England.

But though the greatest care had been taken, and every influence as well as threats employed in chusing this parliament, it was soon perceived that the members were by no means so favourable to the views of the court, as was expected. The government therefore took advantage of some points, which men of all parties, professions and religions agreed in thinking to be oppressive. The sanguinary laws in particular, which had been enacted during the two last reigns, were severely and justly inveighed against, and by none so loudly as by the court lawyers, and officers of the crown. This was calculated to throw an odium upon the reformation, rather than to obtain a repeal of those laws themselves, and substitute better in their room. The courtiers affected great moderation and gentleness; but they could not be prevailed upon to review the laws so loudly complained of, notwithstanding a motion was made for that purpose.

By this means the time was spent in warm, but fruitless debates, till the twentieth of October, when the queen came to the house, where she found only one public, and two private acts ready for the royal assent. The public act was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason, which was not contained in the statute of Edward the third, and every species of felony, which did not subsist before the first of Henry the eighth. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catharine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they greatly blamed on that account. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion were repealed by a single vote; and consequently the national religion was replaced on the same foundation on which it stood at the death of Henry the eighth. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed. But at the same time most of the clauses in the riot act passed in the late reign were revived: and by this means most of the good effects expected from the popular act with regard to treason and felony were eluded.

Thus far the parliament had acquiesced with the measures of the court; but they now thought proper to exert some part of their authority in a matter which seemed of the utmost importance to the national interests and national liberties. A match had been proposed by the emperor, between his son Philip, who was a widower, and had only one son, and the queen of England. Mary, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and desirous of uniting herself more closely with her mother's family, readily embraced the offer. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget gave their advice for the match; and Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, seconded the project of the Spanish alliance. At the same time he represented both to the queen and the emperor, the necessity of stopping all farther innovations in religion, till the marriage was completed. He observed, that the parliament, amidst all their compliances, had discovered evident symptoms of jealousy, and seemed at present determined not to grant any farther concessions in favour of the catholic religion. That tho' they might perhaps make a sacrifice of some speculative opinions which they did not understand, or some ceremonies which they considered as almost insignificant; yet, that the fundamental principles and prejudices of the reformation were sunk so deeply in their minds, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate them at present, especially as the usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome had so long been the subjects of popular complaint: that the very attempt of resuming the abbey-lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepossessions which were but too general among the people, against the tenets and worship of the catholic church. He added, that great pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and therefore if both the match and further changes in religion were urged at the same time, it would endanger a general revolt, and perhaps produce the most fatal consequences. But when the queen's marriage was completed, it would not be difficult for her to continue the pious undertaking in which she was then engaged. He added that it would be necessary, in order to reconcile the people to the queen's marriage, that the conditions should be rendered as favourable as possible, and such as seemed to ensure them the entire possession of their ancient laws and privileges.

The emperor readily assented to all these reasons, and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more sincere in his religious opinions, and less guided by the maxims of civil policy, after having sent opposite advice to the queen had set out on his journey to England; he stopped him at Dillinghan, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's consent to this detention. In the mean time the negotiation for the Spanish alliance was carried on with great expedition; and the intentions of Mary to espouse the prince of Spain, was well known to the English. Alarmed at the report of the queen's intention to contract a foreign alliance, the commons, who had flattered themselves with having gained the confidence of her majesty by the concessions they had already made, presented a remonstrance against the intended marriage, as dangerous to the peace and happiness of the nation. The queen, who was determined to espouse Philip, thought proper to dissolve the parliament, in order to prevent any farther applications of the same kind.

During these transactions the duke of Northumberland was arraigned and found guilty of high treason. At his execution he professed himself a true catholic, and told the people they never would enjoy tranquillity, till they returned to the religion of their ancestors. Whether this declaration was

was real, or intended to render the queen more favourable to his family, is uncertain; but however that be, his having ſo often changed his opinion as intereſt or ambition directed, cauſed this declaration to be little regarded by the people. Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates ſuffered at the ſame time. Sentence had alſo been pronounced againſt the lady Jane and lord Guilford, but without any intention of carrying it into execution. The youth and innocence of the perſons, neither of whom had reached their ſeventeenth year, pleaded ſo ſtrongly in their favour, that the council ſeemed determined to grant them a free pardon.

The parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, than the new laws with regard to religion were put in execution with the utmoſt rigour. Nothing was to be heard from the pulpit but declamations of the moſt florid preachers, in favour of their religion. Nothing was to be ſeen in the ſtreets but pageants expoſed by papiſts, and pillories occupied by proteſtants. But no pomp could amuſe, no ſeverity could damp the ſpirit of the people. The greater part of the clergy were expelled, and the maſs every where publickly eſtabliſhed.

Finding themſelves thus cruelly deceived, and that no relief but a change of tyrants was to be hoped for, the people were driven to a kind of deſpair, which was greatly heightened by the known diſpoſitions of the court for the queen's marriage with the prince of Spain. The nation had long entertained an unconquerable averſion to the Spaniards, who were now ſadly degenerated from that open gallant character, they had long maintained in Europe. Their ſtruggles, in former times, for independency, had been as brave and as ſucceſsful as thoſe of any other nation; but the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies had brought that crown and people into a fatal dependence on the pope, by whoſe gift they held their poſſeſſions in the New World. Theſe poſſeſſions, by introducing treaſure among them, ſuſpended induſtry, for which, till this fatal period, they had been diſtinguiſhed in every part of the world. When their induſtry was either loſt among themſelves, or removed to America, idleneſs ſucceeded: idleneſs introduced pride, which prevailing among all ranks of their people, rendered tyranny a kind of neceſſary ingredient in the government. And as tyranny never wanted the ſupport of papal authority, it was attended with all the train of bigotted devotion, religious fopperies, groſs ignorance, and impious ſuperſtition; till at laſt, the Spaniards were ſo weak as to maintain that America was made for them. The pope never pretended to contradict this abſurd notion, becauſe Spain was the only nation in Europe, where the proteſtant religion had acquired no conſiderable footing; and conſequently the converſion of the Americans was conſidered by the Pontiff as the acceſſion of ſo many votaries to his power. Thus the authority of religion co-operating with that of avarice, the blood of millions was ſhed in the propagation of the one, and the gratification of the other; while the retributions the crown of Spain received were dominions without ſubjects, riches without plenty, unprofitable titles, and empty grandeur. Ambition ſquandred the treaſures which cruelty procured, and haughtineſs miſapplied the advantages which were preſented by fortune.

It is no wonder that the Engliſh, who emancipated themſelves from the ſlavery of feudal tenures, and were daily more and more warmed by the ſpirit of reviving arts, and improving commerce, hated, envied and deſpiſed a people who had ſo abjectly fallen from the character of their noble anceſtors. While the blood of whole nations, murdered thro' a ſordid avarice, and religious zeal reared its voice, and reached the ears of the Engliſh, who now began to conſider themſelves as the ſecond ſet of victims devoted to Spaniſh barbarity. No force could remove their prepoſſeſſions, no ſeverity could ſtifle their ſentiments againſt this deteſted alliance.

The government ſaw the ferment of the people, and thought proper to publiſh the articles of the marriage, as the only method of obviating any future clamour. It was agreed, that Philip ſhould have the title of king; but the adminiſtration be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on her as her jointure; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould inherit, together with England, both Burgundy, and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die, and his line become extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

But the publication of theſe articles was far from ſatisfying the minds of the people. It appeared ſufficiently evident that the Spaniards by granting ſuch unequal conditions, were determined to break them: that Charles was determined at any rate to unite the crown of England with that of Spain; and that his ſon Philip, who inherited all the fraud and ambition, to which he added his own more dangerous vices, tyranny, ſullenneſs, pride, and barbarity, would not fail to tread in the path chalked out to him by the emperor.

Agitated by theſe apprehenſions, the whole nation ſeemed ripe for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given the people encouragement, or had any popular nobleman offered to head them, the conſequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But neither of theſe was the caſe at preſent. Some perſons, however, more turbulent than the reſt believed it would be the ſafeſt method to make the attempt, and they accordingly formed a conſpiracy to riſe in arms, and declare againſt the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat propoſed to raiſe Kent, Sir Peter Carew, Devonſhire, and they engaged Suffolk, by flattering him with the hopes of raiſing lady Jane to the crown, to attempt raiſing the mid-land counties.

The government was, at this time, very indifferently provided to oppoſe ſo general a conſpiracy. The army had been reduced, the exchequer was empty, and ſeveral great men beſides thoſe already mentioned, were ſuppoſed to favour the conſpiracy. Gardiner, who firſt gained ſome imperfect intelligence, adviſed the queen to break their meaſures, by forcing them into the field, much ſooner than they intended; to gain over the city of London firmly to her intereſt, and, if poſſible, to put the princeſs

princeſs Elizabeth under an arreſt. This advice was followed. The queen not only ſent advice of the conſpiracy to the city of London, but alſo went thither in perſon, and made a very plauſible ſpeech at Guildhall in vindication of her meaſures and future intentions. At the ſame time, ſhe declared the earl of Pembroke general of the forces, and ordered the high-admiral Clinton to aſſiſt the lord mayor in guarding the city.

Theſe preparations, and the ſeizing one of Wiat's friends in London, left no room for the conſpirators to doubt of their deſigns having been diſcovered. Carew hurried into the field with a ſmall body of horſe, and ſent ſeveral expreſſes to inform his aſſociates of his ſucceſs, aſſuring them that the city of Exeter and all the weſt were ready to join him as ſoon as the earl of Devonſhire arrived to put himſelf at the head of the army. But the earl, who now feared the deſign was deſperate, inſtead of repairing to the weſt retired to the houſe of Sir Francis Inglefield, a perſon of known affection to the government. This backwardneſs of Devonſhire ſo greatly diſconcerted Carew, that he was obliged to diſmiſs his followers, and ſeek ſhelter in France; but was ſoon after taken at Bruſſels, and ſent over a priſoner to England, where he made his peace with the government, and never after engaged in any popular inſurrection.

A. D. 1554. But the duke of Suffolk was more unfortunate. He left London on the twenty-fifth of January, and retired to his own houſe at Sheen. After ſtaying there a few days, he fled, with his two brothers, towards Leiceſterſhire, inviting the people to join him in his endeavours to reſcue the kingdom from a foreign yoke: but he had time only to procure fifty horſe, when he was informed that the earl of Huntingdon was advancing at the head of a large body of cavalry to attack him. Intimidated at this advice, he diſmiſſed his followers, and committed himſelf to the care of a ſervant, who betrayed him to the earl of Huntingdon, and he was ſent priſoner to London. His two brothers alſo were ſoon after taken.

Wiat, who was now convinced that the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered, did not any longer endeavour to conceal his real intentions. He ſummoned his friends to meet him on the twenty-fifth of January, the very day the princeſs Elizabeth was put under arreſt. He was ſoon joined by Sir Henry Iſley, Sir George Harpur, the two Knevets, Sir Thomas Colpepper, the ſons of lord Cobham, and many other gentlemen of great connections in the county of Kent. Expreſſes were immediately ſent to proper perſons in all parts to raiſe the people, while Wiat himſelf, accompanied by his faithful followers, retired to Rocheſter, where he took poſſeſſion of the bridge, and fortified the eaſtern part of the city, which he intended to make the place of general rendezvous of his party. At the ſame time he cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed at Maidſtone, and other parts of the county, againſt the queen's marriage, and to invite all who were friends to the liberties and proſperity of England, to join his ſtandard, in order to prevent their country from becoming a province of Spain.

He continued at Rocheſter, though he well knew that the duke of Norfolk was marching againſt him at the head of an army far ſuperior to any force he could bring into the field. The queen had prevailed with the city of London to ſend five hundred men to join the duke's army and march directly againſt the rebels; and on Norfolk's paſſing thro' Graveſend, his forces were increaſed by a conſiderable body under the command of the earl of Ormond.

As ſoon as the duke reached Stroud, he ordered ſeveral batteries to be erected againſt the rebels, who had placed ſome pieces of ordnance to guard the bridge. But before he began hoſtilities, he thought proper to ſend an herald to ſummon the rebels to ſurrender, promiſing them all a free pardon if they complied. But the herald was not ſuffered to deliver his meſſage. The duke of Norfolk therefore ordered his batteries to be opened; but turning himſelf round he ſaw the Londoners, who formed the rear of his army, waving their hats to the rebels. Struck with this appearance of deſertion, he obſerved their motions for ſome time, and had reaſon to think they were marching forward to attack the royal army. He was not miſtaken; a general ſhout convinced him they were no longer friends to the cauſe he had undertaken: the air reſounded with "Wiat, Wiat, we are all Engliſhmen."

This ſudden deſertion was occaſioned by the perſuaſions of Brett, one of the London captains, who had beheld the tranſactions of the government with indignation, and now determined to exert his whole power to render them abortive, and prevent the deſtruction of his country.

As the Londoners advanced, the confuſion in the queen's troops increaſed, till it became inexpreſſible, and every man miſtruſted the fidelity of his fellow. The artillery which had been pointed againſt the rebels was now turned againſt the Londoners; but the duke perceiving Wiat, at the head of the inſurgents, marching by the bridge, his men grew ſo apprehenſive of being attacked both in front and rear, that every one of them ſought his own ſafety, leaving the rebels maſters of the field, the duke's baggage and the train of artillery. The news of this diſgrace, which is thought to have broke the duke of Norfolk's heart, was immediately carried to court, by Sir Richard Southwell, the ſheriff of Kent; and it was reſolved by the privy council to enter into a treaty with the rebels, who had by this time advanced as far as Dartford, with their artillery, and were gathering ſtrength every hour.

Had Wiat's moderation been equal to his ſucceſs, he would have deſerved the name of a patriot inſtead of a rebel. But his conduct evidently demonſtrated that his views extended farther than preventing the Spaniſh alliance. Lord Haſtings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, were ſent by the queen and privy-council to confer with Wiat at Dartford. Haſtings urged that there was no ſufficient reaſon for his taking up arms againſt the government, as no ſtrangers were yet arrived who could give any jealouſy to the nation; and that he might himſelf have free admittance to the queen, and lay all his grievances before her. Wiat ſeemed willing to agree to this, but demanded as preliminaries, that the queen and the tower of London ſhould be put into his hands, and that he himſelf ſhould have the modeling of the privy-council. Haſtings, who was a paſſionate though honeſt man, could not, with any patience, hear ſo traiterous a demand, and bidding Wiat defiance, he returned with Cornwallis to court.

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The next day after their arrival, the queen repaired to Guildhall, where, in a ſpeech to the citizens, ſhe made great advantage of Wiat's treaſonable demands; but before ſhe returned to Whitehall, Wiat had advanced as far as Deptford, intending at firſt to croſs the river into Eſſex, and ſome preparations were accordingly made for that purpoſe. Some advice, however arrived, which determined the rebels to abandon that deſign, and they accordingly purſued their march to Southwark. Wiat certainly truſted to the aſſiſtance of his friends in London, for facilitating his paſſage into the city by the bridge; but ſome of his priſoners making their eſcape, repaired to court, and diſcovered to the council all they had learned, with regard to the deſigns of the rebels. Upon this advice, the poſts of the bridge was reinforced with ſeveral pieces of artillery, and ſome of the beſt troops and officers in the city.

Wiat, on his approach, finding it imprudent to attack that poſt, and perceiving the lord Haſtings, the high admiral, and the lord William Howard in arms on the other ſide, where all the boats on the river were collected, he reſolved to croſs the Thames at Kingſton. This reſolution broke all his former meaſures; his friends in London, not knowing that the draw-bridge had been broken down, and that the defence of that poſt was intruſted to lord William Howard, expected every hour to ſee him march into the city; and in conſequence of this expectation, the guard at Ludgate had refuſed to ſuffer a meſſenger ſent by the court to the high admiral to paſs through the city. But perceiving the next day that Wiat had retired from Southwark, many reports were ſpread on the occaſion; ſome pretending that he was fled, ſome that he was returned to Kent, ſome that he was defeated, and others that he had ſubmitted: his friends in the city who had declared in his favour loſt all ſpirit; while thoſe, who wiſhed well to his cauſe, but had concealed their ſentiments, applauded their own prudence. Nor were there wanting emiſſaries from the government among them, who increaſed every panick, and improved every report, till an univerſal deſpondence ſeized the whole faction.

In the mean time, Wiat, who left Southwark very early in the morning, reached Kingſton before night, where he found the bridge had been broken down; but he ſoon rendered it paſſable for his army, which was now increaſed to near ſix thouſand men. In this march from Kingſton the carriage of one of his cannon broke down, and this accident took up ſo much time in repairing the damage that he loſt all the benefit he might have expected from ſurprizing the court. This diſguſted ſome of his principal followers ſo greatly, that they retired from the army. Harpur, in particular, who had been one of the principal officers, and had directed the march of the inſurgents, repaired to court, and diſcovered all his intentions to the privy-council.

When Wiat arrived at Knightſbridge, the appearance of his army was very regular; he had kept his men in excellent order with regard to their proceedings. Some of the gentlemen indeed, who diſdained all command, had broken into the biſhop of Winchester's palace in Southwark, and deſtroyed both his library and furniture; but Wiat, threatening to proceed againſt them, according to the rules of military diſcipline, no violences were committed for the future. Through all the places he paſſed, he publiſhed proclamations, declaring that his ſole intention was to petition the queen againſt the Spaniſh alliance, and prevent England from becoming a province to a foreign nation. Accordingly, his march was every where made without oppoſition, and he paſſed through the country in the ſame manner as if all the inhabitants, without diſtinction, had been his friends. This was indeed the moſt formidable part of his appearance; for not only the people in general, but even the queen's army wiſhed him well; and though the earl of Pembroke was poſted in the avenues of the city to oppoſe his march, he did not think proper to truſt ſo far to the loyalty of his men, as to venture a general action.

After reconnoitring the queen's forces, Wiat planted his artillery upon Conſtitution-hill, when a cannonading began, which laſted about an hour; but without any conſiderable damage on either ſide. Wiat, however, from the poſition of the queen's artillery, did not think proper to march along the high ground by Picadilly, but paſſed down the hill directly towards Charing-croſs; by which means the ſhot from the royal artillery paſſed over the heads of his men. The earl of Pembroke perceiving this, ordered a ſmall body of light-horſe to attack him in flank: a ſkirmiſh enſued, by which one part of Wiat's army was ſeparated from the other. This attack decided the conteſt; Wiat was immediately deſerted by the greater part of his followers; for the rear being ſeparated from the center, retired to Knightſbridge; but ſome of them keeping in a body under Knevet and Cobham, marched to Weſtminſter, and thence to Whitehall, hoping to ſurprize the queen.

This attempt threw the court into the utmoſt conſternation, but her majeſty behaved with amazing intrepidity. All the moments ſhe could ſpare from devotion, were ſpent in encouraging her ſervants and guards to do their duty, and proteſting that if ſhe perceived either fear or remiſsneſs among them, ſhe would mount on horſeback, and head her own troops in perſon. The outward wards of the palace were committed to the care of Sir John Gage, an old ſoldier; but both him and his followers were ſoon driven from their poſt, by Knevet and Cobham, and obliged to take ſhelter in the inner court, where the queen's body guards of penſioners were drawn up. This increaſed the conſternation of the court; all the gates were ſhut againſt the rebels, who, finding it beyond their power to force their paſſage, diſcharged a ſhower of arrows over the walls, and through the windows. By this time, it was perceived, that the aſſailants were but an inconſiderable number, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Sir Robert Southwell was able to reſtrain the penſioners from leaving their ſtation as guards to the queen's perſon, and iſſuing out upon the inſurgents. The queen, who perceived their impatience, ordered the palace gates to be thrown open, and came in perſon to thank them for their courage and loyalty. This ſo intimidated the rebels, that they immediately abandoned the palace, and marched directly to overtake Wiat.

That chief was all this time paſſing leiſurely along the Strand, expecting every moment to be joined by his followers who had been ſeparated from his army by the late attack. He affected great affability to all he met or ſaw; and though both ſides of the ſtreets were lined with the queen's forces, he paſſed

on unmolested. This was in same measure owing to a stratagem of his own, for having received private intelligence that his numbers were every moment decreasing, he put on an air of satisfaction, and declaring aloud that the queen had granted their requeſt; the cry prevailed, and, instead of making any attack, nothing but mutual congratulations passed between his and the queen's forces. A great number of his men took this opportunity of mingling themselves with the royalists, so that when Wiat reached Ludgate-hill, he had not above a thousand men about his person. He had, however, one chance for safety, that of being admitted into the city; he therefore boldly advanced, and demanded a passage at Ludgate: but his requeſt was denied: his friends in the city continued still dispirited; the royal party having taken care to prevent their receiving any intelligence of his progress; and all the posts at the gates and elsewhere were occupied by lord William Howard, and other friends to the government. Wiat, therefore, instead of admission, received only reproaches; and finding himself in no condition to force the gate, he was obliged to return. In the mean time, the earl of Pembroke's light-horse were skirmishing with his rear; and had taken possession of Temple-bar, thro' which, Wiat now prepared to force his way. But the people, perceiving the thinness of his numbers, and the desperate state of his cause, became, in an instant, violent royalists. Wiat soon saw that he must encounter with one; and the earl of Pembroke to save as many lives as possible, sent Clarencieux, king at arms, to require him to surrender. While Wiat was pausing on this summons, Sir Maurice Berkley happening to pass on horseback, Wiat called out to him, as knowing him to be a gentleman, and delivering up his sword, Berkley carried him prisoner to Whitehall. Knevet, Cobham and the rest of Wiat's followers, also submitted; and the queen, in a few minutes, saw, from her windows, the same persons prisoners, who she had so lately dreaded as enemies.

Thus ended a rebellion, despicable indeed, in both its rise and conclusion; but so dreadful in its progress, that it filled both the court and capital of England with terror and dismay. Wiat, a man of sense and capacity, was very improper for such an enterprize: he did either too much or too little. He had from a delicacy, always pernicious to those who are fearful of plunging themselves deep into rebellion, a desire of keeping his followers from committing any outrages, by representing to them that they were always sure of obtaining the royal pardon, though they were, in the eye of the law, full as guilty as if they had carried their attempt to the utmost extremity.

In a few hours after they were taken, Wiat, and the principal gentlemen of his party were sent prisoners to the tower, where they were received with the most unmanly reproaches by the officers on duty, who perhaps a few hours before stood behind their battlements, trembling at their names. The princess Elizabeth, against whom nothing could be found to countenance her imprisonment was set at liberty; while the earl of Devonshire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringhay castle.

But this rebellion proved still more fatal both to the lady Jane Gray and her husband. The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and though the male-contents seemed to place their chief hopes on the princess Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire; the queen, incapable either of generosity or clemency, determined to remove every person from whom the least danger could be apprehended. Warning was accordingly sent to the lady Jane, to prepare for death, a doom she had long expected, and to which the innocence of her life, as well as the many misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered it no unwelcome news. The queen's pretended zeal, under pretence of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines who molested her with continual disputations, and a reprieve of three days was granted her, in hopes that she would, during that time be prevailed upon to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. Notwithstanding those melancholy circumstances, the lady Jane had not only presence of mind to defend her religion by the most powerful arguments, but also to write a letter to her sister, in the Greek language, in which, besides sending her a copy of the scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain, in every circumstance of life, a similar resolution. On the day of her execution, her husband, the lord Guilford, desired permission to see her; but she refused his requeſt, and sent him word, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and too much unbend their minds from that constancy, which their approaching end required of them. Their separation, she said, would be only for a moment, when they would again rejoin each other in a scene, where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment and misfortune, could no longer have access to them, or power to disturb their eternal felicity.

It had been determined to execute the lady Jane and her husband on the same scaffold, erected on Tower-hill. But the council dreading the consequences that might flow from the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed the order, and gave direction that she should be executed within the verge of the tower. She saw her husband led to execution, and having given him, from the window, some token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even saw his headless body carried back in a cart, and found herself more confirmed by the reports she heard of the constancy with which he met the king of terrors, than shaken by so tender and melancholy a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She accordingly gave him her table book, in which she had just wrote three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body, one in Greek, another in Latin, and a third in English. The purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but the divine mercy would be favourable to his soul: that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth and innocence might plead her excuse; and that she trusted, God and posterity would shew her favour. On the scaffold she made a speech to the spectators, in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame entirely on herself, without uttering a single complaint against the severity with which she had been treated. She said that her fault did not consist in having laid her hand upon

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DEATH of LADY JANE GRAY

the crown, but in her not having rejected it with ſufficient conſtancy: that ſhe had erred leſs through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey: that ſhe willingly ſuffered death as the only ſatisfaction ſhe could make to the injured ſtate; and that though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhow by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous of atoning for that diſobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: that ſhe had juſtly deſerved this puniſhment for being made the inſtrument, though the unwilling inſtrument, of the ambition of others: and that the ſtory of her life might at leaſt be uſeful, by proving that innocence cannot excuſe great defects, if they have any tendency to deſtroy the commonwealth. After uttering theſe words, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women; and with a ſteady, ſerene countenance ſubmitted to her fate.

Thus fell the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the moſt amiable perſon, the moſt engaging diſpoſition, and the moſt accompliſhed parts. She was of an equal age with the late king, had received all her education with him, and ſeemed to poſſeſs even a greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, beſides modern tongues, had ſpent moſt of her time in application to learning, and expreſſed a great indifference for other occupations and amuſements common to her ſex and ſtation. Roger Aſcham, tutor to the princeſs Elizabeth, having at one time paid her a viſit, found her employed in reading of Plato, while the reſt of the family were engaged in a hunting party in the park; and upon his admiring the ſingularity of her choice, ſhe told him ſhe received more pleaſure from that author, than the others could reap from all their ſport and gaiety. She fell a ſacrifice to bigotted ambition, in the eighteenth year of her age, and affords us an eminent inſtance that great learning is not always the reſult of long ſtudy, that female pride is not always the companion of beauty, and that each virtue does not always require the ripening of years to render it perfect.

The duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned and executed ſoon after, and would have met with more compaſſion had not his temerity occaſioned the untimely death of his daughter. The lord Thomas Gray, Wiat, and ſome others loſt their lives for the ſame crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall, but there appearing no material evidence againſt him, he was enabled, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict in his favour. The queen filled the tower and all the priſons with nobility and gentry, whom their intereſt with the people, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her ſuſpicion. And finding ſhe was become extremely odious to the nation, ſhe was determined to diſable them from making any reſiſtance, by directing general muſters, and ordering the commiſſioners to ſeize their arms and depoſit them in forts and caſtles.

By purſuing theſe ſevere and unjuſt meaſures, the ſuppreſſion of Wiat's rebellion greatly facilitated the ſchemes of the council, where Gardiner was the principal director. Sir John Williams, by order of the council, received from the tower, the biſhops Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and carried them down to Oxford to diſpute with the popiſh divines concerning the tenets of their religion. Though the reformed biſhops evidently defeated their antagoniſts, and reduced them firſt to abſurdities, and then to ſcurrility; yet the party in power aſſumed the victory, and the three prelates were declared obſtinate heretics. Cranmer had before been convicted of treaſon, but he was pardoned for that crime, that he might ſuffer the more painful death of an heretic. Four biſhops were deprived for marrying contrary to their vows when regular prieſts; and three others were deprived for pretended miſdemeanors. This was effected by virtue of the queen's ſupremacy, which ſhe thought ſhe might lawfully uſe againſt heretics. Sixteen new biſhops were created: the old worſhip was every where eſtabliſhed; and the married clergy every where ejected, together with thoſe who made any difficulty of embracing popery. Theſe proceedings rendered the government ſufficiently odious; but this had no effect upon Gardiner, who was determined, if poſſible, to cruſh effectually the reformation in England. The lord Rich and Sir John Wentworth were ordered to proceed againſt ſome of the diſaffected in Eſſex, particularly at Colcheſter; and this commiſſion produced many commitments and proſecutions. Taylor, the miniſter of Hadley in Suffolk, was ordered to appear before the council, and was afterwards burnt as an heretic. Thus every thing ſeemed to portend a general and ſevere proſecution of the friends to the reformation. But it was impoſſible to prevent the lower claſs of people from exclaiming againſt the ſanguinary proceedings of the government.

A parliament was now ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter; but Gardiner had taken care, previous to the election, by means of money procured from the emperor, to corrupt the members to a degree before unknown. This was done with a view to procure their aſſent to the Spaniſh alliance, and facilitate the intentions of the government with regard to the re-eſtabliſhment of the popiſh religion.

Gardiner the chancellor, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he aſſerted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of chuſing a huſband for herſelf; obſerved the proper uſe ſhe had made of that right, by preferring an old ally deſcended from the houſe of Burgundy, and remarked the failure of the poſterity of Henry the eighth, of whom there now remained only the queen and the princeſs Elizabeth. He added, that in order to obviate the inconveniences that might ariſe from different pretenders to the throne, it was neceſſary to inveſt the queen, by a ſolemn act of the legiſlature, with a power of diſpoſing the crown, and appointing her ſucceſſor.

But however diſpoſed the parliament might be to gratify the queen in all her deſires, they were diſguſted when they ſaw the liberty, dependency, and even the being of the nation were brought into the moſt imminent danger. They therefore refuſed to comply: they knew the inveterate hatred the queen bore to her ſiſter Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the houſe of Auſtria: they were well acquainted with her extreme bigotry which would infallibly lead her to poſtpone all conſiderations of juſtice or national intereſt, to the re-eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion. They remarked that Gardiner had carefully avoided in his ſpeech the giving Elizabeth the appellation of the queen's ſiſter, and thence concluded that a deſign was formed for excluding

cluding her from the ſucceſſion as illegitimate: They expected that Mary, if inveſted with the power required, would make a will in her huſband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province of the Spaniſh monarchy.

Aware of this threatening danger, the parliament determined to guard againſt it. They indeed ratified the articles of the marriage, as they were drawn up very favourably for England; but they refuſed the bill pointed out to them by the chancellor. They even paſſed an act to prevent the poſſibility of Philip's entertaining the moſt diſtant hopes of ever exerting any authority in England.

Though the queen had already reſtored the biſhopric of Durham to its former condition, and put Tonſtal in poſſeſſion of his ſee, yet it was thought proper to have theſe proceedings confirmed by the parliament; and an act accordingly paſſed for that purpoſe. But the great object of Mary's thoughts, that of reſtoring the pope's authority in England, could not be attained. The commons remained inflexible: and were accordingly diſſolved.

Diſappointed in this favourite meaſure, Mary's thoughts were entirely employed on the reception proper to be given to Don Philip, whoſe arrival was hourly expected. The lord Effingham was diſpatched with a ſtrong ſquadron to convoy the prince from Spain, where he then reſided; but the admiral informing the queen that the ſeamen were ſo averſe to Philip's perſon, that it would not be prudent to intruſt him in their hands, he was ordered to return, and lay up his ſhips. The prince, however, landed ſafely at Southampton on the nineteenth of July; and a few days after the marriage was performed at Weſtminſter. The royal pair made a pompous entry into London, where Philip diſplayed his wealth with the greateſt oſtentation, and afterwards retired to Windſor, where they afterwards reſided.

In the mean time Gardiner was wholly employed in bribing the electors all over the kingdom, in order to procure the return of ſuch a parliament as would finiſh what the laſt had begun, and deſtroy, at once, the laws, religion, and liberties of his country. He was perpetually inculcating on Philip and his father, the neceſſity of procuring ſuch a parliament, which could alone complete their wiſhes; for by a parliament only England could be undone. In conſequence of this advice, all the Spaniſh and Flemiſh ſhips, which had convoyed Philip to England, were ſent back to their reſpective ports: the moſt magnificent preſents were made to the Engliſh nobility, to the heads of corporations, to the city of London, and to the officers both of the army and navy.

The people were aſtoniſhed at the amazing quantities of money, which Philip ſeemed rather to ſcatter than to ſpend; the court appeared with a luſtre which ſtruck the lower claſs with awe; and the kingdom ſeemed to forget the dangers which ſeemed the inevitable conſequences of this inundation of luxury.

But this pomp and profuſion could neither amuſe nor debauch the few wiſe and worthy patriots that ſtill remained, and who foreſaw the inhuman triumphs which ſuperſtition, cruelty, ignorance, pride and tyranny were preparing. Their groans, however, were loſt amidſt the rejoicings of the giddy multitude; and their mouths were ſtopped by the executions of ſanguinary puniſhments. Even the city of London taxed itſelf to contribute to the deteſtable pageantry with which the court was received; and the citizens ſeemed determined to prevent any murmurs from being heard in their ſtreets.

At the ſame time the people were amuſed with magnificent proceſſions, calculated merely to drown the voice of reaſon and reflection; while the purity of religion was defaced by pageantry; her wholeſome doctrine ſunk into hypocritical diſcipline; her ſervants were either ſhut up in loathſome dungeons, or baniſhed to diſtant countries; rejected by forms of pretended juſtice, or degraded by the ſentence of ignorant prieſts. Piety and virtue were the only crimes condemned to puniſhment; ignorance and ſuperſtition the only virtues rewarded by preferment. The genius of England was now adorned with flowers and fillets woven by the hands of bigotted eccleſiaſtics, and brought, like a heedleſs victim, to the altar of tyranny and ſuperſtition. But heaven, in pity to mankind, blaſted their impious deſigns, by covering the queen with confuſion, and curſing her womb with barrenneſs.

The new parliament met on the twelfth of November, and ſeemed diſpoſed to grant the government every thing they could deſire. The queen had omitted in her ſummons iſſued for the meeting of the parliament, the title of "ſupreme head of "the church," though inſeparably annexed by law to the crown of England. Cardinal Pole was arrived in Flanders, inveſted with legatine power from the pope: and in order to remove every obſtacle to his landing in England, the parliament paſſed an act for reverſing his attainder, and reſtoring his blood; and the queen, diſpenſing with the old ſtatute of proviſors, granted him permiſſion to act as legate.

Every thing being thus prepared, the cardinal paſſed over to England; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he preſſed the parliament to reconcile themſelves and the kingdom to the apoſtolic ſee, from which they had been ſo long and ſo unhappily ſeparated. This addreſs was kindly received by the members of both houſes, and an addreſs was voted to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a moſt horrid defection from the church; profeſſing a ſincere repentance for their paſt tranſgreſſions: declaring their reſolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majeſties, that ſince they were happily uninfected with that criminal ſchiſm, they would intercede with the holy father for their abſolution and forgiveneſs. Their requeſt was readily granted. The legate in the name of his holineſs, gave the parliament and kingdom abſolution, freed them from all cenſures, and received them again into the boſom of the church.

But this reconciliation to the ſee of Rome was ſuch a proſtitution of all faith and honour, that the commons themſelves, proſtituted as they were, ſeemed aſhamed of it. One hundred and ſixty of the members were preſent when the addreſs was voted; but many of them when they reflected on the part they had acted, withdrew themſelves from the houſe, even in defiance of a very extraordinary proclamation publiſhed by the king and queen, commanding their attendance.

But even this ſervile parliament refuſed to proceed any farther till they had received repeated aſſurances, both from the legate and the queen, that the

the plunder they had made of the eccleſiaſtics property, ſhould never be enquired into; and that the abbey and church lands ſhould remain with the preſent poſſeſſors. This was the great preliminary required by the guardians of Engliſh liberty. If they were ſecured in their poſſeſſion of the church lands, they were willing to eſtabliſh or cancel any doctrine; if they enjoyed her revenues, they were ready to embrace all the tenets of the Roman church; if their eſtates were confirmed, they made no ſcruple of bidding adieu to revelation, liberty, conſcience, and the exerciſe of reaſon. They alſo took care to confirm theſe promiſes in the act itſelf, for they inſerted a clauſe in the bill, by which the former ſtatutes againſt the pope's authority, for beſtowing validity upon marriages contracted during the ſchiſm, fixing the rights of incumbents to their benefices, giving ſecurity to the poſſeſſors of church lands, and freeing them from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures.

After ſecuring their own poſſeſſions, the parliament were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even the lives of their fellow citizens. They revived the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics, which the former parliament had rejected. They alſo enacted ſeveral laws againſt ſeditious words and rumours; and made it treaſon to imagine or attempt the life of Philip during his marriage with the queen.

But they could not be prevailed upon, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the queen, to declare Philip preſumptive heir of the crown, and intruſt the adminiſtration in his hands; they even refuſed their conſent to his coronation. Nor would they grant the required ſubſidies for ſupporting the emperor in his wars againſt France.

Senſible of the impoſſibility of procuring any thing farther from the commons while they continued ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt Spain, Philip endeavoured to acquire popularity. And in order to this, he procured the releaſe of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction: particularly the lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harpur, Sir Edward Warner, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harring and the earl of Devonſhire. But nothing was more agreeable to the Engliſh, than the protection he afforded to the princeſs Elizabeth; from the envy and malice of the queen. This well timed piece of policy induced the parliament to paſs a law, appointing him protector of the kingdom, provided the queen had iſſue, and ſhould die before her ſucceſſor was of age to hold the reigns of government. This act was no ſooner paſſed than the king and queen came unexpectedly to Weſtminſter, and diſſolved the parliament.

Mary, who was extremely deſirous of having iſſue, was fond enough to imagine, from ſome ſymptoms that ſhe was really with child; diſpatches were immediately ſent to foreign courts of this event, and great rejoicings were made in all parts of England. But the wiſer part of mankind ſuſpended their belief, from a perſuaſion that the queen laboured under infirmities, which rendered her incapable of having children. They were not miſtaken: the conception ſhe had vainly imagined proved only the commencement of a dropſy, occaſioned by the diſordered ſtate of her health.

A. D. 1555. Soon after the riſing of the parliament, Thirleby, who was now biſhop of Ely, and the lord viſcount Montague, were ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to inform the pope of the tranſactions of the parliament, and to obtain a confirmation of the ſame; for men of ſenſe of all ranks, were privately of opinion, that, notwithſtanding all which had been done for ſecuring to the laity the poſſeſſions of the church lands, it was extremely precarious, without ſuch a confirmation, ſo indiſſolubly had the canon law annexed thoſe lands to the church. Secretary Petre was entirely of this opinion, and notwithſtanding the act of parliament, he applied for, and obtained from Pope Paul IV. a particular bull to ſecure ſome lands which he had purchaſed, and which had formerly belonged to ſeveral monaſteries. It was now, that Gardiner's ſchemes began to appear, and it was truly abſurd to think of reſtoring the religion of the Romiſh church, and at the ſame time to withhold the poſſeſſions which had been torn from that religion. It immediately appeared that the parliament had not fully conſidered this affair, and Pole's powers were of little avail in a matter of ſuch conſequence without a confirmation from Rome. The pope, and others who were in the ſecret of affairs, very freely owned, that ſuch powers were only granted as an expedient to ſoften matters, but that they did not imagine that they would have been uſed even beyond their utmoſt latitude, by a total alienation of what had been taken from the church; ſince all that was either meant or expreſſed, as appeared from a letter of Pole's to the pope, was to impower the king or queen to grant particular indulgences to ſuch perſons as ſhould beſt deſerve them.

When the Engliſh ambaſſadors arrived at Rome, the pope refuſed them audience, becauſe their powers run from Mary, as queen of Ireland as well as England, a title that had not been given her, or her predeceſſors by the holy ſee. They were, therefore, mean enough to wait till a bull was made out, inveſting Mary with that title, and then they had their audience. The uſual ceremonies being over, they laid before his holineſs all which had been done in the late parliament, hoping that he would confirm the laity in poſſeſſion of ſuch lands; which the pope poſſitively refuſed to do. He ſeemed to blame Pole for exceeding his commiſſion, and to wonder how any one could think that he ſhould grant any confirmation to acts, that were in themſelves iniquitous and ſacrilegious. To explain himſelf upon this head the more clearly, a bull was iſſued, dated July the twelfth, denouncing the moſt ſevere anathemas againſt all who ſhould keep from the church or religious orders any part of their property, by whomſoever they might have been alienated, even by the popes themſelves.

Though there was no particular mention of England in this bull, yet it being founded upon reaſons which affected England equal with other countries, and it being expreſsly calculated to deſtroy the proviſions of the late parliament for the laity's ſecurity, the whole world ſaw its drift. When Gardiner was upbraided with it, he made light of it, ſaying, the bull was levelled againſt the Germans; but this was a poor evaſion. The Spaniards acted with leſs reſerve. They gave Mary very plainly to underſtand that all the conceſſions which had paſt were made only for conveniency, and that they were void in themſelves. That however they had ſucceeded in other things, they had failed

in their great point, which was to get all the articles of marriage between Philip and her, that were reſtrictive on his part, annulled, and to make him equal with her in the executive part of the government, and in the ſucceſſion, and to be crowned king of England. They plainly owned that by the preſent diſpoſition of the court of Rome, the game they had to manage between it, and the people of England was difficult, and that ſhe muſt aſſiſt them in playing it, becauſe, all they had to do was, if poſſible, to gain popularity. Thus the queen was prevailed on to diveſt herſelf of every affection, which ſhe ought to have cheriſhed, either for herſelf or ſubjects. It was eaſy to ſee that neither her view of introducing popery, nor that of her huſband, of eſtabliſhing arbitrary power, could be anſwered, while the laity, in conſequence of the late act of parliament, remained poſſeſſed of church property. She diſcloſed her thoughts on this ſubject to Gardiner, who knew the ſentiments of the court of Rome, and the ſituation of affairs too well, not to be ſecretly of the ſame opinion. On the twenty-eighth of March, ſhe ſent for the marquis of Wincheſter, lord treaſurer; Sir Robert Rocheſter, comptroller of the houſhold; ſecretary Petre, and Sir Francis Inglefield, maſter of the wards, and acquainted them, that her conſcience did not ſuffer her to keep any longer in her hands, any property which belonged to the church, deſiring them to repair immediately to Gardiner, to conſult in what manner they ſhould be reſtored; and this declaration was attended with ſuch expreſſions, as ſufficiently proved, the deluded queen ſpoke from the deepeſt conviction of conſcience.

She was perhaps no leſs ſincere, when imagining ſhe was pregnant, ſhe declared that ſhe could not be delivered till the heretics, who now filled all the goals about London, were executed; it was therefore, determined to let looſe the laws in their full rigour againſt the reformed religion, and England was ſoon filled with ſcenes of horror, which has ever ſince rendered the catholic religion the object of general deteſtation, and which prove no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, covered with the veil of religion.

The perſecutors began with Rogers, who was prebendary of St. Pauls, and a man eminent in his party for virtue, as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was, firſt to attack men of that character, whom he hoped terror would bring to ſubmiſſion, and whoſe example either of puniſhment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the people, but he found a perſeverance and courage in Rogers, which aſtoniſhed him; for, beſides the care of his own preſervation, he had other very powerful temptations to compliance. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet ſuch was his ſerenity after his condemnation, that the goalers, it is ſaid, waked him from a ſound ſleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that being a prieſt, he could not poſſibly have a wife; and thus joining inſult to cruelty, Rogers was burnt in Smithfield.

Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, had been tried at the ſame time with Rogers, but was ſent to his own dioceſe to be executed. This circumſtance was contrived to ſtrike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a ſource of ſatisfaction to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving teſtimony by his death to that doctrine which he had formerly taught them. When he was tied to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was ſtill in his power to merit by his recantation: but he ordered it to be removed, and chearfully prepared himſelf for that dreadful puniſhment to which he was ſentenced. He ſuffered it in its full ſeverity. The wind, which was very high, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: the faggots were green, and did not kindle eaſily; all his lower parts were conſumed before his vitals were attacked: one of his hands dropped off: with the other he continued to beat his breaſt: he was heard to pray and exhort the people, till his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy.

Saunders was burned at Coventry: a pardon was alſo offered him, but he rejected it, and embraced the ſtake, ſaying, "welcome the croſs of Chriſt; "welcome everlaſting life." Taylor, miniſter of Hadley was conſumed by flames in that place, amidſt his ancient friends and pariſhioners. When tied to the ſtake, he repeated a pſalm in Engliſh; one of the guards ſtruck him on the mouth and bid him ſpeak Latin: another in his rage gave him a blow on the head with a halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

The article upon which moſt of the proteſtants were condemned, was their refuſing to acknowledge the real preſence in the ſacrament. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would ſtrike the reformers with terror, was now convinced of his error. He found the horrid work daily multiply upon his hands, and therefore devolved the invidious office on others, among whom Bonner was the principal, a perſon of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who ſeemed to be delighted with the torments of the unfortunate ſufferers. He diſregarded all the conſequences that might follow from his furious zeal; though he could not help perceiving, that the people, before the ſufferings of their teachers, were very careful not to incur ſuſpicion, now voluntarily offered themſelves willingly to endure the moſt bitter pains that could be invented by popiſh cruelty. The moſt indifferent in religion, and the moſt doubtful in their principles, were now ſatisfied, that the church, which authorized ſuch barbarities, could not be the church of the meek and forgiving Jeſus. The ſufferings of the martyrs were a thouſand times more powerful in making converts, than their preaching. Their conſtancy was an argument, which their learning could not produce; that patience was an evidence which their proſperity had ſtifled; and their deaths conveyed a conviction which their lives could not impart.

But this made no impreſſion on the cruel and deluded queen, who thought the more ſhe deviated from every ſentiment which her own nature, or humanity ſuggeſted, the more acceptable ſacrifice ſhe offered to heaven. The Spaniards, however, were deſirous of exculpating themſelves from the odium which muſt attend ſuch ſanguinary proceedings. Accordingly, friar Alphonſus, the king's confeſſor, received orders to diſclaim them from the pulpit, and charge the Engliſh biſhops with being the authors of ſuch inhuman cruelties. Alarmed at this ſtrange proceeding, Bonner, however, ſhameleſs

and

and ſavage, refuſed to bear alone the whole infamy; he threw off the maſk, when the bloody and unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as that of the king, appeared without diſguiſe.

Ferrar, biſhop of St. Davids, a man of unſpotted virtue, and too honeſt, even for Edward's court, had been deprived of his ſee, and was now brought before Morgan his ſucceſſor to recant his religious tenets, which he refuſing to do, was delivered over to the ſecular arm, and condemned to expire in the flames. Ferrar was ſo firmly perſuaded of the truth of his opinion, that, conſcious of its being prevalent over every other ſenſation, he put it to a glorious teſt; he deſired his friend to diſtruſt his doctrine, if he ſaw him once ſhrink in the midſt of the flames. He proved by the dreadful experiment, all he had profeſſed, for he expired with viſible ſerenity under the moſt excruciating tortures at Caermarthen on the thirtieth of March.

The nation now ſeemed covered with the flames of perſecution. To recount all the horrid cruelties practiſed in England, would be needleſs. Human nature never appears ſo deteſtable, and at the ſame time ſo abſurd, as in theſe religious perſecutions, which ſink men below infernal ſpirits in wickedneſs, and below the beaſts in folly. A few inſtances may be worth preſerving, in order, if poſſible, to warn zealous bigots, for ever to avoid ſuch odious and ſuch fruitleſs barbarity.

Ridley, biſhop of London, and Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter, for refuſing to recant their doctrine, or ſacrifice their reaſon to the unintelligibleneſs of popiſh ſuperſtition, were delivered over to the ſecular arm, and burnt at Oxford on the ſixteenth of October. They were both perſons of great learning and virtue. Latimer's grey hairs added a veneration to his perſon, and Ridley's character excited pity for his ſufferings. They went like brothers to the ſtake, ſuffered for the ſame cauſe, and ſupported each other's conſtancy by mutual exhortations. Latimer, when bound to the ſtake, called to his companion, "be of good cheer, brother, we ſhall this day "kindle ſuch a torch in England, as, I truſt in "God, ſhall never be extinguiſhed". The executioners, who revered their characters, though of a different perſuaſion, were more merciful than their judges: they tied bags of gunpowder about theſe prelates, in order to put a ſpeedy period to their torments. The exploſion killed Latimer; but Ridley's more vigorous conſtitution ſurmounted the ſhock, and he continued ſome time alive in the midſt of the flames.

It was in vain for the Spaniards any longer to blame the Engliſh biſhops. The conduct of the government was ſo far from being Engliſh, that it was not human: every action, however, diſguiſed, wore a Spaniſh character. The nobility were commanded to aſſiſt at every barbarous murder, and to act the part of executioners to popiſh cruelty. It was alſo apparent that a ſcheme was formed for introducing the inquiſition into England. In order to prepare the way for erecting this deteſtable court, orders were ſent to all the juſtices in the kingdom to inforce the preaching and practice of popery, and to exterminate the proteſtant religion. They were ordered to employ ſecretly in every pariſh, ſome perſons, who were to give information of the behaviour and principles of the inhabitants. Upon the back of this order, commiſſions of oyer and terminer were ſent down to all the juſtices whom the court could truſt, which opened an inexpreſſible ſcene of perſecution all over the nation. The earl of Suſſex was remarkably active in this diabolical undertaking, and ſent both to the clergy and the government, very minute accounts of all that paſſed within the limits of his power. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a particular addreſs in entertaining ſpies and informers, in every ſuſpected corner of the country. His zeal was well ſeconded by the government, who now came to a reſolution to authorize their agents, to put all whom they ſuſpected to the torture.

Armed with thoſe formidable powers, the Romiſh party proceeded in their cruelty. The county of Eſſex, which was well affected to the reformation, was filled with perſecuting flames. Six of the inhabitants were burnt at one time by Bonner. All the priſons in the county were filled with unhappy perſons, whoſe only crime was that of believing their own eyes, in oppoſition to popiſh credulity. Theſe cruelties exaſperated, but had no tendence to convince the people.

In the mean time Charles V. diſguſted at the world, was determined to ſeek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happineſs he had in vain purſued amidſt the tumults of war, and the reſtleſs projects of ambition. Accordingly he ſummoned the ſtates of the Low Countries; and, ſeating himſelf on the throne for the laſt time, explained to his ſubjects the reaſons for his reſignation, abſolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderneſs made him weep when he reflected on the burthen which he impoſed upon him. He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the ſtudy of his people's happineſs; and repreſented how much preferable it was to govern by affection than by fear, the nations ſubjected to his dominions. The cool reflections of his age now diſcovered to him the emptineſs of his former purſuits; and he found by dear bought experience, that the vain ſchemes for extending his empire had been the ſource of endleſs oppoſition and diſappointment; had kept himſelf, his neighbours, and his ſubjects in perpetual alarms; and had fruſtrated the ſole end of government, the happineſs of the nations committed to his care; an object which meets with no oppoſition, and which, if ſteadily purſued, can alone convey a laſting and ſolid ſatisfaction.

But notwithſtanding this reſolution of the emperor, the war was ſtill continued; though not with that vigour as formerly. The Engliſh court, therefore, offered to act as mediators between the two contending powers, and reſtore peace to Europe. The French monarch, dreading nothing ſo much as that of affording Mary a pretence for openly taking part with her huſband in the quarrel, accepted the proffered mediation, though he could not conſider England as indifferent with regard to the event.

Cardinal Pole was highly pleaſed with the opportunity of exerciſing his powers in the double capacity of a plenipotentiary for England, and legate for the pope. He had for ſome time contracted an intimacy with Cecil, who had, ever ſince the beginning of Mary's reign retired into the country. Pleaſed with his good ſenſe and integrity, the cardinal prevailed upon Cecil to attend him at the conferences for a peace between the emperor and the French, which were opened at Merc, a place between Calais and Gravelines. The plenipotentiaries

tiaries from England, beſides Pole, were Gardiner, the lord chancellor, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget. The French ſeemed to pay the greateſt regard to Mary's mediation, and as a proof that their profeſſions were ſincere, they releaſed the agents of ſome Italian ſtates, who were taken out of an Engliſh ſhip, in their paſſage to Philip.

But it ſoon appeared, that all the labours of the mediators would be uſeleſs, as the offers and conceſſions of both parties were abſolutely irreconcileable. The French, indeed, fearing to irritate the circles of the empire, offered to treat, concerning the reſtitution of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, but, at the ſame time, they inſiſted upon the Milaneſe being reſtored to France, and that an equivalent ſhould be given for what they ſhould deliver up in Savoy. The imperialiſts, on the other hand, demanded a ceſſion of the dutcheſs of Burgundy, which was abſolutely rejected by the French; as that of the Milaneſe had been by the Imperialiſts; nor could they agree on one ſingle point that was brought on the carpet. Pole, who was deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf in his legantine capacity, was indefatigable in his endeavours to reſtore peace between the contending monarchs, and at laſt propoſed that the whole affair ſhould be left to the deciſion of the council of Trent. This being agreed to, the council broke up without having produced any effect.

It is now neceſſary to reſume the affairs of Scotland. The two queen's were now married to two powerful princes on the continent; and the French ſought to make the ſame advantage againſt the Spaniards by their alliance with the Scots, as the latter endeavoured to make of their's with England againſt the former. But Mary, ever ſince her acceſſion to the crown, had impolitically dropt the great check, which both her father and brother had always kept upon Scotland, and which her ſucceſſor ſo well knew how to improve, the dependence of the reformed for protection from the Engliſh. The queen dowager of Scotland was a wiſe and reſolute woman, but being a native of France, ſhe too much cultivated thoſe partial affections for her country, which are natural, and in any other ſituation of life, would have been virtuous. Notwithſtanding the peſtilent effects of Engliſh gold, and the juſt ſenſe of Engliſh protection, the Scots had the higheſt notions of their independency. The flames of rebellion had diſpelled the darkneſs of ſuperſtition, and they had purchaſed knowledge at the expence of their liberty. Several nations have been rebels to obtain freedom; the Scots never rebelled but to increaſe their ſlavery; and even to be ſubject to the worſt ſpecies of tyranny, the laſh of domeſtic inſolence, aſſiſted by the ambition of foreign power.

The connections of Scotland were certainly founded on reaſon, and had long preſerved that country from becoming a deſpiſed corner of Engliſh acquiſition; nor have hiſtorians recorded an inſtance of any people, who ſo long ſupported, and ſo ſucceſsfully maintained their independency as the Scots, againſt neighbours, who always aſſerted their ſupremacy, and, who had more than once ſhaken the foundations of the greateſt monarchy in Europe. The profuſion of Henry, and the bounty of Edward, had indeed debauched many from their allegiance, by motives of intereſt, and a few by thoſe of enthuſiaſm. But the former refuſed, and the latter wanted power, to give the government much uneaſineſs. And, though both were ſlaves in their hearts, the one to money and the other to religion; yet the liberty of their country was ſtill ſafe, and the people ſtill retained an averſion to dependence upon foreign power. The inhuman murder of cardinal Beaton, gave them no more advantageous ideas of Scottiſh reformation, than the flames of Smithfield gave them of Engliſh popery. It is therefore probable, that had not the frantic ignorance of their teachers, and the ſlaviſh apprehenſions of their nobility, ſurmounted all order, the diſpoſitions of the people would have effected a reformation in that country, more regular than the Engliſh, more conſiſtent than the German, and more decent than the Helvetian. They had now the model of all thoſe churches before them; but ſo fatal and ſo mean were the principles, on which the Scots founded their reformation, that inſtead of coyping the beauties, they adopted the blemiſhes of each inſtitution; and thoſe being incorporated with the moſt dangerous powers of popery, formed a compoſition ſo intoxicating, that it was no wonder if their firſt reformers acted rather like demons than men. In ſhort, the reformation of Scotland, like the republic of Rome, was founded upon rapine and rebellion.

The queen regent of Scotland, who had filled the great offices of ſtate with Frenchmen, had, during Wiat's rebellion, formed a ſcheme for attacking England. Lord Coniers, one of the deputy wardens of the marches, learned that ſhe was advanced to Jedburgh, where ſhe had erected magazines, gave immediate intelligence of this to the earl of Shrewſbury, preſident of the council in the north, and ſent ſeveral meſſengers on pretended errands, to learn every thing in his power, concerning her motions. At the ſame time, he raiſed ſome forces in Richmondſhire, and other parts of the north; theſe diſpoſitions, and the utter extinction of Wiat's rebellion defeated the effects of the queen's ſcheme, ſo, that after ſettling a peace on the borders, ſhe returned to her capital. As the politics of the court of England were, at this time, averſe to every thing that had a tendency to make a breach with France, the Engliſh wardens received orders to keep the peace on the borders; and this brought on a treaty for regulating the commerce relating to ſalt, and freſh water.

Moſt of theſe treaties, indeed, regarded the intereſts or reſentments of particular ſubjects, more than thoſe of the two nations. A ſet of Banditti, called the Græmes, had pretended to revolt from the Scots to the Engliſh; but it ſoon appeared that they meant nothing more than to gain an opportunity of plundering both nations with more ſecurity; and it is ſurprizing that they for ſome time carried on the depredations with great ſucceſs.

At laſt, however, it was found, that thoſe robbers were too ſtrong to be ſuppreſſed by the legal forms of juſtice. Northumberland, and the other northern counties, which ſtill followed ſome part of the feudal ſyſtem, whereby the nobility in thoſe parts had numerous followers, and fought their own quarrels. The Græmes ſerved theſe as a kind of mercenaries, and always joined that party who paid them beſt, and by that means rendered themſelves uſeful to the ambitious leaders of both nations. We ſhall ſoon ſee the conſequence of their unjuſtifiable proceedings.

It was a uſual ſaying in the mouth of the queen regent

regent, that provided ſhe could render her friends happy, and could enſure to herſelf a good reputation, ſhe was entirely indifferent with regard to what might befal her; and though this ſentiment is greatly cenſured by the zealous reformers, as being founded entirely on ſecular motives, it diſcovers a mind well calculated for the adminiſtration of kingdoms. D'Oiſel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambaſſador from Henry, king of France, but in reality to aſſiſt her with his counſels, in ſo difficult an undertaking as the government of Scotland; and this man had formed a ſcheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to ſupport a ſtanding military force, which might at once be ſufficient to repulſe the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scots nobility. But though ſome of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general diſcontent to the nation: and the queen regent, after ingenuouſly confeſſing, that ſhe feared it might prove pernicious to the kingdom, had the prudence to deſiſt from it, and truſt entirely to the good will and affections of her ſubjects.

On the twelfth of November, while the hotteſt flames of perſecution were raging, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord chancellor of England, paid the debt of nature, worn out with years and infirmities. He was the natural ſon of Lionel Woodville, biſhop of Saliſbury, and brother to Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV. but he always thought proper to diſſemble his extraction. He deſpiſed Pole for his deſire of toleration, and it is not impoſſible, had his life been extended, but he might have procured for himſelf the legantine authority. But when he found himſelf near the cloſe of life, and that he muſt ſhortly appear before the great judge of all the earth, he was ſeized with the greateſt agonies, both on account of his bloody counſels, and his immoral life. Ambition now forſook him, he ſaw the vanity of all he had hitherto called greatneſs, and died in all the horrors that attend a ſelf condemning conſcience.

About three weeks before the chancellor's deceaſe, both houſes of parliament met at Weſtminſter, at a time when both the queen and the people were exceſſively out of humour. Mary could not bear the viſible coldneſs of her huſband towards her perſon; the diſappointment of her pregnancy, the apparent increaſe of hereſy, and the backwardneſs of the people to anſwer the expectations of the Romiſh pontiff. On the other hand, the people found they had already granted too much, and could have no hopes of relief, either from ſlavery or perſecution, but by the queen's dying without iſſue. They ſaw all the public meaſures planned by Edward the ſixth fruſtrated; they perceived nothing but cruelty in the council, poverty in the exchequer, pride in the court, diſſenſions at home, and contempt abroad. They ſaw the fatal connections into which they had drawn themſelves with Spain, ready to involve them in a dangerous and expenſive war: the money brought over by the Spaniards diſſipated for the moſt infamous purpoſes, and the queen every day extorting loans from her ſubjects. But notwithſtanding all theſe diſcouragements, they were reduced to that unhappy ſituation, that there was a neceſſity for their doing the buſineſs of the crown. This buſineſs was of two kinds, the granting ſubſidies, and reſtoring to the church the firſt fruits, the tenths, and the impropriations which were in the hands of the queen. But neither of thoſe bills paſſed without warm debates. They who had courage to ſpeak their minds, ſaid that the queen, by her profuſion to the church, had beggared the ſtate, and that it was therefore now reaſonable for the clergy to ſupply the wants of the government. The courtiers, on the other hand, put the members in mind of the queen's generoſity, in remitting ſo much as ſhe had done to the people ſoon after her acceſſion, and of the neceſſity of ſupporting the adminiſtration of the king and queen, to whom they had ſo readily ſubmitted. Debates ran very high for a conſiderable time; but at laſt the commons reſolved to grant the queen a ſubſidy and two fifteenths; but this was done with ſo much indifference, that the ſpeaker acquainted the members, that the queen thanked them for their liberality, but would accept only of the ſubſidy.

The other bill met with ſtill more oppoſition, and did not paſs without earneſt application, both public and private, from the court to the members. The pope's bull againſt the laity's poſſeſſing church lands, had ſo greatly alarmed the nation, that both the emperor and the queen applied to the pontiff in the moſt earneſt manner, to confirm what had been promiſed by cardinal Pole. This confirmation was at laſt, with the utmoſt difficulty obtained, and read in parliament. Immediately after this was performed, the queen ſent a meſſage to the commons, commanding a convenient number of the houſe to attend her. Accordingly fifty-one members were nominated, and repaired to court, where both the queen and cardinal were very earneſt with them to promote the paſſing of the bill for reſtoring to the church the firſt fruits, and tenths, together with all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the government. But though this matter concerned none directly but the queen herſelf, the commons made great oppoſition to it. They abſolutely rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating ſuch as were remiſs in the proſecution of hereſy from being juſtices of the peace. This ſufficiently convinced the queen of the intractable humour of the commons, and ſhe thought proper to diſſolve the parliament.

A. D. 1556. The great ſeal was now given to Heath, archbiſhop of York, and the privy-ſeal to lord Paget. At the ſame time the court, in order to give Philip, who was now daily expected in England, a more welcome reception, reſolved, if poſſible, to put a ſtop to thoſe expreſſions of pity, which perſons of all ranks and denominations, expreſſed for the ſufferings of the reformed. Even the magiſtrates themſelves were obſerved to be leſs brutal, than was agreeable to the queen and her government. A letter was therefore written to the lord-mayor and the ſheriffs of London, requiring them to iſſue ſuch particular orders, that when any obſtinate heretic, condemned by the laws, ſhould be delivered to the ſecular arm, a ſufficient number of officers ſhould attend the execution, in order to prevent any from comforting, aſſiſting, or praiſing the offender. At the ſame time to prevent the concourſe of people, eſpecially of the lower claſs, that generally attended executions of this kind.

But this inhuman order did not produce the deſired effect; for five men and two women being burnt in Smithfield a few days after, there were never ſeen greater multitudes of people of all ages and ſexes,

tho' the execution was finiſhed before eight in the morning.

Several other acts of barbarity were executed on the unfortunate proteſtants; all tending to render the goverment extremely unpopular; eſpecially the queen's cruelty towards the primate. Cranmer had been long detained a priſoner, but it was now determined to bring him to puniſhment; and the more fully to ſatiate her vengeance ſhe reſolved to proceed againſt him for hereſy rather than for treaſon. He was cited by the pope to ſtand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be cloſe confined at Oxford, the holy father condemned him as contumacious. Bonner, biſhop of London, and Thirleby, biſhop of Ely, were ſent down to degrade him: and the former executed that melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation ſuitable to his ſavage nature. Not ſatisfied with the eternal perdition of Cranmer, which was by all the bigotted catholics believed inevitable, and the puniſhment of his ſentence, the bloody and vindictive queen determined, if poſſible, to render his memory infamous. Perſons were accordingly employed to attack him, not by diſputation, againſt which he was ſufficiently armed; but by flattering inſinuation and addreſs, repreſenting the dignities to which his character ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; and giving him hopes of long enjoying thoſe powerful friends, whom his benevolent diſpoſition had attached to his perſon, during the courſe of his proſperity. Overcome by a fond love for life; terrified by the proſpect of thoſe tortures which awaited him; he ſuffered, in an unguarded hour, the ſentiments of nature to prevail over his reſolution, and he agreed to ſign a paper, in which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy, and of the real preſence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined, that this recantation ſhould avail him nothing; and they ſent orders, that he ſhould be required to acknowledge his errors in the church, before the whole congregation, and that he thence be led immediately to execution. Cranmer, whether he had received any ſecret intimation of this deſign, or repented of his weakneſs, ſurprized the audience by a contrary declaration. He ſaid that he was apprized of the obedience he owed to the ſovereign and the laws, but his duty extended no farther than to ſubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear without reſiſtance, whatever hardſhips they ſhould lay upon him. That a ſuperior duty, the duty he owed to his maker, obliged him to ſpeak truth on all occaſions, and not to relinquiſh, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine, which the ſupreme Being had revealed to mankind. That there was one miſcarriage in his life, which, above all others, he ſeverely repented, the inſincere declaration of faith, to which he had been weak enough to conſent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him. That he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a ſincere and open recantation, and was willing to ſeal with his blood, that doctrine, which, he ſincerely believed to be communicated from heaven. And that, as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed by a ſevere but juſt doom, and firſt pay the forfeit of its offences.

Having made this open declaration, he was led from the church to the ſtake, amidſt the inſults of the catholics: and having now ſummoned up all his reſolution, he bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of his puniſhment with ſingular fortitude. He ſtretched out his hand, and without betraying either by his countenance or motions, the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames, till it was entirely conſumed. His thoughts ſeemed entirely occupied in reflecting on his former fault, and he called out aloud ſeveral times, "this hand "has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he diſcovered a ſerenity in his countenance, and when the fire attacked his body, he ſeemed to be quite inſenſible of his outward ſufferings, and, by the force of hope and reſolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itſelf, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended that after his body was conſumed, his heart was found whole, and untouched amidſt the aſhes, an event, which, as it was the emblem of his conſtancy, was fondly believed by the zealous proteſtants. He was doubtleſs a perſon of great merit, poſſeſſed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, ſincerity and beneficence, as well as all the other virtues, proper for rendering him uſeful and amiable in ſociety. His moral qualities procured him univerſal reſpect; and the fortitude of his martyrdom, tho' he fell ſhort of the rigid inflexibility obſerved in many, rendered him the hero of the proteſtant party.

That we may have as little occaſion as poſſible for reſuming ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, we ſhall here obſerve, that even Bonner himſelf at laſt pretended to be fatigued by his trade of murder, but was rouzed by a ſharp letter from the council, and the executions were again carried on with freſh fury. Thirteen periſhed at one time in the flames, and the officious conduct of the lord Rich, added to that of other gentlemen of Eſſex, at being preſent at theſe inhuman executions, was ſo remarkable, that they frequently received letters of thanks from the council. The aged, the blind and the lame ſuffered the ſame fate. The mothers with their infants were conſumed together in the flames, and the whole number that periſhed at the ſtake this year, beſides others, who fell a ſacrifice to other ſeverities, amounted to eighty-ſix, many of them women, and youths. But all of them behaved with amazing conſtancy, both when beſet with flames and with temptations.

Soon after the execution of Cranmer, Pole was placed in the ſee of Canterbury, and continued to execute his legantine as well as his archiepiſcopal functions; and by his interpoſition, many of the unhappy wretches were reſcued from the flames: For by this time the queen was become ſo inſatiable for the blood of innocents, that even recantation itſelf, would not otherwiſe have been ſufficient to ſave their lives.

In the mean time, Philip had ſhewn ſuch apparent contempt for the queen, that the government became at once both deſpicable and deteſtable. A plot was formed for robbing the exchequer, and raiſing a rebellion againſt the queen. It is ſaid to have been diſcovered by one White, an accomplice, and ſoon after, John Throgmorton, Henry Peckham, Woodall, Bethel, with about thirteen other perſons of inferior rank, were ſent to the tower. Several others on their being taken into cuſtody, thought proper to ſeek their ſafety in flight. A warrant was alſo iſſued for apprehending Sir Anthony Kingſton; but he expired while the guards were

were bringing him up to London. Soon after Throgmorton and Woodall, were tried, condemned, and executed. Henry Peckham, ſon to Sir Edward Peckham, and John Daniel, were tried and condemned about a month after, but their ſentence was reſpited for two months. One Stanton was alſo arraigned and executed for the ſame plot. It ſeems the ſcheme was deeper laid than the government at firſt expected, for a proclamation was ſoon after iſſued againſt the lord Henry Dudley, two gentlemen of the name of Aſhton, two of the name of Horſey, two of the name of Tremain, and ſeveral other gentlemen of fortune, who had fled beyond the ſeas on account of the ſame plot; it appearing that theſe, and ſeveral other perſons of fortune, had concerted meaſures with the French agents for oppoſing the tyrannical meaſures of the government.

With regard to the queen herſelf, ſhe had abandoned all cares of government, except that of burning heretics; occaſioned partly by her own incapacity, and partly by the high opinion ſhe entertained of her huſband. At the ſame time the exigences of the government were ſo preſſing, that they required the greateſt abilities to conduct them properly. Charles V. had, in purſuance of treaties, demanded a ſquadron of ſhips to eſcort him into Spain, and there was not money ſufficient in the exchequer to fit them out. Another ſquadron was wanting to bring Philip into England. A large debt was owing to the merchants, another to the Iriſh, and large ſums to the garriſon and eſtabliſhment of Calais. The conſideration of all theſe particulars was earneſtly recommended by Philip to the queen; but ſhe was ſo wholly engroſſed in extirpating the proteſtant religion, that even Philip's remonſtrances had no effect.

Notwithſtanding the pretended zeal for religion, few periods are filled with more inſtances of immorality than that under conſideration. One in particular is ſo remarkable, that it claims a place in a general hiſtory. Lord Stourton had long perſecuted one Mr. Hartgyl his neighbour, on account of an ancient family quarrel, and had been puniſhed for his behaviour in the reign of Edward the ſixth. On the acceſſion of queen Mary, Stourton, who was a violent papiſt, entertained hopes of effectually cruſhing his adverſary. He accordingly renewed his violences; but upon Hartgyl's application to the council, they interpoſed, and a ſeeming reconciliation took place. But Stourton was ſo far from being ſincere, that he way-laid Hartgyl, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he and his ſon eſcaped from being murdered. Stourton for this attempt was committed to the fleet, and condemned to pay a conſiderable ſum to Hartgyl; but upon his giving bond to ſurrender himſelf priſoner, he was ſuffered to go down to his own houſe for a ſhort time, and prevailed upon the Hartgyls to meet him, under pretence of paying them the money in which he had been fined. But on their appearing in the church-yard of Kelmington, the place appointed for their meeting, he ordered his ſervants to ſeize and bind them. Stourton himſelf killed the wife of the younger Hartgyl, while ſhe was imploring mercy for her huſband. After committing this inhuman outrage, he led them bound to his own houſe, in the face of the whole country, and in defiance of every law, cauſed them to be murdered, and their bodies to be buried in a dungeon. But divine vengeance purſued the murderer, who probably never would have perpetrated ſo glaring a barbarity, had he not relied on the protection of the government as papiſts. The fact was too notorious to be denied: Stourton was tried in Weſtminſter by a commiſſion directed to the judges and ſome of the privy council. At firſt he refuſed to plead; but the lord chief juſtice informing him, that if he perſiſted in his refuſal, his quality could not excuſe him from being preſſed to death, he confeſſed the fact, and was hanged in a ſilken halter at Saliſbury. Four of his ſervants were alſo executed at the ſame time.

The diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, produced one of a more dangerous nature. Dudley and one of the Aſhtons, with ſeveral other Engliſhmen, who had been obliged to fly for protection, had ſecretly formed a deſign with the court of France for ſeizing Calais and invading England. The earl of Devonſhire had been ſo well re-inſtated in the queen's favour, that he had obtained leave to travel into foreign parts, but died at Padua ſoon after his departure from England.

In the mean time the princeſs Elizabeth, though in appearance perfectly reconciled to the queen, was cloſely obſerved in her houſe at Hatfield, by Sir Thomas Pope, whom the council had employed for that purpoſe. The conſpirators imagined that they could make uſe of no name ſo proper to cover their deſigns as that of the princeſs; and accordingly the inſurgents declared on their arrival in England, that they had taken up arms at her requeſt. But the conſpiracy was ſo ill conducted, that their party was defeated by the country people, without any aſſiſtance from the government.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the emperor reſigned to Philip his other dominions, and embarking on board a fleet ſailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Juſt, a monaſtery in Eſtramedura, which, being ſituated in a happy climate, and amidſt the greateſt beauties of nature, he had choſen for his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos, he found by the thinneſs of his court, and the negligent attendance of the Spaniſh grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and though this obſervation might convince him ſtill more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily deſpiſe what he had renounced, yet he could not help ſighing to find, that all their former adulation and obedience had been paid to his fortune, not to his perſon. With much better reaſon, however, he was ſtruck with the ingratitude of his ſon Philip, who ſuffered him to wait a conſiderable time for the payment of the ſmall penſion he had reſerved: and this diſappointment in his domeſtic enjoyments gave him a very ſenſible concern. He purſued, however, his reſolution with inflexible conſtancy, and ſhutting himſelf up in his retreat, he exerted ſuch command over his paſſions, that he reſtrained even his curioſity from making any enquiry with regard to the tranſactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. Great part of his time was occupied in ſeeking relief againſt the pains and infirmities under which he laboured; and, during the intervals, he employed his leiſure hours in examining the theological controverſies, with which his age had been ſo remarkably agitated, and which he had hitherto conſidered only in a political light; or in imitating the works of celebrated artiſts, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is ſaid to have

diſcovered

diſcovered in his ſolitary retreat, a propenſity to the new doctrine, and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected change in his ſentiments. Having amuſed himſelf in the conſtruction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was, to which he had ſo aſſiduouſly applied himſelf during his grandeur; and how impoſſible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, would ever be able to make mankind concur in the ſame opinion. In this manner he ſpent his time in his ſolitude during the remainder of his life, which was two years.

The difficulty of governing ſuch diſtant dominions was early perceived by Charles; and he had accordingly procured his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans, with a view of his ſucceeding to the imperial dignity, as well as German dominions. But having afterwards enlarged his views, and formed plans for aggrandizing his family, he regretted the ſteps he had taken, as they muſt diſmember ſuch conſiderable ſtates; and accordingly endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the moſt tempting offers, and moſt earneſt ſollicitations, to yield up his pretenſions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitleſs, he had reſigned the imperial crown, with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to the common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refuſed the demand; and pretended, that though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet in caſe of a reſignation, the right devolved to the holy ſee, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was in every other particular conformable to theſe lofty ſentiments. All the ambaſſadors from foreign powers were continually informed by this proud eccleſiaſtic, that he wanted the aſſiſtance of no potentate upon earth; that he conſidered monarchs as his ſubjects, and would not admit any to familiarity or equality with him; that it belonged to a pontiff of Rome to regulate kingdoms, and depoſe arrogant kings and emperors; and that rather than ſubmit to loſe a tittle of his authority, he would ſet fire to the four corners of the world. And it ſhould be remembered that this ambitious prelate was now above fourſcore years of age.

Such arrogant behaviour of a feeble old man aſtoniſhed the world, and very diſadvantageous compariſons were made between his behaviour and that of Charles the fifth. The latter had retired from the cares and fatigues of government, in order to ſet apart an interval for thought and reflection; while the former, though a prieſt, and on the very brink of the grave, exulted in his dominion, and from reſtleſs ambition and revenge, was endeavouring to throw all Europe into confuſion. Paul had long entertained the moſt inveterate animoſity againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and though a truce for five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry by his ſollicitations to break it, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in recovering Naples, with the other dominions he claimed in Italy; a project which had proved fatal to his predeceſſors.

Notwithſtanding the ſignal loyalty of the reformers, during the late attempts to diſturb the peace of England, the popiſh party did not fail to repreſent them, as being the principal cauſe of all the conſpiracies againſt the government; while the queen's natural peeviſhneſs was greatly increaſed by Philip's delay in returning to England. She expected him about the middle of June, but towards the cloſe of that month, ſhe received a letter from him, informing her, that his affairs would not permit his return in leſs than two months. This occaſioned great uneaſineſs in the queen; ſhe ſhut herſelf up, and would ſee none of the council for ſome weeks. She wrote ſeveral affecting letters; and received regular anſwers: but nothing could divert her melancholy, which was increaſed by ſome tumults that happened in London, occaſioned by the dearneſs of proviſions, which aroſe from the prodigious inclemency of the ſeaſon. It was with the greateſt difficulty that the people were reſtrained by the magiſtrates from breaking into the houſes of the wealthier ſort, in order to ſupply the preſſing calls of hunger. At laſt the famine roſe to ſuch an alarming height, that acorns were uſed for bread. At the ſame time a peſtilential fever ſwept away a greater number of perſons of diſtinction than had been known to die in England for ſeveral years.

But neither the rigour of the ſeaſon, the dread of peſtilence, nor the floods which now poured from heaven, and occaſioned a partial deluge all over the country, could quench the flames of perſecution. They who had been the moſt active inſtruments in the late reign againſt the papiſts, now became the moſt bitter perſecutors of the proteſtants. The lord Darcey, the great minion of Northumberland, now received orders for extending the inquiſition about Harwich and Dover-court, for that execrable tribunal was now, in effect, eſtabliſhed in England. Soon after, the ſame nobleman, with the earl of Oxford, and ſome others, were commiſſioned not only to extirpate all the heretics in Eſſex, but to impoſe an oath upon all who were brought before their court, for the better diſcovering all perſons well affected to the proteſtant religion. This had ſo dreadful an effect, that many left their houſes, upon which the mercileſs inquiſitors entered and took poſſeſſion of all their ſubſtance. Another commiſſion was opened at the ſame time, for the reſtitution of the plate and ornaments that had been taken from the church during the two laſt reigns. This opened a freſh ſource of perſecution, and the harraſſed inhabitants finding that nothing leſs than their utter extirpation was intended, joined in a very bold, but dutiful ſupplication to the queen. This, however, had very little effect: the flames of perſecution ſtill raged with the utmoſt violence; and the queen ſeemed delighted with the blood of her ſubjects.

In the mean time, the princeſs Elizabeth remained at Hatfield in Hertfordſhire, under the inſpection of Sir Thomas Pope; and Philip, convinced there was not the leaſt reaſon to hope for having any children by his queen, formed a deſign of marrying Elizabeth to ſome prince of the empire, in order to cut off the ſucceſſion of the Scottiſh line. Among all the princes of Europe, none had ſerved the houſe of Auſtria more faithfully, or ſuffered more by that ſervice, than the family of Savoy; this conſideration, with the reigning duke's perſonal merit, and the near relation he bore to Philip, induced that monarch to think he would be a proper match for the princeſs Elizabeth. Some time before this, the Sweediſh ambaſſador had propoſed a match between her and the prince royal of Sweeden, which ſhe thought proper to decline. Mary was pleaſed with the prudence of her ſiſter, and when

Philip

Philip mentioned the duke of Savoy as a huſband, received the propoſal in a manner, which greatly mortified the pride of Philip, who thought his will was ſufficient to induce the queen to uſe all her intereſt to render the ſcheme ſucceſsful. Mary, however, at laſt yielded to the importunities of her huſband, but the princeſs herſelf refuſed the offer. The ſentiments of Elizabeth, with regard to religion were no ſecret; but ſhe prudently conformed to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, and thence, not only made herſelf friends among the more moderate papiſts, but alſo obtained leave to converſe with ſeveral, who, like herſelf, were obliged, for a time, to conceal their real principles. Sir Thomas Benger, the comptroller of her houſhold, introduced Cecil to her confidence; and her friends in the council were ſo much increaſed, that when the propoſal for the marriage of that princeſs with the duke of Savoy, was laid before them, it was rejected.

But Mary's great object was to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, who now filled the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, with many other counſellors, very openly and zealouſly oppoſed the meaſure. Beſides inſiſting on the marriage articles, which provided for ſuch an attempt, they repreſented the violence of the domeſtic factions in England, and the diſordered ſtate of the finances; and foretold that the tendency of all thoſe meaſures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on Spaniſh councils. Philip came over to London, in order to ſupport his partizans; and told the queen, that, if he was not gratified in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, he never more would ſet foot in England. This declaration heightened extremely her zeal for promoting his intereſt, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, ſhe threatened to diſmiſs them all from the board, and fill their places with others more obſequious; yet ſhe could not procure a vote for declaring war againſt France. At laſt, one Stafford, with ſome other conſpirators were detected in a deſign to ſurprize Scarborough; and a confeſſion being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hoſtility, with others of a like ſecret and doubtful nature, the ground for the quarrel. The earl of Pembroke was nominated to command the Engliſh forces abroad, and accordingly repaired to Calais with a numerous attendance.

About three years ſince, conſiderable advances had been made, in ſettling a Ruſſia company in England. Chaloner, or Chancellor, who ſailed with Sir Hugh Willoughby, having obtained an audience of the great duke of Muſcovy, brought back in the beginning of Mary's reign, that prince's letters with free leave to trade in his dominions. Chancellor was ſent back by the queen, with anſwers to the great duke, for promoting the intercourſe between the two nations. This had ſo good an effect, that the great duke ſent Joſeph, one of his chief noblemen, as his ambaſſador to England, under Chancellor's care, attended by three ſhips. But a dreadful ſtorm overtaking this little fleet, the ſhips were ſeparated, and that in which Chancellor and the ambaſſador were, bulged upon the rocks of Scotland. Chancellor exerted himſelf to ſave the life of the ambaſſador, and was fortunate enough to ſucceed, though he loſt his own in the attempt.

The pieces of the wreck were gathered up by the country people, who behaved in the moſt inhuman manner to the ambaſſador and the ſurviving crew. As ſoon as the news of this misfortune reached the Engliſh court, the queen ſent Huſſy, a civilian, and one Gilpin, to Scotland, with money for the ambaſſador's uſe, and letters to the queen regent of Scotland, for procuring him ſafe conduct to London. This had the deſired effect, and the ambaſſador entered the city with great pomp at the expence of the newly inſtituted Ruſſian company.

A. D. 1557. In the mean time, the court was alarmed by dreadful accounts from the north, where the Scots had committed the moſt cruel outrages. As no open hoſtilities, by conſent of the government, had been yet committed, the intercourſe between the two kingdoms was ſtill open, and the earl of Shrewſbury, chief commander in thoſe parts, procured certain intelligence, that the queen regent not only encouraged the Scottiſh free-booters, but was alſo endeavouring to engage her council to declare war againſt England.

Alarmed at theſe accounts, the queen ſent orders to the earl of Shrewſbury, to muſter all the perſons capable of bearing arms in the northern parts of the kingdom: but it was ſoon found that there was a total want of money, proviſions, and ammunition. The government promiſed to ſupply all neceſſaries and deſired that the levies might be made as faſt as poſſible. Accordingly the lord Wharton, warden of the eaſt and middle marches, ſignified to the council, that the diſtricts within his diviſion, engaged to furniſh eight hundred and twenty horſe, and one thouſand, one hundred and forty-nine foot, all completely armed. The lord Dacres, warden of the marches, certified, that the county of Cumberland would raiſe four thouſand two hundred and twenty-ſeven able men, of whom two hundred and ſixty-two were light-horſe, one hundred and eighty-eight archers, and five hundred and twenty-ſix bill-men; but the other three thouſand two hundred and fifty-one were unarmed; that Weſtmoreland could raiſe one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-eight able men, of whom ſixty-ſeven were light horſe, one hundred and eighty-eight archers, and five hundred and twenty-ſix bill men; but that three hundred and ninety-ſeven had neither arms nor accoutrements. By comparing the returns with thoſe of the other northern counties, the earl of Shrewſbury found, that fourteen thouſand men might ſoon be brought into the field to act againſt the enemy.

The queen regent perceived the preparations of the Engliſh, and therefore carried on the levies with great expedition. She alſo received a large ſupply, both of men and money from France, by which ſhe was enabled to fit out a conſiderable ſquadron of ſhips, which greatly interrupted the Engliſh navagation in the northern parts of the kingdom.

It was an unuſual ſight for the Engliſh to be thus inſulted at ſea by a people they had long deſpiſed on that element. But the Spaniſh quarrel ſo entirely engroſſed the attention of the government, that no leiſure was found for protecting the ſubjects, either by ſea or land.

The queen having gained a vote of the council, with regard to the war with France, preparations were made for raiſing troops to join the army of Philip in Flanders, under the earl of Pembroke. That nobleman had continued ſome time at Calais,

in order to put the place in a proper condition to reſiſt any ſurprize; and the queen, by loans and other arbitrary methods, had raiſed money ſufficient to maintain ſeven thouſand men, during the campaign. The officers named to ſerve under the earl of Pembroke, were the viſcount Montague, the earls of Rutland and Bedford, the lords Gray, Ruſſel, Dudley, Howard, Delaware, Chandois, Ambroſe, and ſeveral other of the nobility and gentry.

The public were greatly incenſed againſt the queen for engaging in this war, ſo directly oppoſite to the moſt material of the marriage articles. The pope had diſpenſed with the oath of the French king, with regard to the obſervation of a five years truce with Philip; and furniſhed with new matter of reproach againſt their catholic enemies; againſt the pontiff and Henry for licenſed perjury, and againſt the queen for her impolitic conduct. She was equally inconſiſtent in all her other actions. She defrauded her workmen and creditors of what was their juſt due, in order to ſupport a ſwarm of lazy prieſts and friars. A gunner at Deptford was bold enough to ſpeak his real ſentiments on this ſubject, and was accordingly ſummoned before the council, but the thing was too notorious for them to proſecute it any farther, and he was therefore diſmiſſed without ſuffering any puniſhment.

About the time that the troops were embarking for the Low-countries, the government was alarmed with the information of a conſpiracy ready to break out in the counties of Suffolk and Eſſex. Orders were therefore ſent to ſuppreſs it, and to burn more of the proteſtants. The biſhop of Lincoln was ordered to ſearch the houſe of the dutcheſs of Suffolk for heretical books; and repeated letters of thanks were written to the earl of Suſſex and the lord Darcy, for their zeal in extirpating the proteſtants, and diſcovering married clergymen. This ſo far encouraged the bigotted ſpirit of the earl of Suſſex, that he propoſed to the council the proceeding againſt heretics by martial law, that is, for maſſacring all that fell into his hands without any trial. But the council, wicked as moſt of the members were, diſapproved of this infernal advice. They, however, wrote him a letter, highly commending his zeal, but informing him, at the ſame time, that though the offenders deſerved no mercy, yet it was abſolutely neceſſary to puniſh them only as the law directed. But they ordered him to cauſe all ſuch as had incurred corporal puniſhment, to be kept in priſon after their ſentence had been executed, till they ſhould learn to know themſelves and their duty.

But the war in which the nation was now engaged, demanded, that in the courſe of ſuch terrible perſecutions, the government ſhould be ſure of the civil magiſtrates, who were to be the executioners. The council had been indefatigable in this particular, by procuring a liſt of the moſt violent papiſts to be mayors and juſtices in cities and corporations. It was alſo thought expedient to take ſome care of the navy. Fourteen thouſand pounds were accordingly ſet apart for repairing, fitting out, and victualling the ſhips, and it was thought by the lord admiral that ten thouſand pounds a year would afterwards be ſufficient to keep them ready for ſervice. To ſuch a languiſhing condition was the maritime power of England reduced.

Theſe expences, however ſmall, were more than the government could ſpare. The queen therefore continued to levy money in the ſame arbitrary and violent manner, ſhe had before practiſed. She obliged the city of London to ſupply her with ſixty thouſand pounds, on her huſband's entry. She levied before the legal time, the ſecond year's ſubſidy granted by parliament; ſhe iſſued many privy-ſeals, by which ſhe procured loans from her people; and not being able to victual the fleet ſhe had equipped, by reaſon of the dearneſs of proviſions, ſhe ſeized all the corn ſhe could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all theſe expedients, aſſiſted by the power of preſſing, ſhe levied an army of ten thouſand men, and ſent them over to the Low-countries. In the mean time, to prevent any diſturbance at home, many of the moſt conſiderable of the gentry were thrown into the tower; and leſt they ſhould be known the Spaniſh practice was adopted; they were either carried thither in the night, or hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted him.

On the ſeventh of June, war was proclaimed in London againſt France. In the proclamation, the queen complained of many injuries done her by the French king, in ſupporting and encouraging the duke of Northumberland and Wiat, in all the rebellious conſpiracies againſt her; that Dudley and Aſhton had formed their plot at the houſe of his ambaſſador, and that his kingdom was afterwards a receptacle for them, where he yet entertained and gave them countenance; and laſtly, that he had furniſhed Stafford with ſhips, men, money, and amunition, in order, if poſſible, to diſpoſſeſs her of her throne. For theſe reaſons ſhe forbad all her ſubjects to ſend any merchandize into France, or carry on any trade with a nation, whoſe prince ſhe conſidered as her enemy, and againſt whom ſhe now declared war.

But even this new ſcene could not divert the deluded queen and her counſellors from a more furious perſecution than ever, of the unhappy proteſtants. For this purpoſe, a commiſſion which had for ſome time been ſigned, was now renewed, and carried into execution. It recited, that ſince many falſe rumours were publiſhed among the ſubjects, and various heretical opinions were alſo ſpread among them, any three of the commiſſioners named in the commiſſion, were to enquire into thoſe, either by preſentments or witneſſes, or any method they could deviſe; and to ſearch after all hereſies, the importers, the ſellers, and the readers of all heretical books: they were alſo impowered to inſpect and puniſh all miſbehaviour, or negligences in any church or chapel, and to try all prieſts who did not preach of the ſacrament of the altar; all perſons who did not hear maſs, or come conſtantly to attend divine ſervice in their own pariſh church; that refuſed to walk in proceſſions; or did not take holy bread or holy water: and if they found any that obſtinately perſiſted in ſuch hereſies, they were to deliver them into the hands of their ordinary, to be proceeded againſt according to the laws; giving them full power to proceed as their own conſciences and diſcretion ſhould direct them; and to uſe all means in their power for executing their commiſſion, and enabling them to call all witneſſes they pleaſed, and to force them to anſwer upon oath ſuch queſtions

tions as tended to diſcover the truth of the matter in queſtion.

The conſequence of this inhumanity was ſoon evident, by the number of perſons who were burnt in Smithfield, at Canterbury, Southwark, Lewes, Colcheſter, and many other places. The whole number that ſuffered this year is not eaſily computed. Biſhop Burnet mentions ſeventy nine; but, whoever conſults the council-book and other authentic records, muſt be convinced that the above number is far ſhort of the truth. The practice of burning heretics was now become ſo common with the commiſſioners and their deputies, that no regular accounts were tranſmitted. Nor did the government ever ſeem to have been better pleaſed, than when the proceſſes were ſhort, and the executions quick, frequent and numerous. Beſides theſe many hundreds, perhaps ſome thouſands, underwent impriſonment, perſecution, whipping, and other tortures. And theſe being generally of the poorer ſort, many of them, during the ſeaſon when the famine raged, periſhed through want, or by the ſeverity of their puniſhments; and conſequently were as effectually murdered as thoſe who periſhed at the ſtake.

In the mean time, preparations were making for proſecuting the war between Philip and France with great expedition. Philip was very unwilling to come to a rupture with the pope, and had ordered his general the duke of Alva, to defer hoſtilities as long as poſſible: but the pope having declared his intentions, he fell with an army into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, where he took ſeveral frontier towns; while the the duke of Guiſe, contrary to the conſtable's opinion, as well as of the beſt officers of France, marched with an army of thirty thouſand men directly to Rome, and was admitted into that city in a kind of triumphal honour.

The French army in the Low-countries took the field as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, under admiral Coligni, who commanded in Picardy, and took the town of Lens, after being diſappointed in ſurprizing Doway. Philip complained of this proceeding, but met with nothing on the part of France but recriminations, which ſeem to have had little foundation. The reſt of the beginning of the ſeaſon was employed on both ſides in preparations, and about the beginning of June, an Engliſh herald, on the part of his miſtreſs, declared war at the court of France, againſt Henry. Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt captains of the age, was Philip's general in this campaign. But it was the latter end of July before the grand army rendezvouſed at Givet, over againſt Charlemont. Upon the landing of the Engliſh troops at Calais, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes of no great importance happened; and they marched to the grand army.

After the junction of the Engliſh, the duke's army conſiſted of near ſixty thouſand men, with whom he paſſed the Meuſe, and for ſome days kept the French in ſuſpence, ſometimes threatening to beſiege Rocroy, and ſometimes Marienbourg. At laſt, he directed his march towards Guiſe, which he ſeemed determined to beſiege; but ſuddenly ſent off his light horſe towards St. Quintin, and ſoon afterwards inveſted that place with his whole army. St. Quintin, though well fortified was but ill ſupplied with a garriſon for its defence, and Coligni thought his honour engaged to relieve it if poſſible. He accordingly threw himſelf with ſome French and Scotch battalions into the place, where he made diſpoſitions for a vigorous defence, when he underſtood that the conſtable of France was advanced at the head of an army as far as Lafere, and that he intended to throw a ſtrong reinforcement into the town; as he was in no condition to fight the enemy, his army not amounting to more than thirty-ſix thouſand men.

But upon examination, the throwing a reinforcement into the town was found to be a very difficult attempt. The conſtable, underſtanding that the Engliſh diviſion of the army were not yet come up, determined, if poſſible, to force his way to the quarter marked out for them. Perhaps the attempt would have ſucceeded, had not ſome deſerters informed Philip of his deſign; ſo that when the French made the attack, they were driven back with great loſs. This ſcheme having miſcarried, the admiral, who then commanded in St. Quintin, informed the conſtable, that the place might be relieved through a moraſs, which was left unguarded on account of its being thought impaſſable. Deſirous of ſucceeding in ſo neceſſary a ſervice, the conſtable marched the main body of his army towards St. Quintin, as if he intended to force the lines of the beſiegers, and detached a body of troops with orders to conceal themſelves behind a village, near the entry of the moraſs, which they were to paſs the firſt opportunity.

As he intended only to alarm the Spaniſh camp, and retire as ſoon as he had effected his deſign, he placed a body of troops to guard the only paſs by which the enemy could march to cut off his retreat to Lafere. The deſign ſucceeded at firſt beyond his hopes; he ſurprized ſeveral advanced piquets of the Spaniards; and, before they knew any thing of his march, he brought up his train of artillery, which played ſucceſsfully on their camp, and the duke of Savoy's own tent was demoliſhed by a cannon ball. This occaſioned ſo great a conſternation in the Spaniſh camp, that the general Philibert of Savoy was obliged to retire to the count of Egmont's quarters; and had not ſome battalions of Engliſh infantry, ſupported by a thouſand carabineers on horſeback, ſtood firm, the conſtable might have improved the conſternation of the Spaniards to a total rout. But the vigorous reſiſtance made by theſe troops, gave the duke of Savoy time to make his diſpoſitions, while the French, encouraged by their ſucceſs, had advanced too far to retreat without the utmoſt danger. In the mean time the count of Egmont, at the head of a party of Engliſh and Spaniſh cavalry, having forced the defile, attacked the French in their flank, while the duke of Savoy charging them with the main body in the front, obtained a complete victory, killing four thouſand men and totally diſperſing the reſt. In this unfortunate action, many of the chief nobility of France were either killed or taken priſoners; among the latter was the old conſtable himſelf, who fighting valiantly and reſolute to die rather than ſurvive his defeat, was ſurrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands.

So complete a victory threw the whole kingdom of France into the utmoſt conſternation; the fortifications of Paris were repaired amidſt the greateſt hurry and confuſion; and had the Spaniards improved their victory as they ought, by marching immediately to the capital, it muſt have fallen into their hands. But Philip was of a very cautious temper, and determined firſt to take St. Quintin, in order

order to secure a communication with his own dominions. It was expected that a very few days would be sufficient to finish this enterprize; but the bravery of Coligni still prolonged the siege seventeen days, which proved the safety of France. Some troops were levied and assembled. Couriers were sent to recall the duke of Guise and his army from Italy: and the French, having recovered from their first alarm, put themselves in a posture of defence.

In the mean time the city of St. Quintin was taken by storm, and the whole garrison put to the sword. This conquest was followed by that of Ham, Catelet, and several other places of strength. The earl of Bedford with two thousand English and two thousand Spanish forces, was detached to improve the consternation of the French, and ravaged the country to the distance of two and twenty miles, without meeting with the least resistance.

This success convinced Philip that he had lost the opportunity of making himself master of the capital of France; and it was even proposed in a council of war, to lead their victorious troops to the gates of Paris. But it was now too late. The return of the duke of Guise from Italy, and the great power with which he was invested by the French king, raised the spirits of the people, and every man capable of taking the field was now in arms. Philip knew this as well as the difficulties that must attend his finding subsistence for his army in an open country, every moment molested by flying parties of the enemy, and therefore broke up his camp and retired into winter quarters.

The news of the victory gained at St. Quintin was received in England with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. But the wiser and more virtuous part of the nation, considered Philip's success as a certain prelude to their own slavery; and their apprehensions were confirmed by the daily progress of popery. The queen had restored great numbers of the regular clergy, and given them pensions till their houses and lands could be recovered. This was considered as a certain sign that the government intended to cancel all the parliamentary provisions for those who possessed any of the church's property. The monks also, who were now restored to their old habitations in Westminster-abbey, soon gave the nation a specimen of what would shortly be the consequence; the ascendency of the ecclesiastical over the civil power. For the privileges of the abbey, as a sanctuary, having been suspended, the monks complained loudly of the injury which had been offered both to their own order and the sanctity of the place, and which, they asserted, could not be excused either by parliamentary or regal authority. While this dispute was warmly supported by the monks, and as warmly opposed by the lawyers and protestant party, one Wakeham, a felon, broke out of the tower of London, and took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster, but he was carried back by a detachment of soldiers sent for that purpose by the constable of the tower. He made his escape the second time, again took refuge in the same sanctuary, and was, by an express order from the council, again carried back a prisoner to the tower. This exasperated the monks, who exerted all their power on the bigotted queen, with so much success, that the felon was replaced in the sanctuary, and the ecclesiastics obtained a complete victory over the civil power.

Proceedings of this kind could not fail of filling the minds of the English with the most gloomy apprehensions; which were greatly increased by the formidable dispositions making by the Scots for invading England. The French continued to pour both men and money into Scotland, in order to enable that ferocious people to pursue their resentments with effect; and accordingly the most formidable preparations were then making, in many parts of the kingdom. D'Oysell, the French commander in Scotland, received orders to build a fort at Aymouth, in order to restrain the incursions of the garrison of Berwick. This the English complained of as an absolute breach of the last treaty of peace, the castle being erected on the lands ceded by the Scots; and the earl of Shrewsbury was ordered to march six hundred horse, and four hundred archers to the borders, in order to repel force by force. A truce was, however, afterwards concluded for two months; but before the expiration of that term, the Scotch armament both by sea and land convinced the English how much they had been mistaken in believing the asseverations of Scottish commissioners, who declared that the government of Scotland was very desirous of removing every cause of complaint, and of living on good terms with the English.

Mary was so much alarmed by the Scottish preparations, that she proposed to take the field in person, and writs were accordingly directed to the principal nobility and gentry, for forming a new body guard. Soon after a herald was dispatched by the queen regent of Scotland to denounce war at the English court, if Mary did not immediately withdraw her troops out of the Low Countries. Perhaps the proceedings of the Scots might have proved fatal to the crown of England, had not the jealousy of the nobility defeated the measures of the queen-regent, at a time when the distressed state of the English government gave her every advantage. For when the earl of Shrewsbury and the lord Wharton summoned the inhabitants of the county of Durham, to march and oppose the Scots, they absolutely refused to obey the order; pretending that it was contrary to their privileges, either to serve in garrisons, or to take the field, before the enemy had actually invaded their country. Nor could either the persuasions or threatenings of the earl of Shrewsbury prevail upon the inhabitants to depart from this resolution, till their neighbourhood was filled with fire and sword by the earl of Huntley. Nor were the other parts of the kingdom more ready to serve against the enemy; so that the Scots entered the kingdom between Wark and Cheviot, and would have made themselves masters of the castle of Ford, had they not been seasonably opposed by Henry Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland. This gentleman was so greatly beloved by the people, that they willingly served under him; and he accordingly threw himself into Alnwick castle, where he was in a few hours joined by a considerable number of the neighbouring gentlemen; but his force was not sufficient to prevent the Scots from advancing with a large train of artillery along the east marches, and burning several places. Upon this the garrison of Berwick was ordered to join Piercy, which enabled him to take the field, and the Scots thought proper to retire into their own country. Piercy followed them, burnt sixteen towns, and returned with a large booty.

In

In a few weeks, however, the Scots, under the earls of Huntley and Sunderland, the lords Hume, Erſkine, Sumervail and Fleming, together with d'Oyſel, the French general, made a freſh irruption into England, near Berwick. They were oppoſed by the earl of Northumberland, and the other Engliſh generals, when an action happened to the diſadvantage of the latter. d'Oyſel, who was an excellent officer, had taken great pains in making the Scots acquainted with military order and diſcipline; and very careful to furniſh them with arms and ammunition. But the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the late loſs, knew the ſituation of the queen-regent too well to be very ſollicitous with regard to the event. It was no ſecret that this war was undertaken at the ſollicitations of Henry, and carried on by the French party in the Scottiſh council, contrary to the ſenſe of the nation. The queen-regent was ſo warm in the intereſt of her country, that ſhe had greatly relaxed her orders with regard to religion, and had even received ſeveral of the chief proteſtant noblemen into her favour, in order to induce them to join heartily in a war againſt Mary, whom they deteſted for her cruel bigotry. But this connection was too unnatural to laſt. They who were deſirous of ſupporting the true intereſt of their country, were for obſerving an exact nutrality, in the preſent war between France and England. This party were ſupported by the duke of Chaſtle-herault, and joined by the reformed, from their hatred to the French.

Theſe diſputes had been carried on for ſome time before the Scottiſh army marched; but they became ſo violent when the troops entered the Engliſh territories, that thoſe who oppoſed the war, refuſed to advance any farther, not being bound by their tenures to ſerve in another kingdom; and in a few days, the principal part of the army embraced the ſame ſentiments. The troops therefore lay a whole week inactive, within ſix miles of Berwick, during which time all thoughts of hoſtility were ſo far laid aſide, that the officers of both armies paid viſits of civility to one another. This inactivity was very mortifying to the queen-regent, who therefore ſummoned the nobility to meet her at Edinburgh, where ſhe obtained their conſent to proſecute the war with vigour.

The earl of Northumberland, the lord Wharton, and other noblemen, who ſtill remained at Berwick, had early intelligence of this reſolution from the Scottiſh council, and ſent advice of it to England, repreſenting the danger to which the kingdom would be expoſed, if the queen-regent's intereſt was ſufficient to engage a majority in the council.

Alarmed at this intelligence, Mary ſent orders to the earl of Derby, and the other noblemen in the north, to march with their men towards the borders. In the mean time, the Scottiſh army rendezvouſed at Edinburgh, and after ſome unneceſſary delays, croſſed the Tweed on the ſeventeenth of October; but two days after, the Scottiſh noblemen who could not bear the inſolent conduct of d'Oyſel, held a conſultation, and it was reſolved to return into their own country. Nor could the tears, threats, or reproaches of the queen-regent, divert them from this reſolution.

But though this expedition of the Scots fell far ſhort of the expectations of the French court, it furniſhed the active duke of Guiſe with an opportunity of executing an enterprize, which had always been conſidered by his countrymen as impoſſible. Calais was then deemed an impregnable fortreſs of the laſt importance to England, and ſo ſituated that ſuccours could at any time be landed there. Theſe conſiderations had always induced the French to think that any attempt to reduce it muſt be rendered abortive. The admiral Coligni, however, was of a different opinion. He had obſerved, that, during the winter ſeaſon, great part of the Engliſh garriſon was withdrawn, as their attendance was then thought unneceſſary, becauſe the marſhes were impaſſable, and there was no way to the place but over a cauſeway, defended by two caſtles, St. Agatha and Newnam-bridge. The admiral was made priſoner on the taking of St. Quintin; but a ſurvey of the place, together with a plan of the whole enterprize, which were found among his papers, ſuggeſted the project of that undertaking to the duke of Guiſe, who determined to carry it immediately into execution.

A. D. 1558. The plan for the reduction of Calais being thus formed, ſeveral bodies of troops were detatched on various pretences towards the frontiers, and a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips was ordered to cruiſe in the channel under colour of annoying the trade of England. Theſe precautions being taken, the ſeveral detachments ſuddenly aſſembled, and the duke of Guiſe marched at the head of the army towards Calais. The ſhips made the firſt attack on the riſbank which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and during the cannonade, three thouſand harquebuſiers aſſaulted the caſtle of St. Agatha, with ſo much fury, that the garriſon, though they made a vigorous defence, were ſoon obliged toabandon the place, and retreat towardsNewnam-bridge, which was imediately beſieged. Lord Wentworth, the governor, ſoon ſaw the danger to which the town was expoſed, and convinced that if either the garriſon of Newnam-bridge or that of the riſbank, ſhould be made priſoners, it would be impoſſible to defend the place, he ſent orders for them both to capitulate, and join him in Calais. The former eaſily obtained the requiſite conditions; but the latter were refuſed the ſame favour, and were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

This ſucceſs encouraged the duke of Guiſe to puſh the ſiege with all imaginable vigour; and accordingly gave orders for making a general aſſault. His artillery ſoon made a large breach in the caſtle, and the foſſee being drained by Andelot, brother to the admiral, the French made a lodgment in the caſtle. Wentworth, who was a brave and able officer, attempted, the following night, to recover this important poſt; but, after loſing two hundred men in the attack, he abandoned the enterprize, and finding it impracticable to defend the place any longer, he capitulated with the duke of Guiſe, and delivered Calais into the hands of the French, after its having been for above two hundred years under the Engliſh government. Ham and Guiſnes were ſoon after reduced, and thus the Engliſh loſt all their footing on the continent.

The news of this important conqueſt threw the nation into a ferment; they murmured loudly againſt the queen and her council for having, on the moſt frivolous pretences, engaged the kingdom in a war, by which one of the moſt important poſſeſſions of the crown, was irretrievably loſt, merely to ſatisfy the ambition of Philip and the bigotted queen.

The government was now reduced to the moſt diſtreſſed circumſtances. The treaſury was exhauſted and burdened with debts. The people were at once divided and dejected. And the queen was entirely negligent of the welfare of her people. A parliament was therefore ſummoned to meet, and the commons, without making any enquiry into the preceding conduct of the miniſtry, voted, beſides a fifteenth, a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight-pence on goods. The clergy granted eight ſhillings in the pound, payable in four years, by equal portions. An act was alſo paſſed, confirming all the ſales and grants of crown lands, which were either made already by the queen or ſhould be made during the ſeven enſuing years.

This ſupply enabled the government to fit out a fleet of one hundred and forty ſail, which, being joined by thirty Flemiſh ſhips, and having taken on board ſix thouſand land forces, attempted a deſcent on the coaſt of Britany. But the proceedings in equipping this fleet were ſo dilatory, that the French procured intelligence of the deſign, and took the neceſſary precautions for rendering it abortive. Breſt was too well guarded to permit the Engliſh to entertain any hopes of ſucceſs in an attempt upon that place. They, however, landed at Conquet, plundered and burnt the town; together with ſome adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit greater diſorders, when their career of ſucceſs was terminated by the prudent behaviour of Kirſimon, a gentleman of Britany, who, at the head of a body of militia, fell upon the Engliſh while they were totally engaged in plundering the country, put them to the rout, and drove them to the ſhips with conſiderale loſs. This diſgrace was, however, amply revenged on the French army, by a ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips.

The mareſchal de Thirmis, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders at the head of fourteen thouſand men, taken Dunkirk and Berg St. Winoc, and penetrated as far as Newport. But finding it impoſſible to avoid a battle with the count of Egmont, who, having gained a day's march, overtook him near Gravelines. Thirmis choſe his guard with great judgment; he fortified his right wing with the greateſt precaution, and poſted his left along the banks of the river Aa, which he conſidered as a ſufficient ſecurity on that ſide. But the Engliſh ſhips being accidentally on the coaſt, and alarmed by the firing, ſailed up the river, and flanking the French with their artillery, did ſuch execution, that they put them to flight, and Egmont obtained a compleat victory; the mareſchal himſelf was taken priſoner, and about five thouſand ſlain on the field of battle.

During theſe tranſactions the two armies of France and Spain approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy, and a deciſive battle was every moment expected; when offers were made for a general peace, and the two armies retired into winter quarters, that the contending princes might have time ſufficient to finiſh the treaty. Indeed the demands of Henry and Philip were ſo very oppoſite, that there was hardly any hopes of their coming to an agreement. The former demanded the reſtitution of Navarre to its proper owner: and the latter that of Calais and its territories to England. But, during theſe negotiations, news arrived of the death of queen Mary; and Philip no longer connected with England, did not inſiſt on the reſtitution of Calais, and a peace was ſoon after concluded between the two monarchs of France and Spain.

The queen had been for ſome time in a declining ſtate of health; and the dropſy that had affected her, increaſed daily. Her mind was alſo greatly agitated with contending paſſions. She ſaw herſelf deſpiſed by her huſband, and hated by her ſubjects; ſhe ſaw that all her zeal for exterminating the proteſtant religion had proved abortive; and that her friends were dejected at the loſs of Calais, which ſat very heavy on her ſpirits. But what ſtill more affected her, was the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion, and the reſtoration of the reformed religion. Agitated at once both in mind and body, it is no wonder ſhe ſunk under the alarming conflict. She was ſeized with a ſlow fever, and died on the ſeventeenth of November, in the forty ſecond year of her age, after a ſhort and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

The preceding account of the reign of this princeſs will almoſt render it ſuperfluous to add any thing farther with regard to her character. Indeed, the barbarities committed in her time, are beyond the pen of hiſtory to deſcribe. Her gloomy mind painted the Deity as a Being endowed with infernal paſſions; and ſhe ſought to appeaſe his vengeance with torrents of innocent blood. With her the practice of religion became the trade of murder; and the care of her people, the exerciſe of her cruelty; while all her views for their happineſs, terminated in puniſhments for their virtues. Her bigotry infected every branch of government, and weakened every band of Society. She had nothing engaging either in her perſon, her behaviour, or her addreſs: her underſtanding was confined within very narrow limits; and her temper moroſe and gloomy; while obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, directed all her actions.

Cardinal Pole, who had long laboured under an intermitting fever, died about ſixteen hours after the queen, ſo that the throne and the archiepiſcopal chair of Canterbury became vacant nearly at the ſame time; an event which the reformed conſidered as the happy omen of the ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of civil and religious liberty.

End of the Firſt VOLUME.

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